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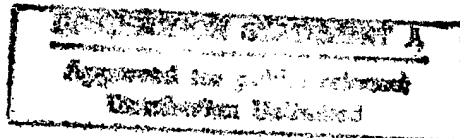
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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 8, May 1982



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FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

USSR REPORT  
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 8, May 1982

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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TO THE NEWSPAPER PRAVDA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 82 p 3

[CC CPSU greetings]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union presents its heartfelt greetings to the PRAVDA collective, contributors and readers and to all Soviet press workers on the occasion of the noteworthy 70th anniversary of the founding of the newspaper, of which Vladimir Il'ich Lenin was the ideological inspiration, first editor and founder.

The entire glorious path of Lenin's PRAVDA has been inseparably linked with our party's heroic history. From its very first issue the newspaper became a collective propagandist, agitator and organizer of the masses. It has consistently expressed the interests, desires and revolutionary aspirations of the working class and all working people.

During all of its 7 decades PRAVDA has been an active participant in events of universal-historical significance. It waged a tireless struggle for the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the creation of the first state of workers and peasants in the history of mankind -- the USSR. PRAVDA was a courageous fighter during the Great Patriotic War. It has made a substantial contribution to the great accomplishments of the Soviet people, who built a developed socialist society under the guidance of the communist party.

PRAVDA has earned a high reputation as the zealous and tireless propagandist of the immortal Leninist doctrine and the achievements and advantages of real socialism and as an uncompromising fighter against imperialist ideology, opportunism and revisionism.

PRAVDA is the true rostrum of party and national public opinion. Today, like our entire press, it has no more important task than to contribute to the successful implementation of the historical decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the vast socioeconomic programs earmarked for the 11th Five-Year Plan and the entire period of the 1980s, and the development in the Soviet people of ideological convictions, a communist attitude toward labor and high responsibility to society through party publicism.

PRAVDA's duty is to contribute comprehensively to improvements in ideological and political work, to strengthening its ties with life and to resolving the practical problems of the building of communism.

The newspaper's duty is to depict the historical accomplishments of the Soviet people vividly and convincingly, to spread inspiredly throughout the world the truth about our homeland, and to be a passionate propagandist of the party's Leninist policy, which is aimed at strengthening the fraternal friendship and cooperation among the members of the socialist comity and rallying the world communist and workers movements on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

PRAVDA must continue energetically to support and develop the nationwide socialist competition among working people and their desire to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR -- this great holiday of our great multinational homeland -- with new successes in economic, scientific and cultural development.

The CC CPSU wishes PRAVDA -- its combat-tested organ, the PRAVDA collective, the newspaper's large aktiv and all Soviet journalists new successes in their noble efforts and expresses its confidence that they will continue to display high creative activeness and party principle-mindedness in their work for the sake of building communism and strengthening peace.

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CONCERN FOR THE PEOPLE'S INTERESTS IS A MATTER OF HONOR FOR THE KOMSOMOL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 82 pp 4-9

[L. I. Brezhnev's 18 May 1982 speech at the 19th Komsomol Congress]

[Text] Dear comrade delegates and guests of the congress!

In this solemn opening of the 19th Komsomol Congress, allow me to present to you, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all communists in the country the warm greetings and wishes for efficient and fruitful work (lengthy applause). We wish you, dear friends, and through you all Komsomol members and all Soviet young men and women great successes in life and work and great personal happiness (applause).

This year the Soviet people will solemnly celebrate the 65th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. These have been great although occasionally very difficult decades. We have gone through hardships and privations. We learned as we progressed, surmounting errors and blunders, and achieved successes which amazed the world. Our people sacrificed 20 million lives in the battle against the fascist aggressor in order to defend their achievements and the right to have their ideals.

During all that time the young people, led and inspired by the Leninist party, were in the front line. It is they, your predecessors, the legendary fighters of the Civil War, the shock workers of the first five-year plans, the heroes of the Great Patriotic War and the postwar restoration and the participants in the gigantic construction projects of recent decades, who created everything we have today (applause). They are passing on to you a priceless acquisition -- the first state of victorious socialism in the world, a society which is building communism. This legacy, comrades, contains everything which can make our wishes concerning you a reality. It is you, the youth of the 1980s, who will accomplish this through your efforts, skill and enthusiasm. We believe that you will be worthy of the historical tasks you face (applause).

Tyumen' and the BAM, Atommash, the Nonchernoziem and the powerful industrial complexes throughout the country are today's symbols of the labor heroism of the Soviet youth. Today the Komsomol is sponsoring 135 all-union shock construction projects of tremendous scale! Included in the labor report of

our youth for the period after the 18th Komsomol Congress are hundreds of new enterprises, a substantial contribution to land reclamation and successes in increasing crop yields and in the upsurge of animal husbandry. Obviously, all of this will be described by Comrade Pastukhov in his report and will be discussed by the delegates to the congress.

Today, however, the Komsomol's contribution to the development of the national economy and all areas in our social life must become even greater. The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress demand of the youth great energy and constant effort, for success cannot be achieved, to quote Lenin, "solely through the heroism of single thrusts, but requires the lengthiest, most persistent and most difficult heroism of mass daily work" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, pp 17-18).

Today we have 41 million Komsomol members and more than 450,000 primary Komsomol organizations. Naturally, this entire army cannot be found exclusively at all-union shock construction projects. It must be deployed throughout the entire Soviet Union. I would say that any sector in which Komsomol members are present must be considered a front line (lengthy applause).

You know that of late the party has made a number of important decisions on ways to upgrade work efficiency in our entire economy and to ensure further improvements in the people's living conditions. A CC CPSU plenum will be held soon to consider and approve the basic parameters of the food program.

Today the food program means higher yields and increased production of fertilizers and farm machinery, the upsurge of animal husbandry, the development of the mixed feed industry and the entire fodder base and excellent organization in processing farm products by urban and rural enterprises. It means waging a struggle against losses along the entire production chain, from fields and livestock farms to plant shops and stores, providing young people with proper working and living conditions and keeping them in agriculture.

Comrades, you are clearly faced with a vast and fertile ground for applying your efforts in this nationwide project! The Komsomol organizations and individual members in town and country must be clearly aware of their place in this tremendous project. They must assume specific obligations and report on their accomplishments. Only thus can the project become efficient (applause) and a truly Komsomol shock project (applause)!

Another most important economic and political assignment which the party now sets to the entire people is that of strictest possible economy, everywhere and in everything. We have tremendous resources at our disposal. The trouble is that frequently machines, metals, grain, raw materials, materials and fuel are not used quite sensibly, carefully and economically. This can no longer go on. If we succeed in eliminating this fault the country will become far richer and the people will live better (applause). Who if not the members of the Komsomol should pioneer the implementation of this most important project? So, comrades, do become such pioneers (lengthy applause)!

Everone's contribution, the example of the young enthusiasts, could be of priceless value. I am confident that the Komsomol will be able to find a

great variety of ways to participate in this common project. However, these ways must be lively and interesting and, above all, efficient. What matters most here are end results and their precise record. There must also be publicity, so that everyone can see who in our country is a thrifty manager and who is wasting the people's good (lengthy applause).

Concern for the interests of the people is a matter of honor for the Komsomol. It must be expressed through actions rather than words. At its last congress, the Komsomol had discussed the matter of assuming permanent and steady supervision of trade and consumer services and help in organizing them. Unfortunately, achievements in this area have remained insufficient.

Comrades, this is something for which a one-time thrust and even the best possible resolutions are insufficient. Many of our young people are working in trade and services and more are entering such work. Most of them are good and honest workers. However, today greater principle-mindedness and persistence in the efforts to eliminate shortcomings and misuses are required. It is no secret that many of our stores and service establishments are still not working the way they should. There are cases of rude behavior toward customers, negligent work and even thefts and violations of trade regulations. All of this greatly harms the citizens' interests. It is time to put an end to such defects (lengthy applause)!

Naturally, in this case the Komsomol members need the help of party, soviet and economic organs and their managers. Comrades, we promise to give you such help (applause). Let me put it this way: we expect of the Komsomol to set in this area the same type of example of model and dedicated work as on the BAM, for example. Nothing is petty here if it applies to the living conditions and the health of the Soviet people. Everything here is most important. My friends, you must always bear this in mind (lengthy applause).

Comrades, our youth is educated, talented and bold, as it should be. Youth is the dawn of life. It is the time when the person develops as an individual, as a citizen. That is why youth must always be learning and not only acquiring knowledge. It must learn how to work honestly, to see life in its entire complexity from the positions of Soviet patriotism and communist convictions. It must learn to be intolerant of even the slightest deviations from our social norms. It must go through the school of army training and learn how to master modern weaponry and equipment to perfection, in order to be always ready to defend the homeland (lengthy applause). Finally, it must become cultured and organized, able to value its own time and that of others and to respect its elders. In a word, it must become educated, good, decent and true citizens of the developed socialist society (lengthy applause).

That is precisely why the Komsomol exists -- to develop such qualities in the youth. This is above all the work of the Komsomol workers. It is time to face them with the most exigent requirements. Komsomol workers are not born. They become such by the trust of the youth collective and the party. This doubles their obligations (applause). Lenin cautioned that "we must most cautiously and patiently look for and find the true organizers, people with sober minds and practical cunning, people who combine loyalty to socialism with the ability to organize without fuss (and despite confusion and fussing)

the stable and united work of a large number of people within the framework of the Soviet organization. Only such people must be promoted to responsible positions, after testing them ten times over going from the simplest to the most difficult assignments..." (Ibid., Vol 36, pp 193-194).

Comrades, to this day this remains the wisest of all advice and the most reliable guideline in work with cadres, including those of the Komsomol. Stick to it and your success is guaranteed (applause).

Comrades, the All-Union Pioneer Organization imeni Vladimir Il'ich Lenin will be celebrating its 60th birthday. This is a splendid anniversary of the children, the permanent leader of whom is the Komsomol. Let us wish our splendid Pioneers to continue always to be ready to fight for the cause of the communist party (stormy and lengthy applause)!

Dear friends, you represent the part of our great people who will shape the country's future, the nature of which is more important to you than to anyone else, and not only for the Soviet people but for all mankind. What awaits the peoples? Peaceful construction and hard but noble efforts to secure for themselves happier and better living conditions or the badness and nightmare of nuclear destruction?

The policy of the most aggressive forms of imperialism today forces us to pose the question in precisely this manner. The answer depends on the extent to which the policy of the peace-loving countries will be active and consistent and the extent to which the multi-million strong popular masses will oppose the course of the promoters of a new world war and defend peace on earth (lengthy applause).

The special UN disarmament session will open in New York in 3 weeks' time. For its part, the Soviet Union will do everything possible to make it successful.

Today to speak of peace is not enough. Specific practical action is needed. The key task in this respect is to lower the level of nuclear confrontation in Europe, which has reached a dangerous level, and to put an end to the further growth of nuclear potentials here. We must not allow the real danger that a global nuclear fire break out in Europe, where two world wars have already originated.

The new round of talks on restricting nuclear weapons in Europe will open between the USSR and the United States in Geneva soon. Let us see how the Americans behave -- will they again merely let time drag on while preparing to deploy missiles or show willingness to reach an agreement?

The Soviet proposals regarding this problem are known. We have spoken out in favor of the total elimination of all medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. The West's objection is that this is going too far. We have suggested the reduction of such weapons by more than one third and have been told that this is not enough. So, let us find mutually acceptable levels, for we are ready to accept even greater reductions -- naturally on a reciprocal basis.

In order to help matters, recently the Soviet Union unilaterally stopped the further deployment of medium-range missiles in the European part of the USSR and resolved to reduce their number. I can report that we are already engaged in a considerable reduction in the number of such missiles. Such specific peaceful actions by our country were welcomed throughout the world. However, some people in the West are trying to question their significance.

It is being claimed, for example, that the decision made by the Soviet Union does not prevent it from deploying our missiles in the future in such a way that even behind the Urals they could reach the Western European countries. I can most firmly state that no medium-range missiles will be additionally deployed in places where they could reach the FRG and the other Western European countries.

It is also being asked whether the decision we made concerning a unilateral freeze includes preparations for the deployment of missiles. Yes, it does. It also includes stopping the construction of launching platforms for such missiles.

One more remark. The U. S. government is also asking the USSR to freeze and in general to remove such rockets deployed in the eastern part of our country. This is a truly absurd demand! The question of limiting and restricting such missiles can be resolved but only as a result of talks with those who have nuclear weapons opposing our missiles, and again on a reciprocal basis. We have no objection to such talks but, understandably, this is a different matter.

The fate of war and peace greatly depends also on whether or not a Soviet-American agreement on limiting and reducing strategic armaments will be reached. Such an agreement should be honest and equitable and not damaging to anyone's interests.

The Soviet Union has invariably favored talks leading to such an agreement without delays or strings. Our position has repeatedly -- both publicly and through diplomatic channels -- been told to the American side.

Now President Reagan as well has said that the United States is ready to resume talks. We consider this a step in the right direction. It is important, however, for such talks to start on a proper key from the onset.

In that same speech the President said that in the course of the talks the United States will be calling for substantial reductions. Well, we have always favored substantial reductions in strategic armaments and do not have to be propagandized in this respect.

However, if we consider the essence of the thoughts expressed by the U. S. President on the subject of such reductions, unfortunately we find out that the American position is totally unilateral. The main reason is that the United States would like to leave out of the discussions the types of strategic armaments which it is developing most intensively at present.

It is no accident that in the United States itself competent people immediately stated that this is an unrealistic or maybe simply insincere position. It is directly aimed at harming the security of the USSR while giving Washington a free hand in implementing the American programs for increasing strategic armaments.

It would be difficult to avoid the conclusion that the position stated by the U. S. President is aimed not at reaching an agreement but at securing the conditions which would enable Washington to pursue its efforts at achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union.

What is required for such talks to progress successfully and lead to an agreement?

Briefly stated, first of all, the talks must truly pursue the aim of limiting and reducing strategic armaments instead of becoming a screen behind which the arms race and violation of the existing parity will be pursued.

Secondly, both sides must conduct the talks in accordance with their legitimate interests of mutual security and strictly in accordance with the principles of equality and identical security.

Finally, everything positive already achieved must be retained, for the talks are not starting from scratch but on the basis of extensive and quite useful work already done. This should not be ignored.

We are convinced that only with such an approach could one hope to reach an agreement on the adoption of specific measures leading to a substantial reduction in the strategic armaments of both countries.

Another exceptionally important thing is reliably to block all channels permitting a continuing strategic armament race whatever its shape. This means that the development of new kinds of strategic weapons must either be banned or maximally limited to agreed upon parameters.

We are also making the following suggestion:

We are ready to agree on freezing strategic U. S. and Soviet weapons now, the moment the talks begin. They must be frozen quantitatively and their modernization restricted to a minimum.

Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union should engage in any sort of action which would disturb the stability of the strategic situation. Such a freeze, important for its own sake, would also facilitate progress toward a radical limitation and reduction of strategic weapons.

Briefly stated, such is our position on the problem of strategic weapons.

Peace is not a gift from above and its preservation and consolidation demand a daily hard struggle. You, the young, were given the lucky opportunity to live in peace, unfamiliar with the disasters of war. This valuable acquisition must be valued and preserved (stormy and lengthy applause).

Together with you, dear friends, dozens of foreign delegations are participating in the work of the congress as representatives of the youth of all continents. We welcome the young fighters for peace and for the bright ideals of mankind and call upon them to strengthen their solidarity and firmly to defend the peaceful future of the planet! The baton of peace is in the hands of the young generation on earth (stormy and tempestuous applause).

Long live the Leninist Komsomol, the loyal assistant of the party (stormy applause)!

Glory to the Soviet youth (stormy applause)!

Long live the Soviet people -- the builder of communism!

(Stormy and lengthy applause. Everybody stands up. The hall echoes with long ovations. Delegates and guests propose toasts to the CPSU and chant "Lenin, Party, Komsomol!")

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## CONSISTENT AND HONEST PEACE POLICY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 82 pp 10-20

[Text] The Soviet people are approaching a noteworthy event -- the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with the historical optimism inherent in our way of life and the conviction that the great and complex task of building communism will be successfully carried out and that our great homeland will become even stronger, richer and more beautiful. The Soviet people are welcoming the great anniversary of our multinational state with persistent and heroic toil and new successes in implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and in the struggle for building communism in our country and strengthening peace throughout the world. The peoples of the Soviet Union totally and unreservedly support the foreign policy of the communist party and the Soviet state aimed at preserving and strengthening peace, which is now threatened by the aggressive intrigues of imperialism, militarism and revanchism, curbing the arms race, preserving and intensifying detente and eliminating the increasing threat of war.

With feelings of deep respect and love, the multinational friends of the Soviet Union -- the offspring of Lenin's brilliant thinking and the revolutionary creativity of the working people of the homeland of the Great October Revolution -- describe it as the flag bearer of real socialism. The Soviet ship of state is sailing the ocean of world politics purposefully, without deviating even by an iota from the course set to it by the great leader of the proletarian revolution. The nearly 6.5 decades which have passed since the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia convincingly prove that this ship can honorably withstand all the storms hurled at it by the bad international weather, and surmount any difficulties and obstacles, be they shattering war hurricanes, the reefs of imperialist provocations or the pack ice of the Cold War. Increasing its might year after year, the Soviet Union us confidently laying a path to the communist future -- the path which all mankind is destined to follow.

The USSR -- a powerful country founded on the basis of the fraternal alliance of the peoples of the Soviet republics, born in the purifying flames of the Great October Socialist Revolution -- did not appear during an accidental twist in the historical fairway or as a result of someone's whim. With the founding of the USSR the international working class, represented by the Russian proletariat acquired new levers for revolutionary transforming

activities within the Soviet Union's state borders as well as new means for influencing the world's situation in the interests of peace, freedom of the peoples and social progress. A governmental system was born, through whose policies the struggle for the fulfillment of the age-old dream of the greatest minds of mankind and the humanistic ideals of the leading social movements of their time was finally implemented.

The need for a firm governmental alliance among the peoples of the land of the soviets, who entered the struggle, was dictated by the objective course of global social developments, the task of building a new society and, not least, the reliable defense of the gains of the October Revolution from imperialist invasion. It was obvious that imperialism, which has used diplomatic isolation, economic blockade, armed intervention and other means in its efforts to destroy the new social system, would resort to similar actions again and again. Awaiting Soviet Russia were new "horrible clashes with the imperialists and a new round of war against the aggressors." Based on these facts, V. I. Lenin drew a conclusion the accuracy of which was comprehensively confirmed by subsequent developments: in order to withstand imperialist pressure and to defend the gains of the revolution, the Soviet republics had to unite within the USSR and to strengthen it. This was also needed by "the universal communist proletariat in its struggle against the universal bourgeoisie and in protecting itself from its intrigues" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 45, p 360).

By then Lenin had already comprehensively developed the basic principles and norms of the new and unparalleled socialist foreign policy, based on the ideology of the communists and the great and noble objectives of their struggle. The Soviet system was born under the sign of Lenin's Decree on Peace. The class and revolutionary content of the entire policy of the first state of workers and peasants predetermined its further tireless and persistent struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace.

Objective historical conditions -- the parallel existence of countries belonging to different sociopolitical system -- dictated the main content of the Soviet foreign policy formulated by Lenin for the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism: a course of peaceful coexistence ("peaceful cohabitation," to use his term) between countries with different social systems. This course meant acknowledging the nations' right to self determination and independent governmental life, respect for national sovereignty, noninterference in their internal affairs and acknowledgement of the equality among all peoples and countries. The fact that one of the initial actions of the young Soviet state in the international arena was drafting a specific program for general disarmament and mutually profitable economic relations with the capitalist states, formulated on Lenin's initiative in 1922, was both significant and symbolic.

Loyalty to the banner of socialism and peace, to which the Soviet state swore allegiance at the time of its birth, is the foundation of all its international activities, successes and accomplishments. Lenin's ideas and concepts are codified in the decisions of the party and the superior state organs of the land of the soviets and now in the new USSR Constitution. They define the approach of the Soviet state to all problems of relations among countries

and peoples. Soviet foreign policy, which is socialist in content, consistently internationalist and truly democratic in all its manifestations, is one of the main sources of strength and prestige of our homeland and world socialism. The CPSU and the Soviet people remain fully resolved to follow the principles of Lenin's foreign policy course of peace and friendship among the peoples steadfastly while, at the same time, firmly counteracting the imperialist policy of military adventures and provocations, the arms race and the export of counterrevolution and colonialism in all of its aspects.

The chronologically short period of Soviet foreign policy has gone through a number of periods. It has had to face a variety of international conditions and to resolve various specific problems in the struggle for the implementation of the basic foreign policy principles of socialism. The USSR remained under hostile capitalist encirclement for more than 2 decades and constantly had to face the aggressive sallies and maneuverings of the imperialist forces. The Soviet state used maximal efforts and did everything it could to block the path of the fascist aggressors and their allies, who were promoting a second world war, and to prevent the creation of a worldwide imperialist military alliance against the country of victorious socialism. During the hard and heroic years of the Great Patriotic War Soviet foreign policy helped to strengthen the alliance among the freedom loving peoples who were fighting the fascist enslavers. The possibility of organizing an effective political and military cooperation between countries with different social systems, which were members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, was practically proven.

The universal-historical victory of the Soviet people and its valorous armed forces over the fascist aggressor inaugurated a new stage in international developments and contributed to a decisive extent to the success of a number of socialist revolutions in Europe and Asia. The world socialist system was founded. A large number of countries freed from colonial dependence emerged in the arena of independent foreign policy.

Therefore, a qualitatively new situation developed in the global ratio of forces and in international relations, contributive to the cause of progress and the preservation of peace. The consistently peaceful foreign policy course of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, based on this change in the ratio of forces, brought about a transition from the period of aggravated confrontation between capitalism and socialism during the first postwar decades -- a period known as the Cold War -- to detente. Thanks to the efforts of the USSR and the members of the socialist comity, many facets in the world's situation improved and a number of important agreements and treaties were concluded, which greatly normalized international contacts. The threat of a new world war was largely eliminated.

However, from the very beginning of detente it was obvious that the aggressive imperialist forces were trying and would continue to try to hinder the further application of the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations and will try to change the direction of global social development. The world situation worsened greatly at the turn of the 1980s as a result of the attempts made by these forces to change in their favor the strategic military balance which had developed in the world between capitalism and socialism. The 26th CPSU Congress offered an exhaustive

characterization of the current state of affairs in the imperialist camp. It pointed out that the worsening of the general crisis of capitalism and the difficulties experienced by the capitalist system are also affecting the foreign policy of the capitalist countries and are energizing the enemies of detente, arms limitation and improved relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The expansionism and the striving toward preparations for and unleashing wars, the creation of military blocs and the arms race, which characterize imperialist foreign policy in general, are manifested in an aggravated form in the foreign and military policies of the ruling circles of the largest imperialist country -- the United States.

The course charted by the aggressive imperialist circles, headed by the United States, can only create concern over the future development of events. The fate of detente in Europe, where peaceful coexistence between countries and peoples has become most tangible, and elsewhere is now questioned. These same circles continue to exacerbate international tension and are mounting fierce attacks against the forces of peace, democracy and progress. They want social revenge, so to say, and to implement impossible plans -- to turn mankind back to the times of unchallenged imperialist rule, and to block the path of liberation movements and progressive changes throughout the globe. For the sake of reaching such goals they are pushing mankind to the brink of a nuclear conflict fraught with danger to all nations.

Of late, attempts to restrict real socialism and to weaken the international positions of the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity have assumed a most important role in imperialist activities. The American ruling circles have called for "exhausting" and "bleeding white" the Soviet Union through an increasingly intensified arms race, although the economy of both the United States and its NATO allies has been giving clear indications of reeling under the burden of increased armaments. Various "sanctions" and other discriminatory measures are being applied in the vain attempts to hinder further economic progress in the socialist countries and to promote discord among them. Intending to interfere in Polish domestic affairs, the imperialist authors of peace-threatening plans are pursuing their efforts to poison the general climate of international relations and to avoid any possible East-West dialogue.

The psychological warfare being waged on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and all progressive forces of our time with the participation of high government officials of the United States and some other NATO countries, with the help of the latest technical communication and mass information facilities, is a mandatory component of imperialism's aggressive foreign policy.

Anti-Soviet and anticommunist propaganda has an old history. However, it has never been so intensive, hysterical and brazen as today. "...The web of lies in the history of mankind," was the way the present big lie of the anti-Soviets and anticommunists was characterized by G. Hall, U. S. Communist Party secretary general. The immediate objective of the slanderous fabrications regarding communist ideology, Soviet foreign policy and the socialist way of life is to disorient the broad population strata in various countries.

The long-term objective is to prepare the Western public for a possible military and even nuclear conflict with the socialist countries.

The threatening clouds of war are gathering over Europe in particular. It is precisely here that the foes of peaceful coexistence would like to initiate the practical destruction of the foundations of mutually profitable cooperation among countries belonging to different social systems and to destabilize the existing military-strategic balance, in order to question the results of all postwar developments in the world. It is precisely here that they try to strike their hardest blow at the principles of equality and identical security of the sides, which has become the inviolable foundation of the normalization of international relations, and at the principle of inviolability of the state borders which were set as a result of WW II, and which are the basis of detente. It is precisely Western Europe that the military strategists across the ocean would like to turn into a launching pad for medium-range nuclear missiles, turning it into a lightning rod which would absorb the retaliation, should the U. S. militarists start a military conflict. Washington's now familiar intentions of deploying on Western European soil barbaric means for the mass destruction of people, such as the neutron bomb and deadly chemicals, give an even more sinister coloring to the general picture of the mortal danger threatening entire European countries and peoples.

This does not apply to Europe alone. The most reactionary imperialist circles now ruling the United States are trying to redraw the political map of the entire world. They arbitrarily declare vast areas on all continents zones of U. S. "vital interest." They give themselves the "right" to issue order to some countries and to judge and "punish" others. Washington tries to destabilize governments and countries it finds unsuitable.

Militant imperialism and the forces of world reaction are threatening the cause of universal peace with their efforts to militarize some parts of Asia and the basins of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The foreign policy pursued by the Reagan administration in the Middle East has led to a sharp aggravation of tension. Here Washington is trying to assert and broaden its military and political presence seemingly at all cost. The situation in the Caribbean Basin and in Central America has worsened considerably, and tension is rising in Africa as a result of the impudent U. S. interference in the affairs of nations fighting for their liberation.

As a whole, it is entirely obvious that international relations have reached a clear division of the road. One of the forks leads to strengthening peace and developing peaceful cooperation among all countries with a strict respect for the independence, rights and interests of every single one of them on the basis of nonintervention in their domestic affairs and joint efforts to strengthen general security and mutual trust. The other leads to a dangerous balancing on the brink of war to which the newly-hatched supporters of confrontation are actively pushing mankind.

In the complex and tense situation caused by the actions of imperialist forces in international relations, today as in the past the Soviet state is countering their aggressive course with a policy of active defense of peace and bolstering of international safety. It is conscientiously implementing

the national mandate of doing everything possible to fulfill the hopes of the working people in our country and around the world for stable peace and for preserving a serene sky. "As far as the Soviet Union is concerned," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman emphasized at the 17th Soviet Trade Unions Congress, "we are pursuing firmly and steadfastly a course of durable peace and peaceful and mutually beneficial cooperation among all countries, regardless of their social and political system."

The Soviet state does not weaken even for a single day its struggle for eliminating the threat of a nuclear world war and for restraining the arms race, a struggle which it is waging together with the forces of peace throughout the globe. The USSR will continue to wage it as long as the threat of war remains and a lasting peace has not been secured once and for all. The efforts to protect mankind from a thermonuclear catastrophe by curbing the arms race, preserving and strengthening detente and implementing the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations determine the basic strategic line of current Soviet foreign policy. "The CPSU has proceeded and proceeds," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "from the fact that the class struggle between the capitalist and socialist systems will continue in economics, politics and, naturally, ideology. However, we shall try to wage this historically inevitable struggle without the threat of war, dangerous conflicts and uncontrolled arms race."

International relations today are complex and comprehensive. This is a reflection of the realities of today's world -- the ratio of forces between the two opposite socioeconomic systems, which is continuing to change in favor of socialism, and the existence of different governmental systems which develop according to their own laws. The consequence of this is the contradictoriness in relations among countries, changing combinations, and a political confrontation between countries with different systems, based on the conflicting interests of their respective ruling classes, on the one hand, and their interaction with a view to preserving peace, developing mutually profitable economic and scientific and technical relations and solving a number of worsening global problems, on the other. Under these circumstances, the great vital power of Marxism-Leninism is a reliable compass for the Soviet state.

In the difficult international situation at the start of the 1980s, the 26th CPSU Congress armed the party and the Soviet people with a clear mobilizing program for construction and peace for the immediate future. The inflammatory and provocative imperialist course was countered by the congress with the adoption of a positive and constructive position of systematic struggle for strengthening peace, intensifying detente and curbing the arms race. It indicated a real way for the solution of the entire set of explosive problems facing today's global politics. The peace program for the 1980s, which was formulated by the congress and subsequently supplemented by a number of new peace initiatives, indicates specific and realistic ways for reducing the threat of war, intensifying detente and developing extensive cooperation among countries with different systems. It provides the opportunity to resolve complex international problems through honest talks among equals. As we know, in its appeal "To the Parliaments and the Peoples of the World" the USSR Supreme Soviet, the supreme authority in the Soviet Union, called for

firmly supporting the kind of talks which would prevent the initiation of a new round in the nuclear arms race.

For more than a year the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress, which is the organic extension and development of the same ideas formulated at the 24th and 25th congresses in terms of the most topical problems of today, has been a most important factor in international life. Its significance and degree of influence on world affairs are increasing thanks to the active and systematic efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet state to implement its basic stipulations. As always, the Central Committee and the Soviet government deal with foreign policy problems on an extensive daily basis, ensuring the prompt formulation of proposals and initiatives related to resolving ripe problems and formulating measures for the implementation of decisions.

As confirmed by recent events, the intents of the reactionary imperialist circles are continuing to pose serious threats to the cause of peace. However, these same events also expose the internal weakness and futility of such intents. They prove the existence of real opportunities for upsetting the imperialist plans through the active and united efforts of peace-loving countries and peoples.

The new peace initiatives formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 17th Trade Unions Congress, 19th Komsomol Congress and 24 March Tashkent speech, are models of effective Marxist-Leninist approach to the present difficult international situation, an approach based on the comprehensive analysis of the specific realities of the development of the situation and on the peaceful principles governing Soviet foreign policy.

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, today it is particularly important to reach sensible agreements with the other side regarding the reciprocal reduction of the level of military confrontation. Priority is given to the problem of reducing nuclear weapons in Europe which, given the circumstances, is the key problem in stopping the growing threat of a global nuclear-missile war. As indicated by the course of events, the decision of the Soviet leadership to proclaim a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in the European part of the USSR became a powerful incentive for energizing the political and social forces throughout the world which are trying to move this matter away from dead center. Let us recall that this moratorium will apply either until an agreement has been reached with the United States on reducing the number of medium range nuclear missiles to be deployed in Europe, on the basis of equality and identical security, or until the U. S. leadership, scorning the security of the nations, nevertheless undertakes practical steps for the deployment of its new missiles in Europe. In his speech at the 19th Komsomol Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev specifically proposed the freezing of USSR and United States strategic weapons at their present levels and limiting their updating to a maximal extent. Furthermore, as a gesture of good will, the Soviet Union has already undertaken to reduce somewhat the number of its medium-range missiles.

In a situation in which the American side is avoiding the practical discussion of substantially reducing the nuclear arsenals of both countries, these proposals clearly prove the desire of the Soviet Union for peace and its

belief that a mutually acceptable agreement is possible. Undoubtedly, were the United States to follow this example, under the present circumstances all interested countries would gain very useful time for engaging in serious thinking and making responsible decisions for the good of world peace, while the ratio of forces would remain approximately equal.

Unlike the demagogic position of the American administration aimed at gaining one-sided advantages, the Soviet Union favors a substantial reduction in strategic armaments, bearing in mind the legitimate interests of both sides and based strictly on the principles of equality and identical security.

The Soviet side has clearly formulated many other questions of sharply topical importance: prior to the resumption of USSR-United States talks on limiting strategic armaments, both countries would agree not to open new channels for the arms race and not to deploy long-range sea- and land-based cruise missiles; to reciprocally limit naval operations, specifically restricting by mutual agreement the navigation areas of missile-carrying submarines; and to discuss the question of extending the measure of trust to seas and oceans, particularly along the most heavily travelled sea lanes. It would like to reach an agreement with Japan on measures to strengthen the trust between the two countries acceptable to either sides.

The Soviet Union believes that a sensible and just solution of international disputes is possible. It favors a considered approach to them in order to eliminate the existing hotbeds of tension and to prevent the appearance of new ones. The USSR does not pose ultimata when it submits to the Western countries proposals covering a vast range of problems related to normalizing the international situation. It calls for constructive talks leading to the solution of topical problems. However, there can not even be a question of any unilateral concessions or disarmament on the part of our country as the American administration, for example, is trying to achieve.

As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, the global situation is largely determined by Soviet and U. S. policy. The state of relations between them and the gravity of problems demanding a solution dictate the need for a Soviet-American dialogue. Experience has proved that the decisive step in this case is that of summit meetings. In his 18 April answer to the question asked by PRAVDA's correspondent, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev once again indicated the readiness of the Soviet side to hold such meetings, providing that they are properly prepared and substantive. He emphasized that "We favor the type of Soviet-American summit meeting which would be consistent with the high responsibility of our countries for the state of world affairs and would justify the hopes it engenders."

The proposals which the Soviet Union has formulated in recent times are the legitimate extension and development of the peace program for the 1980s. They make its stipulations more profound and detailed and introduce new constructive elements in the sum total of major foreign policy initiatives taken by our country, covering precisely problems of particular importance under the present circumstances. The restraints and self-possession shown by the Soviet Union and its allies, as the supporters of peace have noted, and the consistently peaceful policy of the members of the socialist comity,

noted for its considered nature, calm and confidence, and above all their economic and defense power are the main bulwark of peace on earth.

What can imperialism offer to counter the concern for the future of all mankind shown by the Soviet Union? We see the same old unwillingness, to put it mildly, on the part of the Reagan administration to assist in resolving problems related to reducing the arms race, above all the nuclear one, and to settle disputes. Is this not confirmed by the very fact that Washington does not even want to hear of the Soviet suggestion that all countries solemnly refuse to be the first to use nuclear weapons, a proposal the adoption of which would most decisively improve the world situation? We cannot fail to see behind this the intention of preserving a state of tension in international relations, to dictate one's will to the world's community and, should the situation appear favorable, to resort to military force, including nuclear weapons, in order to save the exploiters' regime?

The only possible answer to such a line of behavior in international affairs is the following: the entire history of the Soviet state proves that a policy of force, diktat and threats against the first country of victorious socialism is futile. Such was the case in the past, and such it will remain in the future. No one can frighten the Soviet Union. It has strong nerves and has been tempered well.

History also teaches us that those who value peace and the freedom and independence of the peoples must be able to defend them reliably. The aggressive militaristic course of the NATO bloc, headed by the United States, forces our country to take the necessary measures to maintain its defense capability on the necessary level. The armed forces of the USSR, surrounded by the love of our entire people, are vigilantly standing guard over the new society. They have everything they need to block any aggression promptly and firmly.

However, the view of the Soviet Union is that the future of the development of international relations does not lead to the aggravation of the power confrontation. The main task which the CPSU and the Soviet state set for themselves is not one of preparations for one more military clash with imperialism but energetic support of the preservation and consolidation of everything positive already achieved in recent decades, in order to normalize the global situation in accordance with the basic interests of mankind. Such a policy enjoys the invariable support of the Soviet people and is based on their patriotism and profound devotion to the homeland. The constructive creativity of the Soviet people and all of our accomplishments in the field of peaceful construction become particularly important against the background of today's international situation. This means, above all, engaging in conscientious and initiative-minded work for the common good, all-round enhancement of work efficiency and quality, active participation in the solution of national problems and the further strengthening of the economic and defense power of the USSR and the world socialist comity.

The great strength of Soviet foreign policy, as demonstrated every day and every hour, is that it is based on the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the objective laws governing global developments and its faultless consideration of the ratio of forces which develops in the international arena under

specific circumstances. Every single step taken by our diplomacy is based on Lenin's behests of drawing proper lessons from the past, being accurately guided in the present and considering the future. It has always obeyed Lenin's stipulation that "Marxism demands of us the most precise and objectively verifiable consideration of the class ratio and the specific features of each moment in history" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 31, p 132).

The accuracy of any policy is verified by practice. In this respect, Soviet foreign policy meets even the strictest criteria. The Soviet Union has unquestionably proved its ability increasingly to influence the development of all contemporary international relations. No one can deny this great accomplishment of Soviet foreign policy, for life itself confirms that today no major problem of international development can be resolved without the participation of the USSR.

The high principle-mindedness of Soviet diplomacy and its refusal to involve itself in circumstantial and unprincipled deals have made it a model worthy of emulation. Each step taken by Soviet diplomacy is profoundly substantiated and ideologically and politically sound. It combines firmness and principle-mindedness with flexibility and readiness to cooperate and reach agreements on specific problems and to make mutually acceptable compromises in order to reach just and humane objectives. Soviet diplomacy is distinguished by its restraint and ability not to react to provocations and to find peaceful means for settling conflicts. The stability or, to use a modern word, the predictability of the foreign policy course of the USSR, based on its loyalty to Lenin's behests, is the best guarantee for its reliability. The entire world knows that the USSR has never violated any norm of international law, treaty or agreement.

Western political experts like to fabricate various plans and to speculate on possible twists in international development. In the final account, however, most of them prove to be false prophets, for their plans and alternatives rest on wishfulness rather than on the plausibility based the inviolable laws of social progress discovered by Marxism-Leninism. It is no accident that some bourgeois analysts compare the present situation of the ruling Western circles with the one which had developed during the fall of the Roman Empire, when the ruling elite was unable to resolve or even to comprehend the nature of the problems of the times. Fortunately for mankind, the forces of real socialism, which are now an increasingly influential component of global development, clearly see the main trends of the historical process.

The Soviet state has many loyal friends and allies in the world. In turn, it is their reliable support and partner on whose inflexible friendship and loyalty to obligations as an ally they can rely entirely. The fraternal members of the socialist comity are our closest friends and fellow-workers in constructive labor and the liberation struggle. Life has convincingly proved the influential and noble role which the activities of the Warsaw Pact, its Political Consultative Committee above all, play in European and world affairs. The socialist countries are countering the militaristic course of imperialism with their coordinated Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, constructive initiatives and honest dialog. As their joint foreign policy documents have repeatedly emphasized, the socialist countries have never had,

nor will ever have a strategic doctrine other than defense. The increased power of the socialist comity is a reliable guarantee for strengthening the peace and security of the peoples.

A growing number of members of the world community of nations, the young developing countries in particular, support the policy of peace and mutually profitable cooperation pursued by the Soviet Union. In turn, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "We consider the fact that world policy is no longer the monopoly of a few countries and that an increasing number of countries are actively participating in its making a very positive phenomenon."

Many soberly thinking members of Western bourgeois political and business circles realize the danger to the true national interests of their countries and even to their sociopolitical structure of the path along which the reactionary forces of monopoly capital would like to lead the world. With increasing frequency and persistence they are calling from the rostrums of parliaments, in official statements and documents, in the press and in speeches at conferences and mass meetings for changes in the foreign policy course pursued by Washington and its NATO allies and for a return to the intensification of detente and development of peaceful mutually profitable cooperation among countries belonging to different systems. Undoubtedly, the antiwar movement in the capitalist countries is a major factor in strengthening their resolve to struggle for the kind of political change represented by this phenomenon of unparalleled scope and range of members of such a wide variety of social strata involved in it. This movement, which showed once again its strength and resolve to struggle for removing the threat of nuclear war in the course of the recent large demonstrations held in Western Europe, the United States, Japan, Australia and Canada, is gathering step by step the type of strength which the leading political forces in these countries must increasingly take into consideration. Now, when the preparations for the second special UN General assembly disarmament session have been completed, many countries and representatives of the broadest possible circles of the peace-loving public are energizing their efforts. They intend to make active use of this most important international forum for developing in the world a climate of intolerance of the criminal foreign policy adventurism of the militaristic imperialist forces and the words and actions of the supporters of the arms race, who could bring about the fall of human civilization.

The struggle which the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity are waging against the intrigues of the supporters of political adventurism and militarism and for the triumph of common sense and mutual understanding among the peoples offers millions of people in the various countries real hope that the present alarming trends in the development of the world situation will be surmounted. The prospect of peaceful progress they are offered is a real scientifically tested possibility. The principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems consistent with the policy of detente, given the current ratio of forces in the world, have deep roots and are strongly backed by powerful peaceful forces in the international arena. A thermonuclear catastrophe can be averted and

detente can be developed further and gain a firm material base as a result of the implementation of practical measures which, in the final account, would eliminate war from the life of the international community. Unquestionably, the struggle for this objective will be long and hard and will entail considerable difficulties. However, it is only the ardent foes of the principles of peaceful coexistence, blinded by their class hatred of social progress, who are unable to see and take into consideration the process of the gradual implementation of these principles in international practice and their increasing prestige in the social consciousness of the masses.

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## ECONOMICAL USE OF NONFERROUS METALS

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[Article by P. Lomako, USSR minister of nonferrous metallurgy]

[Text]

### I

Scientific and technical progress greatly increases the need of the country's national economy for materials which can withstand heavy loads, high stress, complex temperature conditions and the effect of an aggressive chemical environment. Nonferrous and rare metals and their alloys hold a leading position among them.

Nonferrous metallurgy faces major tasks in the 11th Five-Year Plan. We must strengthen the sector's raw material base, improve the comprehensive and full use of the raw materials, accelerate the application of effective technological processes and high-power machinery in extracting and treating ores and concentrates and improve the quality and variety of output. Nonferrous metallurgy must increase the production of aluminum, copper, nickel, cobalt, tungsten and molybdenum concentrates, niobium and other alloying elements.

The production of semiconductors, extrapure and special materials, precision alloys with improved properties, economical types of rolled metals, bimetals, fine aluminum and copper eletrolytic foil, powders, high-precision nonrefaceable hard-alloy blades and mineral-ceramic items must be developed at a high pace. The collection, procurement and treatment of nonferrous metal scrap and waste must be increased considerably as well.

Nonferrous metals and alloys are most scarce and expensive materials, the ore reserves of which cannot be replenished. This necessitates the conservation of nonferrous metals and their economical and efficient use in the course of their extraction, production and utilization. The sectorial ministry, all-union industrial associations, enterprises and scientific research and design institutes are steadily engaged in resolving topical problems related to the production and consumption structure of nonferrous metal.

Considerable forces and funds have been allocated for strengthening the ore base and mining, and the development and use of new progressive technological processes which will ensure the fuller extraction not only of base but secondary metals and other goods needed by the national economy.

The comprehensive use of raw materials offers a broad field of activity to scientists and production workers. Work in this direction is being done in all areas of nonferrous metallurgy. For example, new highly effective agents are being used in ore concentration. The waste of the concentration factories is being processed and ores are being enriched in heavy suspensions. The use of this technology at the Zyryanovsk Lead Combine, Vostochno-Kazakhstanskaya Oblast, reduced the volume of stored waste by 30 percent and the use of agents by 20 percent. The commissioning of the new shop for high-temperature leaching of zinc cake at the Leninogorsk Polymetals Combine in the same oblast made possible the hydrometallurgical processing of up to 75,000 tons of zinc cake per year and the increase level of zinc extraction. As a result of this technology, no more zinc cake dumps will be formed and the extraction of useful ore components will be increased considerably.

The application of new autogenous technological processes has been undertaken in the metallurgical industry, including in the processing of copper-zinc and lead concentrates.

Cooperation between industrial workers and scientists is essential in solving major scientific and technical problems. Contacts between sectorial institutes and enterprises and scientists at the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Ukrainian and Kazakh academies have strengthened in recent years.

Our party's Central Committee and the Soviet government are always concerned with improving the intersectorial structure in the consumption of nonferrous, rare and precious metals. Over the past 10 years a number of important decisions on the conservation of nonferrous metals in various economic sectors have been made. Their implementation has yielded substantial results.

In the 1970s the sectorial enterprises and institutes greatly helped to improve availability of better quality and more reliable metals, materials and goods. The production of more than 800 new types of rolled and extruded items (rods, pipes and copper, brass and bronze sheets) was mastered. The production of rolled metal goods, fine copper strips, fine copper tubing, 7-14-micrometer thick aluminum foil, electrolytic copper powders, aluminum and aluminum-alloy powders, tungsten, titanium and items made of rare and precious metals in short supply was increased considerably. The production of a wide variety of economical shapes was especially organized to meet the requirements of the electrical engineering industry, including collector strips of improved accuracy and strength, made of alloyed copper for use in electrical machinery, hollow shaped pieces for the cooled coils of powerful generators, periodical cross-section pieces for the Sayano-Shushen GES, etc.

About 70 percent of the chips from the tremendous amount of the machined metal come from tools equipped with hard-alloy blades. In order to save on tungsten, the ministry focused on expanding the use of new hard-alloy items developed by Soviet scientists and production workers, such as multiple-side nonrefaceable blades, some of them lined with nonwearable materials or made of tungsten-free and mineral-ceramic hard alloys.

As a result of the increased strength of the tools equipped with multiple-edge wear-resistant blades alone, and a sixfold increase in the volume of

reusable chips the national economy saved 170 million rubles in the 10th Five-Year Plan. More than 25,000 machine-tool workers were conventionally released and about 1,350 tons of tungsten concentrate were saved.

The production of multiple-edge nonrefaceable cutters will be doubled by 1985, while the production of wearproof blades will be increased by a factor of 4.2. The production of tungsten-free and mineral-ceramic hard alloys will be increased by a factor of 3.3 and 2 respectively, which will make saving more than 650 tons of scarce tungsten possible. The use of new types of progressive tools in the ore mining industry in the 11th Five-Year Plan will enable us to release about 2,500 people conventionally. The use of multiple-edge nonrefaceable blades will save us more than 250 million rubles between and about 10,000 machine-tool operators will be (conventionally) released between 1981 and 1985.

The production of new types of tungsten-free hard alloys of greater durability and surfacing materials, with the use of powder metallurgy, and other high-quality items has been planned as well.

A special conference was held at the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy with the participation of the USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the heads of the ministries of machine building, ferrous metallurgy and chemical industry and representatives of the USSR Academy of Sciences to discuss the main directions in upgrading the efficiency of the utilization of nonferrous metals in the national economy. Shortcomings in the use of metal were closely studied and the involved sectors are focusing considerable forces on their elimination.

Some of the main problems being resolved by the sector's metallurgical workers this five-year plan are expanding the variety of rolled metal pieces, mastering the production of new and highly effective shapes, improving the qualitative features of nonferrous and rare metal alloys, producing hard alloy and heat resistant materials and developing powder metallurgy.

In discussing the development of metallurgy, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress that "...There is also another way to eliminate metal shortages -- the more skillful and complete utilization of what is being produced." Accordingly, taking available experience into consideration, the ministry is paying greater attention to improving production technology and organization and intensifying and expanding production relations with other industrial sectors.

The Krasnyy Vyborzhets Production Association in Leningrad, a leading enterprise in nonferrous metal processing, has considerably increased its variety of output. Its collective called for achieving end national economic results by producing economical types of items and developed a flexible system of relations with consuming enterprises, which enables it to undertake the production of new items within a short time. The experience of that enterprise was applied in other plants and is being extensively disseminated throughout the sector.

The USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy has been long involved in the production of powder nonferrous metals and alloys, thus meeting important economic requirements. Increasing such output is among the sector's vital tasks in the conservation of scarce metal. Powder metallurgy is highly profitable. Each 1,000 tons of powder metallurgy items saves 1.5 million rubles, releases 180 workers and saves up to 2.5 thousand tons of rolled metal. Steps are being taken to develop new more economical powders and plans call for the production of powders from titanium sponge, copper and copper alloys.

Reducing enterprise production losses offers substantial opportunities for more effective nonferrous metal use, such as reducing unrecoverable waste in smelting, casting, hot treatment and pickling, and processing losses of ore, concentrates and metals throughout the stages of the metallurgical production process. Our enterprise and institute collectives have been mobilized to ensure the fastest and fullest possible utilization of these important reserves. A special program is being implemented to reduce raw aluminum use by 17,000 tons and that of heavy nonferrous metals by 14,000 tons.

During the 1970s nonferrous metallurgy mastered the production of different size ingots and molten metal rods with continuous and semicontinuous casting methods and special rolling mills. They are available to all customers.

Increasing further the production of semifinished products at the metallurgical stage in one of the main lines of our technical policy. This will enable us considerably to reduce metal losses in further treatment and energy, labor and transportation outlays, for makes the use all waste on the spot. Under such production conditions the different waste products are not lumped together, which is very important.

Between 1970 and 1980 the output of nonrefinable aluminum and aluminum-alloy items doubled. Production of large silumin and silumin-alloy ingots more than tripled and that of aluminum rods increased by a 3.3 factor. The production of aluminum powder items nearly doubled within the same period.

Savings in excess of 200 million rubles and more than 70,000 tons of metal were the result of the production of large molten metal ingots, which was organized in the aluminum plants during the Ninth and 10th Five-Year Plans.

Life convincingly proves that high and rapid results are possible in ensuring the comprehensive solution of major national economic problems through the purposeful and well organized work of enterprises and organizations.

Production based on progressive technology will be increased by a factor of 1.3 during the 11th Five-Year Plan. Production of large flat and cylindrical ingots made of aluminum and its alloys and aluminum rods will be increased. Approximately 80 percent of all copper and copper-alloy ingots will be manufactured on the basis of continuous and semicontinuous methods. This will reduce metal losses by 20-30 percent. Casting and rolling will be combined, thereby reducing technological waste by a factor of 1.5-2. Capacities for the production of aluminum foil without casting will be installed at the Mikhaylov and Kanaker plants. This will increase output at these plants by 10 percent and will lower unrecoverable aluminum losses considerably.

Increasing bimetal production and use is a promising direction in nonferrous metal conservation. Unfortunately, some industrial sectors waste nonferrous metals in the production of some items. Sometimes not even an effort is made to determine the expediency of choosing the specific nonferrous metal to be used in manufacturing a specific item or machine.

Bimetal is a valuable substitute for scarce nonferrous metals. Its use is expedient and even necessary in many cases, for bimetals combine the mechanical, electrical, anticorrosion and other properties of the metals which line them. In most bimetals a nonferrous metal lining accounts for 10-20 percent of the total mass, whereas the foundation (steel or a less scarce nonferrous metal) accounts for 80-90 percent.

Major production capacities must be developed in order to ensure a significant increase in bimetal production in our country, for production technology in this case is substantially different from the traditional technology used in the production of conventional monometallic rolled pieces.

The plants of some ministries have major reserve capacities. The utilization of which could considerably increase bimetal production without substantial capital investments.

More than 21,000 tons of copper, zinc, lead and tin can be saved by replacing the copper-brass radiators used in passenger cars, trucks, tractors and self-propelling farm machinery with mass-produced brazed and assembled aluminum radiators. This major task can be successfully accomplished by the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, Ministry of Aviation Industry, Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry, Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry and Ministry of Automotive Industry only by strictly implementing specific assignments related to the production of rolled-extruded and pressed items made of bimetals and materials and complementing items needed to make aluminum radiators.

The designing and production of sanitation fixtures made of copolymers instead of brass castings, increasing the production of parts made of aluminum alloys and metallized plastics instead of zinc-alloy castings, fine zinc-plated instead of conventional steel, use of available stainless steel brands instead of brass in making some sanitation fixture parts, and developing and mastering the production of domestic air conditioners using aluminum rather than copper piping could result in substantial savings of nonferrous metals.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers ascribe great importance to the conservation of precious metals. Today these metals and their alloys are steadily used in instrument making, radioengineering, electronics, electrical engineering and other industrial sectors. The increased need for the use of precious metals makes their economical use particularly necessary. The solution of this problem is planned and coordinated by the State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Ministries of Finance and Nonferrous Metallurgy. Ways are planned to lower the consumption and to conserve precious metals, such as the development of equivalent substitutes free from

or containing lesser amounts of precious metals (bimetals, twin- or multiple-layer combinations); manufacturing more durable points and other items with precious metals; increasing the amount of usable products in the production of items containing precious metals; and increasing to a maximal extent the recovery of metals from discarded instruments and equipment.

The use of silver-containing fixing solutions obtained from film studios, photolaboratories and the population is an instructive example of efficient use of resources. Until recently these solutions, which contain in excess of 2 grams of silver per liter, were irretrievably lost. The USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy developed the proper technology and organized the production of small electrolyzers for processing fixing solutions. This led to the organization of a set of reception centers for used fixing solution and the opening of shops for its primary processing. Such shops have been opened in Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Kazan' and several other cities, as a result of which it has become possible to recirculate more than 50 percent of the silver used in film production. Improving the technical standards of enterprises for the recovery of precious metals will ensure the fuller utilization of most valuable mineral resources, such as precious metals.

The implementation of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the November 1981 CC CPSU Plenum on upgrading production effectiveness enabled most nonferrous metallurgical enterprises to reach all of their 1981 planned indicators.

The nonferrous metallurgical enterprises and organizations actively responded to the appeal of 18 frontranking brigades to all brigades and workers in the sector on launching a socialist competition for the ahead of schedule implementation of the 1982 assignments and in honor of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. The brigades are competing under the slogan "Let Us Reach High End Results at Each Workplace."

The purpose of the socialist competition is to upgrade labor productivity, to conserve materials, raw materials, fuel and electric power, to improve production quality, to eliminate working time losses and to strengthen labor and production discipline. This makes us confident that the planned measures for the conservation of nonferrous metals will be implemented.

## II

Saving on nonferrous metals at sectorial enterprises is merely a small part of the reserves existing in the huge mechanism of the country's national economy, machine building above all.

The utilization efficiency of nonferrous metals in the manufacturing of machines, equipment and various structures remains inadmissibly low.

The lack of scientific outlay norms and rational technologies in nonferrous metal processing in many enterprises does not contribute to their conservation and hinders the accurate assessment of available resources from scrap metal and waste. Many ministries and the USSR Gosplan issue assignments on

collecting and delivering such valuable raw materials on the basis of clearly lowered norms. However, as a rule even such assignments are not met.

Five ministries failed to fulfill their plans for the delivery of scrap metal and waste during the 10th Five-Year Plan, and 15, including the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, USSR Ministry of Coal Industry, Ministry of Transport Construction, USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, Ministry of Radio Industry and USSR Ministry of Light Industry, failed to fulfill their 1981 plan. During the 10th Five-Year Plan not a single ministry or department fulfilled its plan for the delivery of nonferrous metal scrap and waste according to specifications!

We know that the shortest and most direct way to upgrade the efficient utilization of nonferrous metals in machine building is the extensive application of economical technologies. Pressure and pattern instead of earth and permanent-mould casting, die forging, which enables us to reduce cutting considerably and consequently the amount of tailings, stamping electric engine commutators instead of punching and the differentiated selection of pipes for heat exchange apparatus, based on specific operational conditions and equipment characteristics are merely some of the methods used in conserving nonferrous metals in machine building.

The extensive planned use of new technological processes in production will create prerequisites for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the required amount of saving on nonferrous rolled metals, as stipulated in the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Though 1990."

Scrap and waste are a major source of satisfaction of economic needs for nonferrous metals. Nonferrous metal scrap accounts for more than 20 percent of the overall national economic balance.

Recycling nonferrous metals not only allows us to meet some needs of the national economy for nonferrous metals but also considerably to reduce labor, electric power and raw material outlays. Suffice it to say that each ton of aluminum alloys made of recycled metal requires less power by a factor of 78 and raw materials by a factor of 2.4 compared with new production from ore, and less than half as much labor. In 1981 production of aluminum alloys from scrap metal and waste enabled us to save 12.5 billion kw/hrs of electric power, 300,000 tons of conventional fuel and more than 1 million tons of bauxites and to release conventionally 9,800 workers compared with corresponding output from primary aluminum.

We have considerable reserves for improving further the procurement (delivery) and processing of nonferrous metal scrap and waste and for improving the technical standard of nonferrous metallurgical enterprises using scrap nonferrous metal. We must begin by substantially improving the organization of the work and upgrading the quality of nonferrous metal scrap and waste delivered to the consumers.

The USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy personnel made a thorough study of the collection, procurement and processing of the scrap and waste metal at

400 enterprises in all economic rayons in the country. Such work at scrap supplying enterprises in various sectors is continuing.

In some cases, improper planning and the carelessness of some officials do not require the delivering nonferrous metal waste, which requires a certain preliminary treatment, and which is dumped.

However, many examples of a different kind exist as well. Special shops for the primary treatment of waste have been opened at Uralmash, Perm's Kamkabel, Riga's VEF, Tbilisi's Plant imeni Dimitrov and many other enterprises. They have been equipped with scrap processing machinery as a result of which they deliver only first grade scrap meal.

At these enterprises the workers are highly interested in gathering, procuring and preserving the quality of nonferrous metal waste. The waste is collected by workers familiar with the properties of metals and alloys. In such cases machine-tool workers are paid 4.5 kopeks per kilogram of unmixed chips and only 1.5 kopeks for mixed batches. The monthly addition to the salary may therefore range from 36 to no more than 12 rubles. As a result, 45 rubles are paid from the material incentive fund per ton of chips, while price increases based on the improved quality of the chips range from 180 to 210 rubles. Furthermore, production standards improve and the attitude of the machine-tool workers toward the metal changes drastically. Every worker at the cable plant in Rybinsk delivers the waste to a receiver at the end of her shift. The receiver records the weight of the chips. The plant has no bonus system for this item but operates on the basis of a strictly established procedure and plant and labor traditions.

Nor should we ignore the economic aspect of the collection of quality waste. Kamkabel realized that the delivery of low-grade waste was uneconomical and created a shop for its separation. The very first year the increased purchase prices for the scrap and waste of nonferrous metals yielded the plant a profit of about one million rubles.

Great opportunities for improving the use of nonferrous metals and raising the quality of the scrap and waste have been found. Their utilization will enable us considerably to increase nonferrous metal supplies for the national economy.

Let us also note the way some enterprises use nonferrous metals. At the Bryansk machine-building plant 0.4 x 3 m aluminum sheets are poorly cut, as a result of which hundreds of tons of AMG-6 aluminum are wasted. Rolled parts up to 2 meters in length are wasted. At the Orel clockworks plant the rings for wall clocks are made of brass and aluminum sheets, whereas narrow bands could be used. As much as 90 percent of the metal is turned into waste. Based on the results of an investigation conducted by a USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy brigade, the plant took steps which increased the metal utilization coefficient by a substantial amount. The Sibelektroterm Production Association in Novosibirsk is discarding as waste rolled copper pieces of a size which makes them suitable for production use. Instead, Sibelektroterm ships them to Soyuztsvetmet enterprises as scrap.

In processing the scrap in metal collectors and scrap dumps, many scrap handling enterprises mix nonferrous with ferrous metal waste and nonmetallic industrial refuse, as a result of which the scrap metal is depreciated. In 1981 the country's enterprises delivered about 1.7 million tons of nonferrous metal scrap and waste. However, about 60.7 percent of the copper waste, more than 80 percent of the brass and 70 percent of the bronze were of a low quality. The metallurgical processing of these raw materials resulted in the loss of scarce nonferrous metals dumped with the waste and the slag. In 1981 this caused the irretrievable loss of 2,900 tons of copper, 15,600 tons of zinc, 1,000 tons of tin and 1,000 tons of lead in processing these raw materials by the copper industry enterprises alone.

The procedure for collecting nonferrous metal scrap must be improved at the Elektromachina Plant of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry in Prokop'yevsk. Here curled aluminum chips are mixed with dust and waste from the shops and taken to the warehouse for shipment to consumer plants without processing. Copper chips, stamped brass parts, battery lead, bronze chips and nickel waste are dumped together in unequipped areas and the dust of the hard alloys is irretrievably lost.

Every year 10,000 tons of slag containing 10 percent zinc are discarded without supervision and used, among others, in road improvements at the Chemical Production Association imeni Oktyabr'skaya Revolyutsiya in Rostov. In closing down an old production facility the association tried to dump a product containing 40 percent (900 tons) of zinc. The metal was saved only thanks to the persistence of an official at the Vtortsvetmet Severo-Kavkazskoye Administration.

Only 150 of the 130,000 scrap procurement enterprises have shops or sectors equipped with special facilities for preparing the nonferrous metal scrap and waste for delivery according to standards. The stipulated procedure according to which ministries and departments must include in their five-year sectorial development plans the construction and suitable equipment of scrap-handling shops and sectors at scrap-procurement enterprises is being virtually ignored, for which reason 50 to 90 percent of the waste shipped out by such enterprises is low grade and dirty.

The state standard calls for separating the nonferrous metal scrap and waste according to chemical composition and quality indicators. This makes the comprehensive utilization of secondary raw materials possible and prevents the loss of the valuable components they contain. The violation of this most important rule drastically lowers the economic effectiveness of the utilization and processing of waste metal and results in the irretrievable loss of thousands of tons of scarce metal.

As a result of the scarcity and frequent lack of specialized equipment for separating mixed waste only copper is extracted from low-grade copper-containing waste; every year as much as 15,000 tons of zinc, 1,500 tons of tin and 60,000-70,000 tons of aluminum are lost.

Many shortcomings exist in the utilization of discarded parts of radio and electronic equipment and lightbulb manufacturing. Everyone knows that

nonferrous, rare and precious metals are used in making radioelectronic equipment. However, at most enterprises discarded parts are not graded but are delivered to Soyuzvtortsvetmet enterprises "in bulk," for which reason many types of nonferrous metals contained in such parts become depreciated and are wasted.

This is exemplified by the processing of old television sets turned in by the population at reception centers. In 1980 only 1,000 tons of copper were extracted from 14,000 tons of this secondary raw material source and 13,000 tons of nonferrous metals (aluminum, nickel, cobalt, tungsten and molybdenum) and high-grade steel were turned into slag!

Some ministries are not fulfilling their plans for delivering spent drill bits reinforced with hard-alloy plates. During the 10th Five-Year Plan 8,500 tons less than required of such drills were delivered as scrap. The Ministry of Petroleum Industry fell short 4,800 tons and the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy 2,400 tons in their deliveries of this valuable scrap containing tungsten, cobalt and other metals.

Investigations conducted at enterprises of the Ministries of Automotive Industry, Heavy and Transport Machine Building, Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, and Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems revealed the existence of more than 5,600 tons of nonferrous metal scrap and waste, the delivery of which had not been planned by the Soyuzvtortsvetmet organizations. A considerable quantity of this waste had been dumped. Eighty of the scrap procurement enterprises investigated by the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy in 1980 alone revealed the existence of about 2,000 tons of nonferrous metal waste not planned for delivery.

The artificial fiber slag dumps created by chemical industry enterprises contain 140,000 tons of zinc; 18,000 tons are added to this amount every year. Substantial zinc wastes develop from the production of detergents, dies and zinc-plated iron at chemical, local and ferrous metallurgy enterprises. The machine-building enterprises also dump considerable quantities of nickel, tungsten, cobalt, molybdenum and other nonferrous metals.

Of late many users of nonferrous metals have responded to the request of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy to consider an entire range of problems related to the thrifty utilization of nonferrous metals. Their collegium meetings were attended by a large number of heads of all-union industrial and production associations and enterprises using nonferrous metals. Reports were submitted by heads of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy.

Engineers held useful discussions on the specific means for improving the use of nonferrous metals during this five-year plan and ensuring the collection and delivery of all nonferrous metal-containing wastes to Soyuzvtortsvetmet. Valuable suggestions were made. Matters will unquestionably improve as a result of the proper implementation of decisions made by the collegiums.

For example, the Ministry of Chemical Industry enterprises are working on reusing the ammonium chloride waste of zinc dross in zinc white production.

The processing of some varieties of zinc and nickel catalysts has been undertaken.

Here, as in many other areas of our national economy, good experience has been acquired. We must admit however that to this day many ministries are being exceptionally sluggish in this direction.

The collection of household scrap (refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, etc.) is poorly organized although this operation could yield some 60,000 tons of aluminum. Empty cans and other food and chemical containers are not being collected, although this represents 80,000 tons of aluminum. Discarded power-generating equipment contains 20,000 tons of zinc. The incentive of the population to deliver scrapped household items containing nonferrous metals should be encouraged.

How can this be achieved? Above all, a deposit should be collected for aluminum or other containers of widely used goods (canned goods, household chemical products, cosmetics, etc.). Such metal could be delivered to special reception centers or returned to the stores (galvanic battery elements, etc.). Secondly, centers where scrapped household items could be traded for scarce goods could be opened.

The organization of the full collection and procurement of nonferrous metal scrap and waste in industry, agriculture, construction and transportation would substantially increase procurements. The recycling of currently unused nonferrous metal scrap and waste will enable us to save annually 7 billion kw/hrs of electric energy and 180,000 tons of conventional fuel needed to produce the same amount of nonferrous metals from ore.

The Sel'khoztehnika organizations should organize the extensive collection of scrap and waste in rural areas. It is their duty to the state to collect and deliver nonferrous metal scrap and waste based on set standards.

All of these problems are reflected in the measures to improve the procurement (delivery) and processing of nonferrous metal scrap and waste and to upgrade the technical standards of nonferrous metallurgy enterprises, which were drafted in 1981. Steps have been earmarked to ensure radical improvements in the quality of procured scrap and waste and the comprehensive utilization of recycled nonferrous metals and alloys by 15-20 percent during the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The economical use of nonferrous metals and the full and qualitative collecting of their scrap for recycling and reuse in the national economy is of national importance. It is entirely clear that on a national scale this should be done by a special organization with extensive rights and jurisdictions, which would coordinate the work of all ministries and activities. In our view, such an organization -- a state nonferrous metal inspectorate -- could be established under the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, for the nonferrous metallurgy sector has highly skilled specialists and complex institutes which can resolve such problems on a high technical level.

### III

During this five-year plan we must use the considerable facilities resulting from further improvements in procuring and processing nonferrous metal scrap and waste and the enhancement of the technical standard of metallurgical enterprises which recycle nonferrous metals.

The responsibility of USSR ministries and departments, councils of ministers of union republics and managers for collecting, storing and delivering nonferrous metals to the Soyuzvtortsvetmet organizations, screened by group and type, has been increased. Special sectors must now be organized at enterprises with an annual volume of nonferrous metal scrap and waste of more than 50 tons. The processing of such materials before shipment is planned. The Soyuzsel'hoztekhnik organizations must assist in the collection of such scrap in the countryside.

The soviets of people's deputies must participate in this major project. They have been instructed to set up standing commissions in charge of locating nonferrous metal scrap and waste sources and controlling the implementation of procurement plans.

The material incentive system for the collection of scrap and waste is being improved. Thus, the enterprises have been granted the right to spend all funds earned from the above-plan sales of nonferrous metal scrap and waste on the construction, expansion and repair of preschool establishments, public catering institutions and preventive treatment and rest centers for the working people and purchasing the necessary equipment for them.

A great deal will be accomplished in our sector during the 11th Five-Year Plan to upgrade the efficiency with which recycled materials are used and to improve the quality and increase the volume of output of recycled metal alloys. In particular, we shall increase the output of aluminum alloy ingots using scrap and waste. New technological processes and equipment will be developed which will reduce recycling waste, including the use of slag, expand the screening of mixed copper-base chips into groups of alloys and increase the extraction of nonferrous metals in the production of alloys from recycled raw materials. Within that period new aluminum alloys will be developed on the basis of nonferrous metal scrap and waste.

Production intensification in secondary nonferrous metallurgy presumes the creation of new and the reconstruction of existing facilities at Soyuzvtortsvetmet enterprises and organizations.

Bearing in mind the high efficiency of metallurgical recycling and the considerable amount of nonferrous metal alloys obtained from recycled materials, of late the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy has been planning to speed up the technical retooling of recycling facilities. Capital investments in capacities for the production of copper, aluminum and lead alloys from recycled materials are considerably lesser compared with investments for production based on raw ore, although the profitability of such capacities is greater by a factor of 7-10.

However, the planned measures are being sluggishly implemented because of the extremely unsatisfactory work of construction ministries and departments in building projects for recycled nonferrous metal processing. Because of the low cost of such projects the general contractors pay insufficient attention to their construction and assign them the lowest priority in the allocation of materials, equipment and manpower. Consequently, it takes 4 or more years to complete many of the projects instead of 10-12 months as normed because of annual unearfulfillments of contracting plans. For example, the USSR Ministry of Construction has been building a Vtortsvetmet shop in Riga for the past 5 years; identical projects carried out by the USSR Ministry of Industrial Construction have already taken 4 years in Kaluga and 7 years in L'vov; it has taken the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building 5 years in Kemerovo and the Ministry of Transport Construction 12 years in Chelyabinsk. As a result, thousands of tons of nonferrous metals are irretrievably lost for lack of recycling capacities.

We know that work at shops which process metal scrap and waste is unattractive and labor productivity is extremely low. For this reason it is very important for the Ministries of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building, Electrical Equipment Industry and Heavy and Transport Machine Building to meet on time their assignments on developing and producing experimental and industrial prototypes and mastering the series production of new equipment for these shops. In turn, the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work and the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems must produce and procure series-produced equipment and transport facilities for the technical retooling of enterprises engaged in procuring and processing nonferrous metal scrap and waste. This includes

chip grinders, induction furnaces, continuous horizontal casting systems, equipment for scrap and waste screening in heavy media and multijaw grab buckets.

Substantial changes are also being made in planning. Henceforth, the USSR Gosplan lead scrap and waste procurement (delivery) plans will include assignments on the delivery of battery lead scrap by automotive service organizations, based on the volume of their battery allocations. Assignments will be issued on collecting household nonferrous metal scrap, including tin and aluminum cans.

The USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy has been instructed to secure the complete extraction of nonferrous metals from ferrous metal scrap and waste at impact testing and blending shops; the Ministries of Automotive Industry, Aviation Industry and Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building have been assigned to develop measures for considerably increasing the utilization of chips from aluminum alloys at their enterprises during the 11th Five-Year Plan with a view to conserving aluminum.

The thorough study of the utilization of nonferrous metals, including scrap and waste, is becoming increasingly more necessary. Scientific norms for nonferrous metal waste and scrap, based on brands and types, developed on the basis of such an analysis, would enable us to make timely forecasts on the most economical use of such important resources. The USSR State Committee

for Science and Technology and the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous metallurgy must do the necessary work in this direction.

The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" calls for improving the methods of cost effective relations and reciprocal economic interest and responsibility for the implementation of assignments and contractual obligations between suppliers and consumers.

However, as a rule the suppliers of nonferrous metal goods have no direct ties with the consumers. Substantial savings in nonferrous metals could be achieved by strengthening direct relations between enterprises and institutes and increasing the similarity of their interests. This would result in greater familiarity with demands and more balanced planning and would optimize the load capacity of metallurgical plants.

Our ground is rich in mineral deposits. Hundreds of thousands of miners, concentration workers and metallurgists in the sector are engaged in the extraction of 74 chemical elements from nonferrous, rare and precious metal ores. This considerable influences the country's technical economic progress.

The conservation of these resources and their thrifty utilization, as stipulated in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, is our duty to the state and the party.

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## LIVE SPRINGS OF EFFICIENCY

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[Article by L. Yenin, first secretary of the Alekseyevska City Party Committee, Belgorodskaya Oblast]

[Text] The close attention which the Central Committee pays to problems related to upgrading agricultural production efficiency is based on the party's economic strategy: specific concern for the individual and his needs and requirements. Hence the overall focus on the economy and the rational utilization of internal production reserves. At the present stage this is of exceptional importance, for objective factors which complicate the economy and create additional difficulties in the implementation of plans are becoming increasingly apparent. For example, the trend toward reducing the increase in labor resources and the related conversion of some people from producers to consumers of agricultural produce. This is an irreversible process triggered by a complex set of socioeconomic laws. Thus, the rayon's agrarian sector employed 28,200 people in 1965 and only 16,140 today. One can easily imagine the consequences had labor productivity at kolkhozes and sovkhoses remained on their former levels. However, this did not happen, for factors contributing upgrading production efficiency and economic intensification came into play. As a result, in the Ninth and the Tenth Five-Year Plans crop-growing output increased by a factor of 1.6 and animal husbandry more than doubled. Agricultural raw material procurements increased correspondingly.

In the middle of the 1960s, our Belgorodskaya Oblast was among the first in the Russian Federation to take the decisive steps we know toward specialization and concentration of leading agrarian production sectors. This was based on the desire to increase its efficiency by accelerating scientific and technical progress and extensively applying modern forms of organization of labor and production management. The Alekseyevska party organization, trade union workers, economic aktiv and the Komsomol participated in the implementation of the program. Everyone became enthused by the novelty of the matter, which opened creative opportunities and prospects. The specialization and related concentration of small scattered farms created real possibilities of strengthening the economic potential of the sector, increasing the production and sale of agricultural commodities and ensuring the successful solution of a number of ripe social problems in the countryside.

Specialization was based on the oblast plan for economic development. In all of our initiatives and progress we felt the attention of the Oblast Party Committee in resolving problems of financing, material and technical procurements, and availability of specialists. Naturally, the steady moral and ideological support we received, without which no big or small project can be carried out, meant a great deal.

However, we hurried with our estimates of the new production parameters and deployment of production facilities, expecting to make the necessary corrections in the course of the work. Two kolkhozes--Rodina and imeni Chapayev--which had trained cadres and a favorable economic structure, concentrated on the production of pork. The kolkhoz imeni Ol'minskiy rebuilt its capacities for feeding young cattle which all rayon farms supplied on a cooperated basis. Bearing in mind the abundant amount of water available on the territory of the Pobeda kolkhoz, it was decided to expand its duck raising farm which subsequently was reorganized as a state poultry farm. The kolkhoz imeni XX Parts'nyezda focussed on sheep breeding, which it developed into a promising and profitable sector. Therefore, these farms accounted for the decisive share of the meat and wool which the entire rayons sold to the state. In exchange, they were relieved from selling grain, which is used here essentially for feed.

The initial results of the new work style revealed the advantage of these measures, although signs appeared indicating difficult problems in the future. In undertaking such a major and comprehensive project, we did not assess the entire structure accurately, as designers say. It seemed to us that by concentrating and creating several well-equipped animal husbandry complexes, we would resolve all economic problems at once and will only have to harvest the rich results of our efforts in the future. In our haste we applied in the new facilities an obsolete organization of labor and production management methods. Strategic errors were made as well: the lion's share of material and financial resources was focussed on the construction of specialized farms while farms engaged in grain growing and dairy farming fell short of funds. The situation was further complicated by the fact that animal husbandry as a whole had not developed the necessary stability as a result of the poor feed base: 35-40 percent of the needed fodder had to be purchased from the state.

In a word, we used economic reserves which were essentially on the surface, neglecting the profound processes, which became apparent subsequently. Actually, even these conclusions did not appear immediately but were the result of collective thinking. No single rayon party committee plenum (and, subsequently, gorkom plenum), meeting of the party aktiv or bureau session passed without a discussion of the complex aspects of agricultural sectorial intensification, considered from a variety of viewpoints--organization, technology, construction, cadre training, application of progressive experience and scientific recommendations, and further energizing of the socialist competition.

Having become involved in the complex problems related to the implementation of plans for specialization and interfarm cooperation, the party cadres, economic managers and specialists gained practical experience and broadened their outlook. Directly or indirectly, this contributed to the growth of their skills, professional mastery and ability to engage in analytical thinking. The party

committee helped the rural communists and all officials of the CPSU gorkom to develop an acute political sense and to be able to interpret the consequences of organizational and economic activities objectively, critically, and without prejudice.

The decision to make a thorough study of the situation which had developed in the rayon was made at a regular party gorkom plenum in 1975. By that time it had become objectively necessary to develop more advanced and precise organizational forms of specialization on the basis of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration.

The discussion was quite useful if only for the reason that the party-economic aktiv had seen the real nature not only of successes but of errors and omissions which we analyzed jointly. This was reflected in the unanimously adopted plenum decree. Incidentally, we frequently referred to it in subsequent years. Our farm specialists and managers visited kolkhozes and sovkhoses in Moldavia, Byelorussia and the Ukraine, where they learned many interesting and instructive things. At that time the familiar CC CPSU decree on the further development of specialization and concentration in agricultural production was promulgated. It gave a new impetus to the work of party and economic cadres and specialists and clarified some difficult problems related to the practical implementation of the Leninist cooperative plan.

A new undertaking inspires the people and encourages them to search and to create. This applies both to economists and party activists. That is why we decided to reorganize the work of the sectorial departments of the party gorkom by strengthening them in advance with skilled specialists in various fields. The influence of the sectorial department of the party committee on the rayon's economic life is exceptionally great. Its personnel establish direct contacts with the enterprises in a given sector, exert a specific influence on affairs in labor collectives and develop the necessary political mood in them. We pay particular attention to this feature, for unity between politics and economics or, in other words, a political approach in the solution of economic problems is one of the decisive prerequisites for successful economic management.

Incidentally, let us point out that until recently an essentially economic approach prevailed in the work of the sectorial gorkom departments. The propaganda and agitation department was in charge of education and ideological activities. Such "specialization" is inconsistent with current requirements, for shaping the new man is organically related to the improvement of production relations in the labor collective and the struggle for the successful implementation of the production program. It would be difficult to overestimate the role of the sectorial department of the party committee in this area, particularly on the psychological level. The 26th CPSU Congress discussed the development of a work style which organically combines execution and discipline with bold initiative and enterprise, and practicality with aspiration toward great objectives. These are precisely the qualities which the party worker must possess.

The personnel of the sectorial department have a broad range of activities aimed at upgrading production effectiveness and assisting scientific and technical progress in the labor collectives. Specifically, such activities are usually related to the dissemination of new labor methods and the industrialization of production processes on the basis of both local and outside progressive experience. The extensive dissemination of a good initiative requires not only farm funds and generous material resources but proper social support and a sympathetic moral-psychological feeling. In such cases any creative initiative is guaranteed a long life.

Such are essentially the economic concerns of the city party committee. They are closely related to the organizational activities of the party personnel. As a rule, they are the first to be informed of all initiatives, searches and aspirations developed within the masses and to detect alarming symptoms in the life of the rayon as a whole and individual labor collectives. They take the necessary measures and formulate a specific program of action on the basis of reliable facts.

The party members and the agricultural department of the gorkom work with great dedication. For almost 5 years the department was headed by V. F. Udovitsa, a knowledgeable agrarian specialist and skillful organizer, who was then promoted to the apparatus of the oblast party committee. The business style of the agricultural department is characterized by proper information, efficiency and thoroughness in the solution of major and minor problems and the skill to attract the cooperation of creatively thinking specialists and scientists. This again is a guarantee of reliable and precise work. This was manifested particularly clearly in implementing the decree promulgated by the oblast party committee bureau on the extensive dissemination of the method of the nonassignment system in organizing the work of brigades and teams. For the sake of fairness, however, let us point out that this is not a new problem but a problem with a complex history. At one point, we had already tried to apply this method of labor organization and incentive but failed in ensuring its mass dissemination and forgot about it. Our conclusion was that our farms had not yet reached the level of such "fine points".

A second attempt was made almost 10 years later. The agricultural department started with a thorough study of the previous failure. It became apparent that the formalistic approach of the organizers themselves hindered the application of the new idea, for they had failed to take into consideration the rich variety of conditions and possibilities within which the autonomous production units were to operate. Above all, they were not given total freedom of action: the technological program was regulated by various stipulations and orders which paralyzed the initiative of rank and file workers. Such units, created hastily "by order", were not viable and broke down soon after their creation. Nevertheless, this past experience was not lost. The essential feature here was that, undertaking the project, the agricultural department personnel began with extensive explanatory work among mechanizers and the administrative personnel on the vital need and nature of this type of cost effectiveness subdivisions. The same topic was discussed by lecturers, the political education office and other rayon services. In turn, courses for managers of nonassignment teams in charge of growing corn and sugar beets, were organized on the

oblast and rayon levels. The classes were taught by instructors from the Belgorod Agricultural Institute and the Alekseyevskiy and Novooskol'skiy Agricultural Technical Schools.

Finally and most importantly, the teams consisted exclusively of volunteers who were given the opportunity of developing their own labor collective nucleus. Naturally, not only the practical qualities of the people but the moral and psychological features of the individual workers were taken into consideration.

Therefore, thanks to such general concern, 60 teams totalling 567 mechanizers, converted to the system of nonassignment piece rate work. They were assigned more than 62,000 hectares of land or about 40 percent of the rayon's entire arable land. Economic results justified our expectations entirely. Labor productivity rose by nearly one-third compared with teams operating on the basis of the old organization of the work.

Six specialized grain and industrial crop-growing teams were set up at the kolkhoz imeni Chapayev. One of them is headed by party member Nikolay Vasil'yevich Kolyadin. He heads 11 broadly specialized mechanizers. The unit has been assigned 1,080 hectares of land, six tractors, four grain harvesters, three sugar beet combines and other equipment. The basic productive capital, including the land, is being used far better than by the farm as a whole. Production costs here are lower and so are losses. N. P. Ozherel'yev, kolkhoz chairman, explains this as follows:

"Every member of the cost effectiveness team has a feeling of ownership. The people care for the public good as if it were their own."

Material incentives and the moral atmosphere help strengthen the spirit of collective interest and inspire one and all to reach high end results. Here there are no longer "profitable" and "unprofitable" assignments: the individual wages are based on the crop. This leads to strict reciprocal exigency and exigency toward the administration and the farm managers who, in turn, must supply the team with everything necessary for normal production work.

Naturally, as is the case with any new project, here as well there were doubts, conflicts and omissions. Their thorough analysis, made at a special seminar-conference, proved that one of the widespread errors was the insufficiently energetic involvement of the rank and file members of labor collectives in management. The brigade councils, which had been set up everywhere, had not become truly effective public management organs in the production area. This called for extensive work on the part of the city party committee.

Control over the execution of decrees, critical remarks and suggestions by party members directly or indirectly contributes to the efficiency of party activities in economics. This item is always on the agenda of the city party committee and the primary party organizations. The new feature here is that the area of control has been broadened and is not exercised along party channels alone. To begin with, a considerable number of such functions are exercised by the people's control committee with its local organs; secondly, the

commissions of deputies and the trade union organizations have substantially energized their work, thanks to which control has become widespread and more effective. Naturally, this has not led to a weakening of the control exercised by the party, which covers essentially matters of the selection, placement and education of leading cadres.

Let us mention in this connection the work of the party commissions in charge of controlling administrative activities. Such commissions have been created in 76 party organizations (out of 119). Essentially, they are the political center of the party organization in its struggle against violations of state and labor discipline, negligence and waste. The practical activities of these commissions did not develop immediately and the search for new forms and effective methods of activity goes on. Their main task is to maintain a stable ideological-moral atmosphere in the labor collective and to help in the development of high moral and political qualities among senior workers, for respect for leading cadres does not exclude in the least an overall feeling of exactingness concerning their work.

The commissions in charge of controlling administrative activities at the Alekseyevskiy Order of the Badge of Honor Volatile Oil Extraction Combine, the Pobeda kolkhoz, the kolkhoz imeni Chapayev and the Bykovskiy soykhoz are doing skillful and comprehensive work. They are not only exposing shortcomings but are participating in their elimination and in the reasons which create them. Results of investigations and materials from surprise inspections are regularly publicized on special boards and in effectiveness "leaflets" which are considered at party committee sessions, production conferences and meetings.

At the same time comprehensive investigations of the implementation of the decisions of the CC CPSU and the decrees of oblast and city party conferences, plenums and bureaus are extensively practised. This ensures the unity between decision and execution, strengthens discipline at all production management levels and upgrades the responsibility of workers for the conscientious implementation of their obligations. Systematic control of execution helps to eliminate elements of red tape and blocks cases of bureaucracy, complacency and arrogance--in a word, anything that hinders the work of the party, soviet and economic apparatus.

Under the new conditions, it is very important to be able skillfully to combine the implementation of economic tasks with the solution of educational problems. Let us note in this connection that the personnel of the sectorial departments implement their functions and rights more extensively, frequently exceeding the framework of strictly specialized problems, without ignoring problems of morality and party ethics. Above all, they do not avoid the solution of such problems. The visit of a representative of the party committee to a labor collective in a village may be a minor occurrence but it is an event to the secretary of the party organization and the farm manager. Consequently, whatever his rank, the party worker must always be ready to have a talk with the members of a brigade or livestock farm, describe interesting experience and the rayon's development possibilities and to discuss a specific problem with the farm management and the aktiv. Contacts with the masses are always

reciprocal: you become richer by sharing your knowledge with the people. Sometimes difficult and vitally important problems are discussed in such meetings. However, this awakens the creative spirit and encourages research and initiative. Many examples of this kind of approach may be cited.

Recently, in the city of Alekseyevka as, in fact, in many other areas, there were breakdowns in meat sales, despite the fact that state stocks in the commercial network are increasing with every passing year. The point is that for quite some time the kolkhoz market played a major role in supplying the population with comestible products, meeting almost 40 percent of the needs of the urban population for meat. Measures are being currently taken to involve the rural and urban population in the production of agricultural commodities. Naturally, proper conditions must be provided to this effect.

But what if the city were to organize its own livestock farm? Questions of this nature were asked at party meetings in labor collectives, the more so since BELGORODSKAYA PRAVDA, the oblast newspaper, had already reported similar attempts in other cities. The personnel of the gorkom industrial and transportation department listened to such views, studied and weighed existing possibilities and tabled a motion with the bureau to create such a livestock farm. The motion was adopted. It took the urban construction organizations 21 days to spend 650,000 rubles on this project. Now the city already has its "meat shop". As was the case in its construction, its normal activities are ensured through joint efforts. Sixty percent of the cattle feed rations consist of food waste contributed by the population and the cafeterias. The food is collected by the urban communal economy service which works on the basis of a contract concluded with the public catering office.

The population of Alekseyevka is justifiably proud of its agrarian shop and uses its output every day by taking its meals at the restaurant and the cafeterias. Incidentally, the contribution of the shop to the public catering and commercial fund is quite tangible--300 tons of finished goods per year. Plans call for doubling this capacity. Recently, a greenhouse for vegetables and flowers was built next to the hog-breeding complex.

The city party committee shows steady concern for the urban working people. Thus, at one of its sessions the bureau analyzed the possibility of marketing goods produced on the private plots by the rural population. A great deal of such produce, particularly vegetables, fruits and grapes, remained in the countryside and were used inefficiently, frequently to feed the cattle. For a variety of reasons not everyone could bring his produce to the kolkhoz market. Meanwhile the city was short of such products. It was resolved, therefore, that it would be in the interest of both sides to organize cooperative trade in the village. Currently, this is achieved through the Kooperator store which has modern equipment and excellent warehousing and auxiliary premises. The citizens can buy meat and delicatessen, smoked products, vegetables and fruits.

In answer to the wishes of the working people of the villages and the city, the decision was made to build a modern cooperative trade center. We used the experience gained in building the "meat shop". Recently, the new kolkhoz

market hospitably opened its gates. A modern covered hall was built on an area of 1,500 square meters with stands and a bus stop. In a word, the necessary facilities were created for sellers and buyers and, in the final account, for the more efficient use of the produce. Of late, private plots have been developed further. Any family can obtain young cattle and raise it to meet its own needs or for marketing purposes.

Actually, the area of party influence is infinite and the art of the party worker is to single out the main among many tasks and focus the general attention on it. Upgrading effectiveness and quality is the cornerstone of our economic policy. However, this can and must be achieved not only through technology, for success in production largely depends on spiritual factors. We direct the leading economic cadres and party activists to ensure the fuller utilization of the educational possibilities offered by progressive experience, socialist competition and progressive labor organization methods. In this respect, systematic training and regular practical science conferences, which have become a proper school for the party and economic activity of the rayon and the city, are contributing a great deal. It is here that views are frankly exchanged on urgent and sensitive problems of economics, politics and economic life, and that topical problems of mass organizational and educational activities of leading cadres are discussed on the basis of contemporary assignments and specific characteristics; at the same time, the practical work of one or another worker is thoroughly analyzed and specific shortcomings, omissions and failures are pointed out (naturally, if such exists). However, valuable features are also noted--bits of experience worthy of general attention.

One of the conferences dealt with the topical subject of "The Place of Managers and Specialists in the Struggle for Work Effectiveness and Quality". N. V. Doroshenko, member of the city party committee, RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy and chairman of the kolkhoz imeni Ol'minskiy spoke. Essentially he described the experience of his kolkhoz but the participants in the conference were able to compare their work against that in one of the best farms in the rayon and, subsequently, in the course of the discussions, to exchange views and to express personal considerations on what should be done to upgrade the intensive utilization of productive capital such as human labor and the land.

The party influence in the kolkhoz imeni Ol'minskiy is strong. Actually, the party members are at the source of all good accomplishments and initiatives. The party committee (Ye. S. Glazko, secretary) profoundly studies the socio-economic processes taking place in the farm. A spirit of creativity and joint work predominates in the collective, based on the close cooperation among party, trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations. A united and efficient line of action has been charted here and production has been planned properly. A feeling of ownership and personal responsibility for public affairs and work quality is encouraged in the people. At the same time, there is a clearly manifested general striving toward the future. This is one of the motive forces of the socialist competition in the production subunits such as brigades, livestock farms and individual participants. Hence, the zealous aspiration to adopt what is new and progressive.

The farm has gained good experience in strengthening relations between science and production. Thus, with the help of scientists from the Central Chernozem Zone Scientific Research Poultry and Livestock Breeding Institute, a number of useful scientific-farming experiments were conducted, the positive results of which were applied at the feeding shop. A plant for the manufacturing of mixed seeds, based on recipes prepared by the institute and farm specialists, was commissioned. Industrial fats, oleaginous fusaria and ammonium chloride were tested and included in cattle feed rations, as a result of which the weight of the animals increased considerably. Also noteworthy is the use of technological methods such as the addition of yeasts to the fodder and the preparation of feed mixes with micro- and macro-elements. The economic results of scientific achievements and progressive experience in the farm average 500,000-600,000 rubles per year. All the necessary conditions for the more extensive involvement of scientific workers in such experimentation are provided and specific practical aid is given. This brings out with increasing clarity a characteristic modern trend: a conversion from uncoordinated measures for the mechanization and technological improvement of agrarian production to comprehensive programs in the development and application of which scientific research centers become involved. For the second consecutive year, on the recommendation of the Belgorod Agricultural Institute, corn for grain is being grown on the basis of industrial technology. Despite last year's adverse conditions, the mechanized teams headed by I. M. Brozhin, V. F. Zyubenko and F. A. Korobov, respectively from the kolkhozes Progress, 40 Let Oktyabrya and imeni Chapayev, averaged 40 or more quintals of corn grain per hectare.

The rural workers are strengthening relations with the selection and seed growing department of the Belgorod Agricultural Institute. Following its recommendations, all farms used the highly productive winter wheat strain "Belgorodskaya-5", developed by local scientists. Planted on fallow land, after perennial grasses, under the conditions of the rayon, it raised yields by 5-7 quintals compared with the "Mironovskaya-808" strain.

The long experience in practical cooperation with scientific research institutions and with the kolkhozes and soykhozes of the Poltava area encouraged our farm managers and specialists to undertake the study and to apply their valuable experience in soil protection farming. In 1981 15,000 hectares of land in the rayon were cultivated with flat mouldboards. The winter crops planted on this area added 2-2.5 quintals of grain per hectare to the crop, compared with sectors where traditional technology was applied.

However, why is the dissemination of new and progressive methods held back? Why is it that more effective labor organization methods have not been adopted by all rayon farms? We assigned our specialists to study the problem and used the services of an entire group of scientists who were asked to study this rayon problem.

The study of practical experience indicated that the agricultural management service was clearly inconsistent with modern requirements. Successful and, therefore, efficient work in one or another rural sector now largely depends not on the farmers but their numerous partners. This involves construction,

supply, reclamation, electrification, repair, road building, agrochemical, procurement and other workers. Unfortunately, such rayon services act as separate departments and, consequently, give priority not to the interest of those they must serve but to one superior organization or another. This leads to conflicts and all kinds of complications, which are difficult to eliminate. Essentially, the executive functions should be assumed by the rayon agricultural administration. However, in addition to everything else, it is short of personnel. Most frequently its personnel act as recorders of the existing situation, engaging in inspection trips, spending most of their working time in paper shuffling, drafting all sorts of reports and instructions, etc. However, the blame is not entirely theirs; they are frequently asked to do so by the rayon executive committee, the oblast agricultural administration and other economic organs.

At their city accountability and election party conference, the party members soundly criticized the specialists from the rayon agricultural administration for the inefficiency and low work quality. We are making efforts to change their attitudes toward the work but they continue to work on the basis of programs issued by their superiors.

In discussing the vital need for further improvements in the management system of the agroindustrial complex, at the November 1981 CC CPSU Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "the final word of what to plant and when to begin one operation or another should belong to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The rayon administrative level must be strengthened comprehensively. We must create the type of conditions which would encourage more actively the growth and increased intensiveness of agricultural production, encourage the initiative of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and all units within the agroindustrial complex and make them work not on the basis of intermediary indicators but for the sake of high end results."

The recent CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers Decree "On the Further Development of Agriculture in the Central-Chernozem area of the RSFSR" should give a new impetus to the intensification of the struggle for labor efficiency in the agrarian economy. It stipulates comprehensive measures aimed at the intensification and strengthening of all units within the agroindustrial complex and defines the specific ways leading to the socioeconomic renovation of this huge part of the country which has incalculable reserves. This progress will be achieved above all on the basis of the further strengthening of the material and technical base of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It is known, among others, that the rayon farm will receive a total of 962 tractors, 518 trucks, 362 grain harvesting combines, 157 beet harvesting machine sets and many other types of agricultural machinery--twice the amount they have received during the past 5 years.

Therefore, the power equipment in the area will increase from 211 to 260 horsepower per 100 hectares of arable land. All of this entrusts the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, managers, specialists and individual workers with high responsibility for the rational and maximally efficient utilization of capital investments, equipment and fertilizers and makes it incumbent upon us to ensure by 1985 an annual production of 217,000 tons of

sugar beets, 22,000 tons of meat and 96,000 tons of milk. By the end of the five-year plan, the volume of gross output must increase by 13 percent and labor productivity by 30 percent compared with the previous five-year plan.

In accordance with the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers Decree, measures are being drafted to improve trade and cultural services to the population. The network of roads will be expanded and more public education, medical and cultural projects will be built. During the five-year plan, housing construction in the countryside will total 38,000 square meters; schools and children's preschool institutions for 2,000 children and store areas totalling 1,470 square meters will be built and about 130 kilometers of hard paved roads will be laid.

The city party committee has developed organizational work among the labor collectives for the implementation of this program. Under contemporary conditions many farm managers and specialists will have to reorganize their attitude toward the land radically. Let us be entirely frank: for a number of reasons, the central Russian chernozems have not met their full potential. Average grain and cultivated crops have been below local possibilities and have even declined in recent years.

Successful farming means to think not only of the present but to look far ahead, to work for the future. This five-year plan, as estimates indicate, a great deal can be accomplished to increase grain crops and the production of fodder for animal husbandry without major state capital investments. One of the decisive reserves for fertility is related to the better utilization of local fertilizer. So far, we average 4-4.5 tons of organic fertilizer per hectare per year, which is below the norm required to maintain the full balance of nutritive substances in the soil. The rayon farms have adequate quantities of organic fertilizers, particularly at the animal husbandry complexes. Furthermore, the farms specializing in the production of animal husbandry goods face very sharply the problem of utilizing the manure and delivering it to the fields. A small livestock farm could be part of the normal cycle. In order not to disturb the cycle, today's average-size complex, which raises 10,000 to 15,000 head of cattle and 30,000-40,000 hogs needs an entire river of water and entire trains of feed. Unfortunately, to this day the villages do not have effective systems for the treatment of stock water, which could be recirculated for purposes of repeated use.

In this connection, we must point out the problem of sugar production waste, which essentially consists of lime and the most fertile part of the soil. This is the most valuable product which must be returned to the fields. Wherever it is applied fertility is restored and acidity is neutralized. We know that with every passing year the central Russian chernozems are losing their strength because of acidification. This is caused by the scarcity of organic substances in the soil. However, it is precisely the sugar beet liming which can resolve several problems simultaneously. So far, however, the ministries of food industry and agriculture have done nothing to convert sugar refinery waste into valuable fertilizers.

More than in any other public production area, the concept of "big" and "small" are in a state of complex dialectical interdependence in agrarian production:

the first is based on the second. Let us consider animal husbandry. The livestock farms sensitively react to even the slightest error. This applies even more so to modern animal husbandry complexes. A breakdown of a power cable which supplies electricity to a farm raising a hundred head is one thing; a breakdown threatening a farm raising several thousand head of cattle is quite another. This applies also to other systems which ensure the viability of industrial complexes. A breakdown of a single one of them, even for a few hours, results in tremendous production losses.

The press has frequently mentioned that the powerful Kirovets and T-150 tractors do not have the necessary complement of attachments, for which reason they work at 25 percent capacity. Our farms are not always able to cope with the plowing operation, although we cannot say that available technical facilities are used at full capacity. Strange though it might seem, during the season the main burden falls on the weak tractors, for they have the necessary set of attached implements such as plows, haysweeps, stubble breakers, couplers and harrows. The hitching of such tools to a Kirovets would naturally double the speed of the work.

Nor have repairs of K-700 and T-150 tractors, sugar beet combines, and some feed preparation machines been organized. Therefore, an increasing number of farms are forced to duplicate the work of Sel'khoztekhnika by building their own workshops and purchasing machine tools. Procurements of needed shaped metal are even more difficult. Such procurements are not planned on a centralized basis. The RSFSR Gosplan believes that such services should be handled by the raysel'khoztekhnika which, as we know, finds it unprofitable to sell "raw materials". What are the rural mechanizers to do? They are forced to make various adaptations of old, written-off machinery which, however, is needed by the scrap metal enterprises. Willy-nilly, the farms violate planned procurements of scrap iron needed by the metallurgical plants, thus hindering the work of agricultural machine building enterprises. The result is that they harm themselves.

Sponsorship by industrial enterprises is yet another source of non-centralized delivery allocations for the countryside. However, the sponsors are not always able to help the sponsored farms. Here again, the "individual sides" engage in circuitous maneuvers some of which come close to violations of the law and or civic and party ethics. The city party committee has adopted a high principle-minded position on such matters and is mercilessly fighting people who are dishonest, misuse their official position, and violate party and state discipline. However, we must quite clearly state that the measures taken in some areas to upgrade agrarian production efficiency must be accompanied by the concerted efforts of central ministries, departments and planning organs to improve material and technical supplies of kolkhozes and sovkhoses on a centralized basis.

The effect of two other negative factors in agriculture concerning the mass resowing of winter grain crops has become noticeably stronger in recent years. On the one hand, this requires tremendous material and power resource outlays; on the other, it leads to below-capacity harvests. The decree on the central Chernozem zone pays particular attention to the need for the extensive use of

progressive industrial technology in growing a number of farm crops this five-year plan by the kolkhozes and soykhozes. This problem is closely related to another one: the farmers need the type of crop strains which would not only yield high crops under ideal circumstances but would effectively "operate" under difficult production conditions. So far this cannot be said of the "Mironovskaya-808" wheat, zoned for our area, or the sunflower, pea, coriander and corn strains.

The rayon rural workers adopted a counterplan for the second year of the five-year plan, calling for increased efforts to upgrade production effectiveness and to take the necessary steps for the conservation of labor, materials, raw materials, and electric power at all stages in the production process and to be guided always and in everything exclusively by state interests. The workers at the Progress kolkhoz launched a valuable initiative. They resolved to apply total cost effectiveness in all production sub-units during the Eleventh Five-Year Plan and thus totally eliminate existing manpower shortages. In the rayon at large, thanks to the use of industrial technology in crop growing and animal husbandry, the mechanization of labor-intensive processes and the mastering of related skills by the mechanizers, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are planning to release no less than 420 people for work in other sectors. This will mean that labor productivity in the agrarian sector of the economy will increase by 32 percent compared with the Tenth Five-Year Plan. We are also planning to improve the quality of economic activities on the primary level of farm management--brigades, livestock farms and other sub-units operating on a cost-effectiveness basis. To this effect additional steps are being taken to strengthen the middle level of skilled cadres, essentially by hiring young specialists.

Concern for the effectiveness of agricultural labor is a general, a party matter. Everything must be done to utilize more rapidly and better the thoughts and labor of scientists, designers, experimental workers and production leaders and innovators. The relevance of this task is determined by life and the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

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## LOFTY MISSION OF RUSSIAN ART

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[Article by M. Alpatov, full member of the USSR Academy of Arts and laureate of the USSR State Prize]

[Text] The depths of Russian fine arts are truly unfathomable. Even after visiting for the hundredth time the totally familiar halls of the Tret'yakov Gallery or the Russian Museum, one invariably feels the flow of the eternally reborn and vital beauty of the human spirit, the inflexible persistence of man, nobility and dedication. Russian art is presented to us as a powerful, rich river which flows slowly but purposefully through the years and the centuries. The long and frequently stormy path of Russian art is essentially a hymn to the greatness of man. The history of our national fine arts, imbued with internal unity, appears to me as the process of the creation of the portrait of man, focusing within itself the destinies of the entire nation.

Let us imagine for a minute that we are in one of our museums. We begin by seeing the wealth of ancient Russian art. We see the faces of saints. Their big wide eyes seem to indicate their readiness to leave behind the vanity of this earth. We find changes in the Russian icons of the 14th and 15th centuries, when the country was being liberated from the yoke of the Horde. The faces of Rublev's icons show peace, tranquillity and inner warmth. How beautiful and human their eyes are!

We find profound changes in the portraits painted in Peter the Great's age. We see here his contemporaries with lively expressions on their faces, clothing which accurately depicts the customs of the period and social life. Their proud bearing and the medals on their chests are emphasized by their rich gold-lined attire and cuffs. Their appearance reveals an awareness of high dignity, valor and daring. One can imagine the pride of the titled nobility looking at such portraits.

But then the painter Rokotov appears and everything suddenly changes. Externally, some of his portraits resemble those of other masters of the epoch. However, the similarity does not go beyond the surroundings. The artist looked at the person as though through a veil of mystery. The portraits change, they become poetical. The gold and the silk appear endowed with a spirituality and the burning and passionate eyes stand out in the faces.

The new attitude toward man is felt particularly strongly in the portraits of women. Rokotov captures their charm through the secretive smiles and slightly hooded eyes of the models. The faces in Rokotov's portraits are alive, mobile, vibrant. The smile changes seemingly totally unremarkable features. The colors of the apparel are particularly attractive. Along with Rokotov, the painters Levitskiy and Borovikovskiy were gathering strength, although their works remain less poetic than Rokotov's.

Something new appeared in the portraits of men at the turn of the 19th century. The Russian painters who painted them could not fail to react to the events of their time. We see ideals of military valor in the portraits of participants in the Patriotic War of 1812 painted by Kiprenskiy, tiredness and indifference to life in Bryullov's portraits, and features of pacified orientation toward the family in Tropinin's portraits.

At the beginning of the 19th century the character of the peasant girl appeared in Russian art. Venetsianov's heroines were captivating, with their open faces, purity of thought and touching beauty. The peasant girls which Venetsianov introduced into Russian art clutched sickles or rakes and held their young, the colors in harmony with their new kerchiefs. Resting women had blue cornflowers on their knees. These women are entirely different from Rokotov's. The faces are usually without make-up and the hair is pulled back. Tranquility is their permanent feature.

We also find in Russian paintings faces on which we read sadness. Such thoughts are induced by Aleksandr Ivanov in his "Head of a Young Woman with Earrings and Necklace." However, the profound psychological perception of man was able to dominate Russian art only in the Peredvizhnik period.

The portraits painted by the Peredvizhniks expressed the lofty and suffering character of many. Repin's "Barge Haulers on the Volga," Perov's "Fomushka Jr" and many characters in Surikov's canvases, his "Morning of the Strelets Execution" and "Boyar's Wife Morozova," describe the difficult fate of man filled with inner tragedy and grandeur. All of this has been depicted directly and daringly by the painter. The portraits of Russian people became more profound and penetrating. Complex intellectual characters and the inner struggle of man and the conflicts within him may be seen in V. Perov's portrait of Dostoyevskiy, N. Ge's Herzen, I. Repin's Pisemskiy and I. Kramskiy's Litovchenko, and later, in N. Andreyev's monument to Gogol'. They remind us of many characters in the novels of Leo Tolstoy and Dostoyevskiy, with their noble missions, feelings and emotions.

It was at that time that an attempt was made to depict contradictions within historical personalities. Repin's "Ivan the Terrible and His Son Ivan" and Surikov's "Menshikov in Berezovo." The range of emotions became more complex. Czar Ivan's remorse for the committed crime and the thought of Menshikov's former glory make each portrait profoundly tragic and seemingly inexhaustible in its psychological polyphony.

The end of the century brought about substantial changes. Vrubel' achieved the highest level of art in reflecting human sympathy and compassion.

His pencil self-portrait of 1904 shows a tremendous inner tension, deep lines and concentration. The portrait gives the impression of a person confessing. In Vrubel's "Fortune Teller" the woman is looking into the distance, but her passionless expression is hiding a profound emotion. Vrubel's numerous portraits, particularly that of his favorite Demona, speak of the painful suffering of an agitated human spirit.

On the other hand, we find in Serov echoes of Venetsianov and his traditions. His "commissioned" portraits of high society people repel us with their spiritual emptiness. However, Serov, our favorite painter, also painted the portraits of splendid people in whom he found a happy response, clearly revealed in his canvases. Let us recall "Girl with Peaches," imbued with love for the beauty of the ordinary. Serov painted a large number of such happy portraits.

The immortal gallery of Russian characters painted by our artists is an open book of the Russian national character, always extremely sincere and warm. The Russian portraitists never tried to become edifying moralists. This rescued progressive portrait art from the elements of primitive didactics. At the same time, the portraitists never remained indifferent and cold observers. Their canvases captivate us by their unshakeable truth. We distinguish in the creations of our masters the features of people close to us. We see the traces of happiness and suffering and, through them, moral beauty and spiritual nobility. All of this creates in us a feeling of deep attachment.

The great Russian writers such as Pushkin, Gogol', Tolstoy, Dostoyevskiy, Chekhov and Gor'kiy, have long earned recognition and glory in our country and abroad. However, if you ask a foreigner about Russian painters, he will most frequently name Kandinskiy and Malevich. The Soviet people who have visited the Tretyakov Gallery and the Russian Museum and other collections of paintings since childhood know incomparably more about Russian painters. However, it is true that many of them are properly familiar with a relatively small group of painters. This is an abnormal situation.

We are pleased to note that in recent years interest in Russian art, its history and contemporary development trends has increased both at home and abroad.

The most important role of the Russian people, around which all other nations which now constitute the new historical community--the single multinational Soviet people, rallied for centuries, determines this interest in Russian artistic culture and its national traditions. The fact that Russian culture gathered within itself and preserved the historical experience of the people who made the first Socialist revolution in the world in 1917 also determines the steadily increasing universal attention paid to the monuments of Russian culture.

For a long time familiarity with Russian national culture abroad was rather uneven and frequently subject to prejudiced patterns. Such patterns were sometimes deliberately promoted by tendentiously oriented circles (which had proclaimed, for example, that "the icon and the ax" were the two main symbols of Russian national history and culture). In other cases, this schematism was based on simple ignorance and one-sided historiocultural concepts.

Russian art was frequently automatically compared with the French or German schools and considered a "provincial" European current, ignoring the basic features of its originality and actual ties with national character and national history.

Western professional art experts have been long familiar with some Russian painters such as Karl Bryullov, Kiprenskiy, Sil'vestr Shchedrin and Aleksandr Ivanov. V. Vereshchagin's antiwar paintings were tremendously popular. N. Ge's passionate paintings dealing with evangelical topics, exposing the social ills of his time, were discussed in many countries. Nevertheless, the West had no overall concept of the development of our art.

Typically, the first Russian art exhibits in the West (from domestic collections) were received quite condescendingly and contemptuously (some reviewers described even Vrubel' as a "flat illustrator").

In the period immediately preceding the pre- and post-October Revolution years, only two periods in Russian art were accepted and noted abroad: most ancient and most modern, the ancient Russian icon and the "vanguard" of the beginning of the 20th century. In between was "a failure," "descriptiveness," "tendentiousness" and "self-consciousness." This was the simple classification adopted by Western researchers and audiences, a method which is also occasionally used by some of our own art lovers.

The perception of Russian art changed radically in the 1970's. Detente and the related intensified cultural exchanges played a tremendous role in this respect. Numerous exhibits of Russian prerevolutionary and Soviet graphic arts broke down prejudiced views and introduced to the Western public a number of first-rate painters.

This process also coincided with some phenomena in Western artistic life. Tired of abstractionism, the public turned to what is known in the West as "figurative art." Painters, art experts, critics and publishers of books and photographs of paintings suddenly became almost without exception great lovers of the 19th century. The fashion of the turn of the century came back, the "retro" style became popular and everywhere there was talk of a "return to realism."

We cannot fail to assess positively the permanent features of this process. We can be proud of having retained during the decades of the 20th century our loyalty to truly realistic traditions. However, in the West a "return to realism" is far from simple: it frequently means a return to high society and philistine art. Features such as idea- and nation-mindedness, the social activeness of art and its anticlericalism are "deleted" from the legacy of the 19th century, the legacy of the Russian national school in particular. Many works were published comparing noncomparable features on the basis of purely formal characteristics deprived of a meaningful historical foundation. The polemic on the subject of Russian national artistic traditions, which has been ongoing for quite some time on a global scale and which is ideological and not neutral in the least, has changed but not abated.

Unfortunately, our own artistic life occasionally contributes arguments to this discussion, which are not in our favor. At the turn of the 1960's, a fashion developed for everything "old Russian" and "old," regardless of the artistic or ideological value of one phenomenon or another. Occasionally "neo-slavophilic" concepts appear in our own publications dealing with problems of domestic culture. Art experts and painters are not always discriminate when they turn to the "behests" of salon art, which initially served the "laics" and subsequently the financial and industrial magnates, under the guise of the "restoration of national traditions." The struggle between the two cultures in Russia, which was advancing toward a social revolution, remained rather sharp throughout the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Sometimes the circumstances accompanying this struggle are forgotten, as a result of which that which was presented as the reactionary culture of the "upper crust" and even as "national," to which the words "orthodox" and "autocracy" were added, is resurrected as being "national." Sometimes there is a confusion between the truly democratic ideals, which nurtured the great Russian art, and the pseudodemocratic nature of bourgeois philistine taste, a kind of consumerism which imitates "national traditions."

In a word, a comprehensive interest in Russian culture and its traditions must create less feelings of tenderness and complacency than a feeling of increased responsibility.

In post-October times we became far more familiar with the history of Russian art than during prerevolutionary times. A tremendous number of monuments of Russian art, previously located in churches and monasteries or owned by the church, but which went to museums and became public property, have been discovered over the past 60 years. A large number of priceless works of modern art were privately owned and kept in the landed estates or private homes. Today, however, they are exhibited in the numerous museums of our cities. The Soviet state did a tremendous amount of work to restore Russian architectural monuments. Many of them were severely damaged. A particularly large number were destroyed by the Nazis during the last war in old cities such as Novgorod, Kiev, Pskov and Novyy Ierusalim. The palaces around Leningrad were also destroyed.

The restoration of our historical and artistic wealth is continuing. Although quite frequently and quite justly we point out errors in this respect and a sometimes inadmissible slowness on the part of the construction-restoration organizations and the obvious waste of funds, we should point out with satisfaction not only the purely quantitative progress in the restoration of monuments from the past but a change in the very attitude toward them, even on the part of those who have nothing to do with professional art. Under our very eyes the history of Russian art is becoming a universally acknowledged socialist cultural value. The work of the restorers of ancient Russian paintings has been particularly fruitful. The transformation of the old, darkened pieces of wood stored in sheds and attics, totally neglected, into icons with their brilliant colors, which, together with other masterpieces of Russian and Soviet art, decorate the museums, is an outstanding page in the history of our spiritual culture.

All of this, including the serious art studies made by Soviet scientists, has contributed to the fact that Russian art has assumed its proper place in Moscow and oblast museums. Strongly linked with the history of Russian culture as a whole, it has broadened our concepts regarding our country's past.

This beneficial process of enriching the contemporary culture of the socialist society through the discovery and creative mastery of the progressive national traditions of the past reflects our principled position on the cultural legacy of past centuries. However, as in all processes in spiritual culture, the "rebirth" of ancient Russian art did not take place under the "sterile" conditions of "laboratories." In many cases, along with the universal attention and wide interest in the history of Russian art and its unquestionably favorable influence on the development of the spiritual culture of our society, there have been some "asides" which sometimes begin to distort the meaning and direction of the main movement. This applies to the rather popular fad for old Russian things, whatever their form and appearance. Let us try to determine the heart of this matter.

The "passion" to collect old Russian art, which has developed among our young and in people interested in art, is on the surface of the phenomenon. This applies to icons, samovars, semi-rotten peasant women's headdresses, bits of cornices barbarically torn out of church friezes, etc. "Expeditions of volunteers" (as well as single individuals) rush to our northern areas every summer. Such people have nothing in common with true collecting, which is thoughtful and, above all, concerned. Their sole objective is to bring back by any means as many items of Russian church and popular art as is possible. Even if we ignore the sad fact that such "enthusiasts" cause irreparable harm by wasting unique items and works of art gathered in historically developed areas, we must draw attention to the extremely narrow-minded, although quite conceited, lining of this phenomenon. Guided by a fad, the "zealous" protectors of antiquity try particularly earnestly to appear as protectors of and experts in "ancient Russian spirit" and "national awareness," as "archeologists of the roots of the Russian soul," etc. Such claims are based, as a rule, on rather superficial and scant ideas regarding Russian history and, particularly, the history of Russian art, replaced by the extremely militant desire to acquire anything which in the "general" view may be of any artistic value whatsoever.

There is nothing wrong with the natural desire of man to find out more about and to preserve carefully objects and monuments related to the cultural history of his native area. However, this "movement of the heart" must be respected and encouraged only if it is based on a truly profound knowledge of history, on the desire to enrich our contemporary culture, rather than the quite doubtful wish to be famous for a unique collection of "prestige" icons or spinning wheels. The problem is as much aesthetic as it is moral, for again and again it raises the question of the legitimacy of phenomena such as fads in our spiritual life. Today we must address ourselves with increasing frequency to this moral and aesthetic topic which is far from exclusively of theoretical importance.

When we discuss apparel, nothing is more natural than to discuss fashion--stylistic concepts accepted by a given society. Naturally, a thoughtless

attitude toward fashion, deprived of an individual approach, may clash with aesthetic taste or, in simple terms, may be ridiculous. However, the problems which arise when such fashion extends its influence to more significant areas of our culture are far more serious.

Each specific historical society develops its concepts of beauty and creates its aesthetic ideal. The desire to come closer to this ideal and to embody it in works of art is realized through the historically determined and relatively stable views on artistic ways and means used to express the ideological content of art. Style is the unification of these aesthetic concepts. From its very specific to most general interpretations (let us remember Buffon's comment that "style makes the man"), style implies the live mobility of its components and their development. In the opposite case it becomes an ossified dogma, a canon. It degenerates into stylized concepts and becomes fashion.

In this sense, fashion is not a harmless phenomenon in the least. It dictates rigid aesthetic norms and demands their strict and slavish observance. Under these conditions, it is precisely fashion rather than true creativity that becomes the criterion in assessing one cultural phenomenon or another and determines its right to exist. Widely disseminated fashion destroys real search, proclaiming it "old-fashioned," "noncontemporary" and "obsolete."

Occasionally, something similar takes place in "discovering" Russian antiquity which, alas, has turned into fashion. The desire to become part of a circle of "antiquity" experts regardless of means, purposes and price, is the bitter irony of the blind obedience to fashion, which destroys the individuality of man and converts him into part of a "series," even though it may deal with an aesthetic "idea." All of this is against not only a truly scientific approach to the history of Russian art but to our concepts of the artistic culture of the socialist society at large. No, not only a narrow circle of experts and professional art students have and should have the right to be "exposed" to the Russian historical heritage. This is obvious. However, it is equally obvious that this "exposure" must be guided and controlled, that our museums and scientific and educational institutions must be surrounded by attention and concern.

However, fashion and stylized art become even more destructive in the area of professional art, which must set a model for aesthetic taste. Speaking of the past, we can clearly see that the efforts of many Russian people of modern times to "cling" to ancient Rus' become sterile attempts to stylize art and trigger no more than stillborn forgeries. In my view, such was the case with the entire pseudo-Russian so-called "cockrel architecture," with its towers and Russian headdresses and Ropet style and many church murals, some of them even painted by famous masters. Alongside them, however, painters such as Petrov-Vodkin, Pavel Kuznetsov and Favorskiy--universally recognized classics of Soviet art--truly studied the essential features of ancient Russian art, which influenced their own works favorably. Petrov-Vodkin's paintings, such as "Bathing the Red Horse," and "The Commissar's Death," were a daring attempt to return to historically developed Russian stylistic motifs. I have observed the work of Pavel Kuznetsov, who followed the same road in a series of paintings. V. A. Favorskiy did not take up ancient Russian stylistic forms but

developed his own illustrations to the "Story of the Igorev Regiment," and remained loyal to the Russian tradition in all of his works. In his "Stonemason," A. Matveyev depicts folk wood sculpture masters, and he also followed the traditions of ancient Russian art in all of his works. However, such outstanding examples have not been properly extended to the contemporary fine arts always and in all areas.

The desire to prove one's devoted loyalty to old Russian traditions by painting golden-haired epic heroes with their helmets, sad icon-type "Russian" beauties with the hypertrophied eyes of madonnas, and obedient foggy-eyed adolescents is questionable. This implies that the creative mastery of ancient Russian painting consists of such openly stylized methods. However, to tell the truth, if we are looking for the historical origins of this tradition, it seems to me that the best thing would be to look at the illustrated periodical NIVA of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.

Whatever their manifestations, fashion and stylized work, whether "retro" or "modern," dessicate art, deprive it of its artistic and moral content, warmth and intimacy, and turn it into a collection of tasteless stereotypes. However, the fact that the artist has never based his work on cold intellectualism and, naturally, has not followed any doubtful fashion, has always been and will remain an attractive feature of Russian and Soviet art. On the contrary, his works have been based on live and warm humaneness and truthfulness. It was no accident that Dostoyevskiy demanded of art that it leave a mark on the heart. Gor'kiy spoke of the warmth of art. However, the rich Russian language has one more word--intimacy. It means something even deeper, something found in the innermost recesses of the human soul. All of this is the natural counterbalance to a fad in all its manifestations.

Actually, this topic could be discussed at length using a variety of arguments. However, the creativity of the specific painters--their aesthetic positions and works--puts everything in its proper place. I consider as such artistic "arguments" the works of Viktor Popkov and Yevsey Moiseyenko, two outstanding masters of today. They have entirely different painting styles, but they have openly taken and transformed Russian tradition through their vision. This involves purity of spirit in icon-style topics such as "Recollections. A Widow," and a sharp feeling of the continuity of time in "Song of the North" by V. Popkov and a colorful perception of the world which is invariably associated with the Russian classical heritage in Andalusian and Staraya Ladoga landscapes by Ye. Moiseyenko. The works of these and other contemporary painters is seductive with its selfless attitude toward Russian tradition, in which they seek and, most importantly, find one of the sources of their inspiration, which has nothing in common with doubtful "Russophilia."

We live in a multinational country and have become accustomed to the fact that each nation has its own national culture. We are proud of Ukrainian art, which created the rich portrait genre of the turn of the 18th century. In Georgia we admire the beauty of designs in churches and the indigenous art of Piroshmanashvili. In Armenia we admire the temples and today the blossoming of the work of Martiros Sar'yan, influenced by the Russian school of painting and Armenian tradition. We also admire the artful woodcutting of Lithuania

and the splendid fantasy in Chyurlenis' paintings. We are overwhelmed by the beauty of the ancient mosques in Samarkand.

It would be impossible to list the splendid monuments contributed to the national schools and which have enriched our art treasury. Some of them are unique. Others have become an organic part of history and have been mastered by Russian art.

Russian art owes a great deal to the influence of a number of Western European--Italian, French and German--schools. This is natural, for "while it is able to pay their proper due to foreign accomplishments, Russian society is also able to value its own, without boastfulness or denigration," Belinskiy wrote as early as the 19th century.

Today, again and again we think of the global significance of Russian art. It was created by the Russian people for their own sake but its best works belong to the world. They belong to all progressive mankind. The Russian painters have contributed valuable pages to the chronicles of world art.

The fact that when the Russian nation was being founded, on the basis of their own experience our predecessors worked to create their own state and art is of decisive significance. We know the way historical circumstances changed in our country and the way cultural centers replaced each other--Kiev, Vladimir, Moscow and Petersburg. The generations came and went, their views on the world broadened, foreign masters came and many of them joined in the creation of Russian art. However, the thread of the great cultural continuity never left the hands of the people.

This continuity is now 1,000 years old. It is not in the least surprising that Russian art is a huge entity which is almost impossible to encompass, and that it reflects our life in all of its variety: its great simplicity and grace, tragedy and bright joy, richness and restraint. We find in Russian art contradictions such as the stern asceticism of the Novgorod temples and the colorful patterns of 17th-century architecture. We find the rich Rastrell and the strict Zakharov, the thoughtful Rokotov and the happy-go-lucky Levitskiy, Pushkin and Gogol', Tolstoy and Dostoeyevskiy, Mussorgskiy and Tchaikovskiy, and Repin and Surikov. Indeed, Russian art is a huge and rich world and there seems to be no thrust in the human soul which has not been expressed by the painters. That is why the thorough study of Russian art is of such important educational significance for the youth. Its purpose is not only to familiarize us with the artistic past of our homeland but to contribute to the shaping of a patriotic awareness and to make man responsive to truth, goodness and beauty.

However, the scope of Russian artistic creativity has strictly defined borders. One must be an incorrigible skeptic to doubt the fact that Russian art has always preserved the unity of its aspirations.

We know Rublev as an artist who expresses the artistic self-awareness of ancient Rus' and Pushkin as the outstanding poet of new Russia. They were men of their own age, and both strove toward the lofty and the ideal. However, this

did not exclude their spiritual balance and simplicity. Rublev was adopted as a yardstick for perfection by painters of a later age. Pushkin was adopted as the same yardstick of perfection by the writers of the 19th century.

Rublev and Pushkin do not represent merely a comparison between epochs. This comparison includes the thought of the unity of the development of Russian art in the course of the centuries.

However, we must always remember that the characteristic feature of Russian art was its sharply expressed polarity which, in the final account, was based upon social stratification. Bryullov's contemporaries admired "The Last Days of Pompeii," describing the canvas as "the beginning of Russian painting." However, their descendants give total priority to the painting "The Appearance of Christ to the People" by Aleksandr Ivanov, which was welcomed by his contemporaries quite coolly. Particularly valuable in the painting are the splendid studies imbued with love for the people and true conceptual democracy. A period of no more than 20 years separates Valentin Serov's "Odysseus and Nausicaa" and Semiradskiy's "Frina." However, Serov's work expresses the charm of the young, live and open art, while Semiradskiy's painting is a skillful but ordinary product of academic training smacking of bourgeois salon art. It is worth recalling only for the sake of imagining the nature of the aesthetic and ideological opponents of the Peredvizhniki.

The inevitable question which arises is the following: What blocked the success of the Russian painters, even the talented one? Mainly the readiness of some of them to serve the czarist authorities, to indulge the low taste of "high society," and to praise the czarist officials, thereby ignoring the imperatives of their hearts and consciences. They were also hindered by stagnation, conservatism, backwardness and in some cases militant provincialism. Nevertheless, all of these "obstacles" on the way to the development of fine art were surmounted by those who had not only a natural gift and were highly professionally trained but who had assumed a clear civic position and an inflexible moral stand.

Russian artistic creativity can be understood properly only on the basis of the historical reality which created it. The great epoch of building white stone temples in Vladimir and Suzdal' was the epoch of the "Tale of the Igorev Regiment." If we wish to find the meaning of Rublev's "Trinity," we think of the Kulikov battle. The St Basil Cathedral on Red Square was a temple to Russian military glory.

It is high time for the entire Russian artistic creativity, from ancient icon painting to contemporary oil canvases, to be interpreted on the same basis. Popular peasant art, previously classified in the area of ethnographic studies, should also assume its proper place alongside other paintings. Our prints, spinning wheels, embroidery and fold carvings--which can be found almost nowhere outside Russia--are the pride of the Russian past. It is this that proves the range of Russian art.

We know that people from the outside became famous in Russian art. In ancient times this applied to the Greeks, one of whom was Feofan Grek. Falcone,

Rastrelli, Rossi and Cameron came after Peter's reform. Their works embellish our art.

However, a close look at their works reveals the imprint of Russian influence. What was this "Russian" feature and how was it manifested?

Let us go back to Valentin Serov's "Girl with Peaches," familiar to everyone from reproductions. Let us compare this profoundly poetic work with "Girls in Black" by Renoir, the French master whose works have been seen by many at the Moscow Fine Arts Museum imeni A. S. Pushkin. Those who have seen the charm of each one of these works will derive pleasure also from the awareness that the achievements of different national schools are not mutually exclusive.

Renoir projects the prettiness and charm of his modestly clothed, gracious girls from the suburbs of Paris. The artist clearly wishes to give us the general image of femininity, as found in his actresses, models and sophisticated ladies. Looking at the girls in black, we are not puzzling over their girlish joys and concerns. What captivates us the truth of the artist's vision, the delicacy with which the shades of blue and green blend, and the lightness and transparency of the style.

V. Serov's "Girl with Peaches" is more substantive but also imparts a great deal of lightness and freshness. The essential feature in Serov's portrait is the expression on the face of this dark-eyed girl who seems to have accidentally taken a place by a table covered with a tablecloth and is looking at the viewer. This indescribable yet easily understood look, captivating and full of innocent purity, cannot be found in Western European paintings of the 19th century. In this case Serov holds a particular place as the heir of the traditions of Rokotov and Kiprenskiy, worthy of a place among the creators of the most vivid female characters in Russian classical literature. Serov's painting is effective not only because of its beauty and lightness but also because of the memories and associations it evokes. The window looking onto the park, the redwood furniture, the covered table and, finally, the peaches themselves are part of the overall impression and surround the girl with a series of poetic images. What matters most in art is not what one can see at the first glance but a string of parallel thoughts, recollections, associations, hints and sensations no words can describe. They must be deciphered by the viewers without a caption.

Virtually all topics and genres known in other European countries are represented in Russian art. In Russia, however, they were interpreted differently. Here we have characters who come from the distant past and although changed they may be found in Russian art up to the present.

The Russian people have always lived and worked in the infinite space of the Eastern European plain. It is deeply attached to this epically grandiose nature. It has felt in it something close and has considered it its "mother earth." Its most ancient buildings are beautiful and stately, although they have almost no architectural embellishments. They reveal the fullness of their harmony when looked at from afar. They seem to spring from the ground. The Russian architects were not tempted to subordinate nature to architecture but

rather turned to the task of making architecture part of the landscape. This feeling for nature guided them when they built a new city and particularly when rows of log houses were built. They tried not to deprive the population of the opportunity to see the rivers, lakes and endless fields around them. That same feeling was introduced in Russian art by Isaak Levitan in his "Vladimirka," which is filled with a tremendous feeling of tragedy. Pokrov's temple on the Nerla, the masterpiece of 12th-century Russian architecture, is painted like a little rock, positioned in such a way that the infinite space around it again and again strikes us with the unique attractiveness of the simple Russian landscape. The classical ensembles built by Russian architects in the 18th and 19th centuries are unusually beautiful. Although based on the principles of Western architecture, they organically blend with our environment.

The medieval west daringly and passionately sought a higher means of expression in the grandiose Roman Catholic cathedrals and Gothic spires. We created a Vladimir-Suzdal' architecture with its simple and clear forms, light decorative patterns and strict reliefs. The West created "The Song of Roland," a poem of knights' loyalty, and we created the "Tale of the Igorev Regiment"--a poem of the Russian land, fragrant with the fine poetry of nature. The West progressed from bright incorporeal stained glass to Mazacco's plastic paintings, while our icon painters brought the perfection of the beauty of a silhouette, the smooth flowing lines and the warm colors to a state of perfection. When the West left medieval architecture behind it also rejected the rules of Greek architecture and adopted the arrogant language of Rome. Meanwhile, in our Kolomna hipped-roof temple, Russian architects were able to raise the simple motifs of popular wooden architecture to the level of high art. In more modern times folk creativity in the West, suppressed and strangled by the city, became gradually impoverished. Russian folk songs, woodcarvings, embroidery and prints developed and blossomed even after Peter's reform as nowhere else in Europe. This influenced the urban art of the epoch.

In the second half of the 18th century, sated with brittle rococo, the West tried to go back to antiquity. During the classical period of Catherine and Alexander, Russian art was able to develop a rich, vital architecture which was unknown at that time even in Palladio's homeland.

The sharp and penetrating Ingres and the brilliantly superficial Lawrence became famous in European portrait art, while Russian painting was moved ahead by Kiprenskiy, who was more modest but more thoughtful and profound. H. Le Nain in the 17th century and the slightly sentimental Millet in the 19th described the life of the French peasantry, but who among them dared to look at the world of the rural worker with such a touchingly pure eye as Venetsianov in his studies of the Russian countryside? In the 19th century, French painting split into two camps: the first followed the coldly superb Ingres, and the second the warm and passionate Delacroix. Our own Aleskandr Ivanov was neither a classic nor a romantic, but his perfect draftsmanship was combined with color and his "Biblical sketches" combined fantasy with keen observation of the landscape under the open sky of Italy, anticipating impressionism. Europe was familiar with Hogarth's malicious satire, the aptly ironical Daumier, while the Russian Fedotov set a model for malicious and pleasant humor.

These comparisons do not contain any wish to pit the historical ways of development of Western European against Russian art. However, we cannot but agree with the idea that progressive Russian art has had throughout its development a full aesthetic determination, an inner completeness and, which is particularly important, a unique originality which does not correspond to any foreign prototype.

Nineteenth-century Western Europe never had the subtle conflicts experienced by Russia, where the dissatisfaction of the masses with their rightlessness and arbitrary rule had come to a head. Nowhere else could art stand up and so openly intervene in fighting poverty and opposing an unfair system. The works of Perov, Yaroshenko, Savitskiy, Repin, Surikov and many other painters were sharper, more critical and more democratic than those of many world-famous Western European realist painters.

Russian art "answered" the challenge with the incorruptible truth of "critical realism." It said a few simple words which were heard throughout the world: Art is no mere entertainment. It must serve man and thereby enrich him. Russian culture conquered the entire world with the novels of Tolstoy and Dostoyevskiy, the touching intonations of the human voice in Mussorgskiy's operas and Tchaikovskiy's captivating symphonies. Looking at Russian art as a whole, we exclaim together with I. S. Turgenev, who made the Russian language famous: "...One cannot believe that such a language was not given to a great nation!"

Among the arts of the peoples of Europe, it was Russian art which preserved for the longest time the great traditions of the early stages of its founding and development. These traditions remained even after Peter the Great's reforms. Like underground springs they fed creativity in far later times as well. That is perhaps the reason for which the most sensitive problems of our time have been considered in the light of the ethical and aesthetic norms which originated in the heroic past. Whatever assessment may be made of the individual features of Russian art, its artistic language in particular, its outstanding characteristics were and remain its moral purity, poetic directness, integral perception and broad concepts. These are the features with which it has made an invaluable contribution to the development of Russian, domestic and universal culture.

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## WORKDAYS OF SPIRITUAL FORMATION

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[Article by I. Kichanova]

[Text] The shaping of the new man is an exceptionally delicate and complex process. It is related not only to the development of sensible needs and the active use of cultural achievements but to the direct creation of the spiritual wealth of the working person himself. Whatever its origin, such experience requires the closest possible attention and study.

### The Site

The Solnechnyy Sovkhoz-Plant is located at distance of 20 km from Simferopol'. It is not far from Yevpatoriya, the all-union health home; it is not far from Saki, a resort of unionwide importance. These are oases of the seashore. The sovkhos is in an entirely different area: low, very hot and dry steppe. Solnechnyy is a sovkhos developer, as are many sovkhoses in this droughty part of the Crimea. It farms under difficult circumstances. It develops neglected lands, previously unirrigated and requiring a tremendous amount of work.

Solnechnyy was established 17 years ago. It includes 4 villages and 670 farmyards. It has 1,450 hectares in grapevines, 3,400 hectares of plowed land, large flocks of sheep and dairy farms. It has 1,300 workers and its party organization numbers 120 members.

The farm has experienced periods of upswing and decline and its profits are not record setting to this day. Its old warehouse was rebuilt as a club. Consumer services are located on temporary premises and a new building is only in the planning stage. There are no plans to build a swimming pool, although all of this is available in many millionaire farms in the Crimea. Conversely, Solnechnyy has a lower cadre turnover compared with neighboring sovkhoses and a minimal number of delinquencies. Most of its school graduates remain to work here or return to the sovkhos after their army service regardless of the temptations around them offered by the neighboring health homes along the splendid shore! Announcements on the approaches to Yevpatoria, Yalta, Simferopol' and Saki call for electricians, construction workers, sales clerks and cleaning women....All one has to do is choose! "I do not want this" is the answer of the Solnechnyy resident. "I shall stay in the sovkhos!"

Does the sovkhos have a secret for keeping cadres? No, the answer may be found elsewhere, formulated on a broader and more human scale. As the party members in Solnechnyy Sovkhos formulate it, it encompasses the educational process involving the individual in its entire complexity and depth and molds the inclinations and spiritual orientation of man.

"In order to change human nature in such a way as to offer training skills in a specific sector and to become a developed and specific manpower," K. Marx wrote, "a certain amount of education or upbringing is necessary..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 23, pp 182-183). Discussing the fate of our agriculture, Academician N. I. Vavilov interpreted the same idea as follows: "Culture in the field always walks hand in hand with the culture of man."

...The first words I heard in Solnechnyy were precisely on the subject of this indivisible connection. Here is what party member A. Ksendzov, head of a mechanizers' brigade, said at an operative-analytical conference of sovkhos managers referred to as "the big detail":

"I look at the condition in which the mechanizers leave their equipment at the end of their shifts. It varies with the person. Gratitude toward the equipment and labor habits depend on what is in the heart of the person, on what is inside him, on his motivations. Therefore, this too must be considered. How? Well, let us give it some thought...."

#### Liking the Work

Nearly two-thirds of Ksendzov's brigade of 25 mechanizers are under 30. Ksendzov knows every single one of them very well, for almost all of them are local secondary school graduates he has watched grow up, and all of them are members of the sovkhos motor club. It is precisely at the club that the boys acquire their technical skills. The brigade leader watches closely the club's workshops in which beginner sportsmen spend all of their free time. Both past and present club members have followed the same pattern. The secondary school student begins with carting and graduates to the youth motorcycle and automobile club. The vehicles are maintained by the older boys, who familiarize the younger ones with the equipment. Brigade leader Ksendzov also deems the fact that sports help the boys to establish a rapport with the equipment important.

Many club members have their own motorcycles. Those who are drafted into the armed forces know that their return is awaited not only by their "iron horse" but also by the cinder track maintained by the club members. Solnechnyy has given motor sports champions to the oblast and the republic. The work of the mechanizers in the sovkhos is to many a well-trodden path. It is attractive, necessary and useful.

Ksendzov does not rush to enlist in his brigade just anyone who wants to work in it. He prefers people who have been trained at the club. However, yesterday's racer as well may turn out to be bad and reckless. Fine judgment is needed here in cooling the people off and developing a feeling of responsibility for the common project, for high crop yields, rather than for scoring

results on the cinder path. Party member A. Ksendzov and Komsomol organization secretary A. Toloshnyy carefully check the extent to which the technical skills acquired by the boys in the club are related to their understanding of their role as mechanizers. A person dealing with equipment must have a profound interest in it. The technical outlook of the boys in the motor club workshops is acquired gradually. It is broadened at home. Many of the members subscribe to specialized journals. Some of them have libraries on machines and mechanisms as good as the rayon library.

The brigade leader has frequently been elected a member of the sovkhos party committee. He is a tried activist. A person with an independent character, he cares for the job but will not accept a narrow approach to it. Carting and motorcycling are "levers" not only for the sake of interesting the workers and attracting and keeping them. No, one must have a broader outlook: one must satisfy the need of the young to assert themselves in a healthy and beautiful way. However, one must engage in working with equipment only if he is seriously attracted to this work. And if a boy wants to handle horses, this too is a manly profession.

The boys have literally taken over horse raising. Some horses had been neglected although they did their hard and necessary work well. Once senior classmen came to visit the horse farm and anyone who was found trustworthy was assigned a horse to care for. The horses have now become unrecognizable: they are well cared for, they shine, they are clean and treated kindly. There are plans to procure funds for purchasing more horses and inviting and riding instructor.

The sovkhos party committee members studied the "horse farm situation" carefully and realized that this was not a passing whim. A solid attraction for the work had developed among all those who had gone to work at the stables and to ride the horses. This benefited both the boys and farm and contributed to the development of courage and goodness.

The desire to engage in sensible and useful work is shaped in Solnechnyy according to the nature, character and temperament of the individual. This has created one of those magnetic power lines which results in an "attraction from within," and which binds and unites the labor collective and neutralizes centrifugal forces and temptations.

After graduating from high school, Lida Pogrebnaya decided to become a salesperson. She took a 2-year course and came back. At home as well, she could have become a salesperson, for it is a far easier job than viticulture. Nevertheless, she went into viticulture, which is a true art. The sweetness, weight and beauty of the grape harvest depend on the hands of the master. After several years, L. Pogrebnaya became a real master. Today she is a respected person in Solnechnyy. She joined the party and was elected member of the village soviet of people's deputies.

The students become grape growers, which is a rather difficult job. Why? Among other things, because they have been accustomed to this work since childhood and because they have felt and realized its beauty. Habits are developed

not only at home but in the school's production brigade. The children raise grapes on an area of 120 hectares. The boys and girls find this very interesting, a feature of real life.

The job of the school brigade leader is no mere duty. At sovkhos party committee meetings he is asked to make the children aware of the beauty of viticulture and to inspire this work with a feeling of real culture and romanticism.

One of the children invented an attachment for the spreading of organic fertilizer. The method immediately became popular and the party committee decided to intensify its work with the children, to look closely at all of them and particularly to help those with a rationalization proclivity. In grape growing as well skill must be correlated with the inclination, with the nature of a person, in which case the work will be liked. This is main line followed by the party committee.

### Primary Elements

The sight of children eagerly working the school plots has become ordinary. We see, however, how 5-year-old children are happily, gaily planting the vines with dedication, watering and cultivating the rows, clearing the beds and cleaning rabbit hutches and open-air cages. The happiness and the interest of the children are obvious. This is no longer an experiment. In this kindergarten the usual life of the children has been enriched by a game-competition: Whose tree will grow better, and who will take better care of the rabbits?

Just try to snap a twig off a sapling. The child will not complain to the teacher but will stand up and defend his accomplishment. The same will happen if you spoil one of his rows. At home as well the children will describe emotionally their kindergarten and work concerns.

Naturally, this is a game above all. However, it is a meaningful game, as important as dancing, singing and poetry. The children know that both they and the adults need the flowers to bloom and the trees to grow. This is a most interesting game and the best way to acquire the main value, to acquire the joy of labor and its importance in life. Here again one must follow his inclinations--care for birds, raise rabbits, cultivate the land or grow flowers, and paint, sing and dance. The results are obvious. The moment the child begins school, his first question to the teacher is "where is my row?" and "should I bring my own shovel?" The teachers can clearly see this lively interest and joyful thrust on the part of the children. Here most important values sink roots through the happy enthusiasm of the children. The main thing is to organize matters in such a way as to make this happiness possible.

Sovkhoz director I. I. Beloivanov was the initiator of the labor education of the children. Every author has his own way of describing initiatives. Ivan Ivanovich's style is quite different. It is biting, and opponents and enemies are spitefully described. This is a consequence of the habit of defending a new, rather unusual undertaking.

It is self-evident that this undertaking is based on developing love, a profound attraction and love for the land. How to break down educational stereotypes and prejudices? Ivan Ivanovich is ironical and quarrelsome. Hoarsely, alternating mockery with warmth, he says:

"There is no book on education which does not sing a hymn to labor." The director nods in the direction of the crowded shelf in his office. "Labor education, labor education....And all of them have the same prescription: family-school-labor collective. However, labor education must have its root not only in the school. Love for labor must be developed earlier, in the preschool period. This is love, think about it...." The director's eyes flash. He raises his cupped hands to indicate fullness and are. "I asked the kindergarten management for books on preschool labor education and read a great deal!" Ivan Ivanovich says sadly. "Beautiful words on the labor upbringing of millions of people, but what about people in the countryside who grow up indifferent to the land?"

The director decided to call a general meeting of kindergarten workers to consider jointly how to develop in the children love for work at the right time. The village being what it is, the distorted news spread among fathers, mothers and loving grandmothers: they wanted to force the children to work. A delegation of five mothers went to see the director, almost crying from sorrow for the children. Even the educators surrendered to the mothers, and the director had to convince both that this would be an interesting game, directly related to educational tasks....

The director's suggestion was extremely simple: include one more feature in the approved kindergarten "curriculum." Assign rows to the children and have everyone have his own rake and shovel; let the children plant their own saplings and let them care for the garden and the flowers. Let there also be animals, birds and fish, not for decoration and entertainment but for real purposes. It took a great deal of effort to talk the specialists into making this addition to the curriculum. At this point, however, the health-epidemiological station, the rayon public education department and other services "went on strike." The open cages with the animals and the birds had to be taken off the premises. This was a proper decision, but there was a great deal of correspondence and complaints until the matter was settled.

Rabbits were raised in the kindergarten and it was hard to separate the children from them. They were interested in the project and competed in taking the best possible and tender care of them. That was the essential feature.... It was worth seeing how the children ran to their animals in the morning, how they cared for them and how truly happy this made them. They tested their forces and developed the basic elements of the need to work, subconsciously discovering the value of labor. At the same time, they personally discovered the beauty of the world. One feels this initial accomplishment by looking at the children's drawings, carefully preserved in the kindergarten. Their rabbits are not imaginary. One can sense the precision, the immediacy of the perception. Some drawings are really good. Experienced hands help to develop an artistic taste and talent. Gifts are perfected and the discovery of talent goes on....

The creative destiny of the author of a drawing exhibited in the hall of the kindergarten is noteworthy. The author's signature, in an adult handwriting, reads: Serezha Petrushenko, 6 years old.

### Developing Spiritual Needs

Sergey Petrushenko is garage organizer and second-class driver. He is a serious boy. He does reliable work. Several of his works are exhibited in the sovkhos amateur and applied arts museum.

He has spent his entire life and his labor and creative career here, in Skvortsovo Village. His ability to draw was noted in the kindergarten. As a student he practiced at the painting studio. He continued to draw after his army service. His skill showed obvious improvements. The museum's public council influenced Petrushenko's creative life. Serezha is not the only one with a debt to the museum activists, this collective of enthusiasts. The council discusses the works of many boys and girls.

The museum's public council holds meetings open to the public. It does not discuss the works of painters (sculptors, needleworkers or woodworkers) who come here but the works of comrades, neighbors and colleagues. Discussions covered the works of art studio students Komsomol members Korchevnyy, Onishchenko and Chapkylo, active studio members and sovkhos workers who do not attend the studio, such as embroiderers and wood carvers. Some of them take correspondence courses at the Moscow Institute of Culture. However, the desire for knowledge and for improvement is born and nurtured here, in these museum council discussions and in the circle.

For a long time the public studio was headed by amateur painter I. I. Beloivanov, sovkhos director, who still acts as a consultant. Most generally speaking, Beloivanov's tutorship and personal example--his works--play a most active role in the creative development of the young. The effectiveness of this experience is confirmed by the numerous diplomas and prizes won by the amateur artists at dance and song competitions and the high rating of their work by the press.

It is also noteworthy that the chief director of the Simferopol'skaya Oblast drama theater is heading a drama circle here. Why in this sovkhos when there are workers collectives in the city and, not far from it, many millionaire kolkhozes? The chief director chose Solnechnyy because he feels very close to the trend of the interests, intensity and scale of the spiritual interests of amateur actors, extras and stage workers.

Recently the sovkhos choir was awarded a diploma at an an oblast performance and rewarded with a trip to Moscow. However, what matters to the participants is not the diploma but the repertory. Good or bad, what mattered was rehearsals. There is where cultural contacts take place, whether dealing with ordinary matters (new features are discussed as they would be at the party) or held on a loftier level--raising one's thoughts and spirit above daily concerns. At kolkhoz meetings, recordings of the choir are played before meetings begin and during intermissions. One can clearly hear individual voices. It

is also important that the choir numbers many party members, specialists and honored people such as a party committee member, a trade union worker or a brigade leader. Twice a year the party committee hears out reports by the choir managers and managers and party members who participate in amateur artistic performances. The party committee has repeatedly discussed the question of developing the interests and needs of the farm working people in the light of the decisions of the 26th party congress.

Heated and interested discussions take place at party committee meetings on the quality and skill with which such work is done. Are fresh forces joining, is cultural influence being extended to more distant villages with worse roads? ...Rehearsal and practice failures are sometimes condemned by the public as sternly as work absenteeism. At trade union meetings a worker, grape grower or milkmaid, brigade leader (who attends rehearsals) or party committee member (who sings in the choir) may be asked to report.

The sovkhos director himself may be criticized. On one occasion Beloivanov visited a crop growing brigade to resolve an urgent economic problem but was faced with complaints: the mobile library had been delayed for a week; a concert at the farmstead had taken place without the participation of the people. The truck had broken down! "Not by bread alone," was the answer of a young woman. It is thus that in the middle of a working day in the spring current farm problems which the director had come to resolve were placed on the same level as cultural problems--the satisfaction of spiritual needs.

The correlation between the spiritual wealth acquired by society at large and the cultural baggage, store of cultural requirements and the ability to satisfy them on the part of the individual is not simple, straight and one-sided. The party committee and the collective of sovkhos party members are seriously concerned with enabling everyone to master the ideological-conceptual and spiritual-moral potential created by society, alongside daily production affairs.

Ceremonies--not only May Day, 7 November or 8 March, but also the "family" holiday, 10 February, the day the sovkhos was founded--are becoming increasingly more interesting to any working person in the sovkhos, more beautiful and more intimate. Ever more new participants contribute their originality and their spiritual wealth. Totally unexpectedly, N. G. Chilimov, head driver of a truck column, became one of the main characters of last year's ceremony. He is a party member and a public figure. He has raised four children, three of whom work at the farm with their father. He is among the drivers who sit behind the combine's steering wheel at harvest time. During last year's harvest his results were the best--he thrashed 790 tons of grain instead of the planned 600. Few people thought that he would be a good master of ceremonies. However, the choice was good. His speech to his fellow villagers and neighbors contained a feeling of solemnity, humor and vivid improvisation. He praised the sheaves of wheat, the grapes and the work of the livestock breeders....

The party members extend this holiday feeling and high spiritual uplift to working days. Labor results and indicators greatly depend on the ideological-moral tone of the people. This tone is developed as a result of hard and painstakingly chosen labor.

## The Moral Prestige of the Party Member

The party member who lives in a closeknit rural collective and is known by all must be particularly exacting toward himself. In this case, the "fair-unfair" categories acquire a particular meaning. The criteria facing the party members are always high. If one is a communist, one must be a front-ranker. He must be conscientious and enjoy no special privileges. The way this criterion "operates" is confirmed by an unusual matter which had to be discussed once by the party committee.

Party committee member T. T. Isayeva, head of the hog breeding farm, was assigned to attend a skill upgrading course. For 3 months V. I. Shishova was her substitute. This was the most difficult time of the year. It was cold and frosty, the winter was hard. There were more than the usual number of adverse factors and hindrances. Nevertheless, the weight was increased by 400 grams per sow and the orderliness of the hog farm improved. The people showed their warm feelings toward the temporary head of the farm and when she had to undergo surgery, matters at the farm did not worsen. Meanwhile, Isayeva came back, saw everything and refused to meet assignments which she had not issued. There were wage withholdings.

How could a party member fall from the height of principle-mindedness down to the level of petty accounts? Taisiya Timofeyevna was an active, efficient and persistent worker. She had never spared herself and had always shown initiative. When the approaches to the farm had to be lined with concrete (neighboring construction workers had contributed the materials), and there were no available workers, along with everyone else she mixed the cement. Here, however, she broke down. Was it envy or jealousy? That too may happen. However, the party member does not have the moral right to yield to such feelings in relations with comrades. This was pointed out to her unanimously by Lidiya Khomenko, the zootechnician, the hog farm workers and the party committee members. The discussion which the party committee initiated was also extended to matters of style and reasons for the behavior of the party members, their principle-mindedness, goodness and decency. Are moral categories, motivations and the bad and good sides of one's nature frequently considered at party member meetings? Although difficult, this conversation was not a sermon. It was conducted with a comradely involvement, on the basis of party principles. As a result, no such "splashes" take place any longer. This even taught the people a great deal.

Tamara Pavlovna Baranova, sovkhos party committee secretary, is a very responsive and warm person. It is precisely this warmth and softness that one can notice in this gentle and attractive woman. How many confessions she has heard, some of them personal, about all sorts of matters! However, whenever necessary she becomes hard and firm. In many years of joint work her colleagues have found out that she will express and defend her opinion and principle-minded stand.

All the older residents of Solnechnyy have known Tamara Pavlovna, her husband and two children for a long time. This family has lived here for 15 years and maintains excellent relations with its neighbors and the entire village.

Tamara Pavlovna came here as a young specialist agronomist, rose to the position of department head and joined the party. She studied every single production sector and every person. That is why the people come to see her at the party committee when troubles or hitches arise.

The processes resulting in the improvement of the moral climate do not take place in an experimental laboratory. The offshoots of the new are not raised in a greenhouse and the chemically clear quality of principle-mindedness is not crystallized in sterile test tubes. The ability to rise above petty concerns must be developed within the very thick of ordinary situations. In a small and old collective this is not simple to achieve.

In its daily work the party committee avoids "general" measures. In the active season its conferences have more of a production character. During such periods the discussion of more general although important problems is related to specific current assignments. Conversely, the all-sovkhoz conference on the Soviet way of life, which was held by the party committee on the eve of the Olympic games, triggered a tremendous interest. The party committee took into consideration the important fact that the Olympic tracks were passing in the vicinity of the sovkhoz. In this case Tamara Pavlovna Baranova proved to be a fighter, for this was a most sensitive topic. It required preparations and she had to go to the rayon party committee to do her research. The people were pleased by the topical and interesting discussion.

The conference was also attended by students from Simferopol', who were doing seasonal work. They took this as a duty but became involved in the discussion and later acknowledged that they did not expect to find "the level of a capital city" in the sovkhoz. They were also frankly envious of the local youth rallies. The winners of the sovkhoz amateur art review were rewarded with a trip to Moscow. The sovkhoz party organizer was appointed leader of the delegation. It was precisely on the eve of the accountability and election meeting that she saw the capital for the first time in her life--the Lenin mausoleum, Red Square, the USSR Museum of the Revolution, the All-Union Exhibit of the Achievements of the National Economy, plays....When she returned she looked at her kolkhoz and her work with a new perception. She realized that problems should be formulated more broadly and sharply. She also became aware of her own failings. She faced difficulties and arguments.

The party committee documents, minutes of its sessions and general meetings show that a search is under way on how to relate specific economic and political problems to the real possibilities of one or another group of specialists or individuals.

In this case the party committee faces the usual difficulties. Current production indicators and the spiritual and moral standard of one or another collective rarely coincide. As we know, high indicators can be reached by producing more on a piece-rate basis and as a result of motivations unrelated to ideological, moral and conceptual purposes. Influencing motivations is a delicate matter and their analysis is equally difficult. In undertaking the solution of such problems the director and the party organizer rely on the already acquired moral baggage and lifestyle in the collective.

This is painstaking and difficult work, and what are its results? The sovkhos is still not a millionaire, but the healthy moral and psychological climate which has been created here thanks to the painstaking daily efforts of the sovkhos party committee and management is already yielding results in terms of rubles and tons. The meat and milk delivery five-year plan was overfulfilled. Grape deliveries exceed planned figures by more than 50 percent and grain averages 30 quintals per hectare on a scorched, saline soil!

### The Pivot of Destiny

To Ivan Ivanovich Beloivanov, managing a modern farm and promoting the spiritual and moral growth of every member of the collective are not two separate things. It is a single pivot governing the activities of this party member and director of Solnechnyy Sovkhos. The manager is a creative person, a creator of artistic values. He not only paints but writes books, two of which have been published. Actually, he is not an exception!

Today it is no longer rare to find a manager who is also a talented artist or writer. The destinies of such people, however different they may be, share great similarities. E. Blazhevichyute, director of the Mera Sovkhos in Lithuania (recently elected first secretary of the Moletskiy Rayon Party Committee) has been interested in drawing since childhood. Eleonora is still painting. The folklore museum in the sovkhos has been clearly influenced by her artistic taste. Ye. Goncharov, director of the Voronovo Sovkhos near Moscow, is a superb sculptor. His works are exhibited in the sovkhos museum.... A. Yaroshenko, director of the Bol'sheurinskiy Sovkhos in Krasnoyarskiy Kray, has frequently been invited by the conservatory because of his good voice! "Did I trample my own song?" Not at all, for it was love of singing that sunk entirely natural roots in the land, for the sake of which he remained in the village: the sovkhos has a splendid choir whose soloist is Anatoliy Ivanovich himself. Congress delegate A. Yaroshenko performed at the concert in honor of the 26th party congress, side by side with popular masters of the arts....

As you can see, these are complex destinies. In the final account, talent makes its way and these people, assuming the leadership of their farms, include in planning the lives of the labor collectives the development of spiritual and moral needs.

Ivan Ivanovich Beloivanov began to paint seriously relatively late in life-- at the age of 30. The desire to paint which was manifested in his childhood was suppressed by adult concern for earning the daily bread. On one occasion, however, he had the opportunity to spend some free time with painters. He took up painting and was helped by many experienced people.

Back in the sovkhos, Beloivanov continued his efforts. He met and sought the advice of painters in Simferopol'. The professionals helped and took some of his paintings. Many years later, an exhibition of his paintings was organized in Simferopol'....In 1974 one of his paintings was awarded a certificate at an exhibition of amateur painters in Kiev.

It was thus that brushes and paints became firmly established in his life and as his constant companions. During his trip to Cuba, Beloivanov painted more than 20 canvases and his Cuban friends organized a spontaneous exhibit. When a Cuban Communist Party delegation came to attend the 25th CPSU Congress, Beloivanov sent them as a gift a tryptich of paintings of the sugarcane harvest. Fidel Castro answered with a warm letter of appreciation for the paintings and the good feelings of their creator for the fraternal Cuban people. His exhibition in Bulgaria was equally successful. Many of Beloivanov's canvases are exhibited in the sovkhos amateur art museum.

The painting on a May Day demonstration of sovkhos workers and employees is noteworthy: a bright sun, gay colors, a rostrum crowded with people. A cart is rolling in front of the rostrum. Among those who organized the demonstration were painters, those whose works were exhibited. That is why the colors were so bright and the topics of the paintings and posters seen on the "Komsomol Beacon Stand" are so vivid and topical, revealing a sharp eye, skillful execution and a purposeful view of the world.

I particularly remember the portrait of Anna Dubrova. Was this an official portrait? No, although the chest of the heroine was decorated with two Orders of the Labor Red Banner. One looks into the face of a person who has led a hard life and sees the outstanding expression of the eyes, very warm and somewhat sad. Nevertheless (regardless of her efforts), one sees traces of a smile, a bright and good smile. Naturally, she is tired, but proud for having contributed her strength to this life which Anna Dubrova looks straight in the eye--the new homes, the construction project in the distance, the wide steppe.

Beloivanov is a sensitive, involved observer who spreads happiness. I can understand the feelings of a painter who can see the response to his work. However, creativity does not bring joy only. The explanation for any fault in his work is that this is not his main occupation.

Beloivanov has taken many lumps in 17 years of work, some of them deserved. There have been eight reprimands, some of them "preventive" or "current," yet fully justified however one looks at them. Sometimes it would be better not to mention the "sins" which led to them, particularly in a closeknit rural society in which everything is seen and remembered.

The rayon party committee bureau discusses the sovkhos's work several times a year. Rayon and oblast managers visit Solnechnyy. Both the director and the party organizer have had to report to the rayon party committee bureau on the experience gained in kindergarten work and the initiative of school students to remain in the village. The original method has interested all grape growers in the oblast....The result has been the arrival of commissions to study the experience and investigate on the spot. Many managers avoid such "open lessons."

A curious topic arose in discussing Beloivanov's sovkhos affairs. Could he have been carried away and misplaced the emphasis? The circles, preschool training and drawings were positive features, but last year's crop was not

fabulous and no funds were found for the new club. Some sharper views have also been expressed on the subject of Solnechnyy and its leaders: "They do not go deep into farm affairs, hiding behind paintings, motorcycle records and all sorts of other hullabaloo." On every occasion Beloivanov would be mentioned: "What is he really managing--a kindergarten and a painting studio?"

The director's life is complex. It has always been complex, since childhood, since Verigino Village. His family had settled in that village lost in the Sal'skiye Steppes before the revolution. His grandfather was an exiled dukhobor. The Beloivanov family joined the kolkhoz in the 1930's. Ivan Vasil'yevich Sosin, a former farmhand and now kolkhoz chairman, suggested to everyone that the kolkhoz would become strong when every one of its members developed a concerned attitude toward it.

During the war only adolescents remained. They sowed by hand, grazed the animals and used primitive harvesters....

After the war Beloivanov returned to the Crimean village with the diploma of junior economist and refused a higher position. He wanted to experience the various operations personally, but with the new scientific approach he had learned at the institute. However, he welcomed his appointment as Komsomol organization secretary. Later, as party organizer at the Privetnyy Sovkhoz, he frequently recalled his first steps in the Komsomol and in production: the initial and main experience he had acquired in the primary organization and at the lower levels of economic management.

Beloivanov's affairs progressed both in his job and personal life. He raised a family and his parents came to live with him. The efforts of the young party organizer were noted, and in 1965 he was appointed director of the Solnechnyy Sovkhoz, which had been set up on the basis of the Kolkhoz imeni N. K. Krupskaya. The new director came with the intention of creating a collective of people who would care for the common project as if it were their own. This was a difficult task, mainly because many people invested much greater efforts in cultivating their private plots: income from grapes, fruits and vegetables raised in one's own yard exceeded the wages paid by the weak kolkhoz.

When the former kolkhoz members began to work in the recreated sovkhov, the management, the party committee and the public organizations had to invest a great deal of effort to reeducate those who had developed the attitude that joint labor was less profitable and to see to it that the people would earn considerably more by working in the sovkhov than in cultivating their own private plots.

Not only organization-economic measures but an entire set of political-educational steps played a major role in forming the new collective. The restriction (and not the destruction!) of obsolete moral-psychological stereotypes must be paralleled by closely related efforts to formulate firm moral guidelines, moral values and spiritual concepts. The sovkhov management is trying to implement Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instruction: "What could be more important and nobler than to plunge into practical life, to help the

people understand more clearly the meaning of this life and its direction, and to help make this life better, brighter and richer not only materially but spiritually?" Beloivanov and like-minded people try to turn those who are developing the droughty steppe into developers of spiritual culture and participants in its establishment....

Step by step, seeking, sometimes retreating but nevertheless moving ahead, the party members in this rank-and-file sovkhov in a difficult steppe area are gaining the necessary experience in developing the human soul. This experience and the sensible use of the benefits, achievements and spiritual wealth of developed socialism embody the aspiration to multiply this wealth.

The people who came to the Crimean steppe from various parts of the country have gained a home on their own streets. They have firmed their stand in this sovkhov buffeted by winds, at the crossroads of temptations, and will not go elsewhere. Solnechnyy has developed its own microclimate, with its own uniquely original features.

The shoots, the grains, the outlines of a civilization of a new type developing on earth may be found in specific places. One of them is Solnechnyy Sovkhov, in the Crimean steppe in the Soviet Union.

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DEPUTY FROM KOSTROMA

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[Article by B. Arkhipov]

[Text] G. M. Dimitrov, the centennial of whose birth will be widely celebrated in June, is remembered and honored by all honest people on earth as the great son of the Bulgarian people, outstanding leader of the international communist movement and great friend of the land of the soviets.

Many articles, scientific studies and novels have been written about G. M. Dimitrov's revolutionary exploits in the ranks of the Bulgarian Communist Party, his courageous duel with fascism at the Leipzig trial, his activities in the Comintern and his contribution to the formulation of the tactics of the popular front in the struggle against the threat of fascism and for the victory of the proletarian revolution.

Georgi Dimitrov's activities after the victory of 9 September 1944 as BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, when the new features of his richly gifted character--the features of the true national leader who was able to indicate to the Bulgarian people the right way and development future at a sharp turn in history--have been extensively described in scientific literature, memoirs and fiction.

However, we shall continue to write many more times about the lives of great revolutionaries, whenever new features and facets of their lives are revealed in the course of further studies.

One page in G. M. Dimitrov's comprehensive revolutionary activities remains relatively unknown--his duties as USSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

We know that the fascist court in Leipzig, which was forced to declare Georgi Dimitrov innocent of the charge of setting fire to the Reichstag, decreed his expulsion from Germany to the country of his citizenship. The Bulgarian monarchofascist government divested him of his citizenship. Once again Dimitrov, who was acquitted by the court, faced a mortal danger. The Soviet government asked that Georgi Mikhaylov be sent to the USSR, for he had been granted Soviet citizenship by decree of the Central Executive Committee.

As citizen of the Soviet Union and member of the VKP(b), G. Dimitrov was elected deputy to the first convocation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union, representing Kostroma Electoral District No 312. From December 1937 to November 1945 he loyally served his voters, the working people of Kostroma, who had sent him to represent them in the highest organ of the governmental system of the USSR, as a revolutionary leader of the Leninist type, always closely linked with the masses, must do.

#### On the Eve of the Elections

Kostroma is a proletarian city with great revolutionary traditions. The Kostroma party organization, raised at different times by outstanding members of the bolshevik guard, such as Ya. M. Sverdlov, Ye. M. Yaroslavskiy, N. I. Podvoyskiy, A. M. Stopani and N. R. Shagov, had always been a reliable and consistent promoter of the Leninist revolutionary line. It was no accident that in the 1905-1907 revolution, the second soviet of workers deputies was formed in Kostroma, after Ivanovo. Let us recall that the Kostroma workers actively participated in the suppression of the S. R. mutiny in Yaroslavl'. The Kostroma revolutionary regiment covered itself with unfading glory in the civil war.

Naturally, the heroic figure of Dimitrov, the communist fighter, was quite familiar to the workers of the Kostroma factories, plants and sovkhoses and among kolkhoz members and university and secondary school students.

As a secondary school student at that time, I recall the great interest with which our Pioneer organization discussed the developments at the Leipzig trial and the large number of letters and telegrams we sent to Dimitrov, particularly after he came from Germany to the Soviet Union. We inquired about his health, invited him to visit Kostroma, asked about Thaelman, who was wasting away in a fascist prison, and told him of our studies and Pioneer, Osoaviakhim and MOPR [International Organization for Aid to Fighters for Revolution] activities. Naturally, we realized that the recipient of our letters could not answer all of these letters and telegrams, for the Kostroma children were not the only ones to write to Georgi Mikhaylov.

However, how proud we were when Dimitrov answered the letter of the members of the MOPR circle of the Kostroma boarding school for deaf and dumb children through the Kostroma Pioneer newspaper KRASNYY GALSTUK:

"Dear Young Friends!

"By now you may have stopped waiting for the mailman to bring to you a letter from me. However, I was forced to undergo another medical treatment, for I am still suffering from the bad treatment I received in fascist jail and the exceptional nervous strain of the Leipzig trial. That is why I could not answer you earlier.

"Like you, I am greatly concerned with the fate of our comrade, Thailman, who has been in the clutches of the fascist executioners for almost 2 years. However, we, all revolutionary proletarians in the world, are tirelessly fighting

for his liberation, for his release from fascist jail can be achieved only through struggle.

"Your work in the MOPR is very commendable. In the course of the struggle against capitalism and fascism, many of our best fighters abroad are sent to jail. They can be helped only through the efforts of all those who are free.

"I wish you great success in your studies and MOPR work.

"10 March 1935.

"G. Dimitrov"

The Pioneers, Komsomol members and students in Kostroma and the Kostromskiy Rural Rayon, which was then under the city's jurisdiction, considered this letter as though personally addressed to all of them, rather than only to the boarding school students. The letter was discussed in school collectives, and the children pledged to study harder and to energize their Pioneer, MOPR and other social work.

G. Dimitrov enjoyed extreme popularity among the people of Kostroma. His nomination for USSR Supreme Soviet deputy by the 11,000-strong collective of the Flax Combine imeni V. I. Lenin was supported with tremendous enthusiasm by the personnel of the systems combine headed by engineer I. D. Zvorykin, the collective of the Krasnaya Tekstil'shchitsa Factory in Nerekhta, the X Oktyabrya Shoe Manufacturing Factory, the animal husbandrymen of the famous Karavayevo Sovkhoz and the troops and commanders of the armed forces.

The 12 December 1937 elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet were the first based on the new USSR Constitution, which had legislatively codified the victory of socialism in the country and the gains of socialist democracy. The first elections for the supreme state power organ were universal, direct and equal, with secret balloting. They represented an extremely important change in the awareness and mentality of the people.

The feeling of that period comes to us from the yellowing pages of the newspaper ZA KACHESTVO, the organ of the party and factory committees of the Kostroma Flax Combine imeni V. I. Lenin, October to December 1937 issues. They report the beautiful words spoken about Georgi Dimitrov at electoral workers meetings. In October, on the initiative of the carding factory, a socialist competition was initiated for high work indicators in honor of the elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet. In December, on the appeal of the workers at the spinning-preparation line a shock 10-day period was proclaimed in honor of G. Dimitrov. The appeal was taken up by the collectives of all the flax combine sections and the initiative was supported by other city factories and plants.

The newspaper describes the socialist competition in an interesting and attractive manner. Reports on successes alternate with criticisms of short-coming, which hinder the achievement of higher results. We note that the

newspaper was indeed a collective organizer of the competition. It had active contributors. Leading production workers and collectives used it to challenge one another to competition. It was used as a rostrum in describing leading experience and it clearly presented the work results of the competitors. The combine personnel honorably kept their word by fulfilling their increased socialist obligations in honor of the elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet and in honor of its deputy nominee.

The Kostromskaya Oblast State Archives contain a large number of documents from that time depicting the atmosphere of enthusiasm and political and labor upsurge which characterized the elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet. They are quite varied. Some of them are type- or handwritten, sometimes even with a pencil on sheets torn out of student notebooks or even on the backs of envelopes. They describe the nature of the period--the hard and happy time of struggle and victories. Some are literate and some have spelling errors, written by recently illiterate peasants. Some are minutes and resolutions of electoral meetings. These are vivid human documents. They show the pride and satisfaction with accomplishments achieved under the leadership of the Leninist party in 20 years of the Soviet system, also revealing great concern and dissatisfaction with achievements, the desire to accomplish even more and love for their candidate--Georgi Dimitrov.

More than 900 people attended the district electoral conference of Kostroma Electoral District voters on 3 November 1937, and more than 30 speakers took the floor--workers and engineering and technical personnel, kolkhoz members, teachers, military personnel, party, Komsomol and trade union workers and employees. The variety of thoughts, feelings and styles was amazing. The people did not read their speeches but expressed their own personal first-hand feelings and mastered Leninist truths.

Those present addressed a telegram to G. M. Dimitrov in which on behalf of all voters his candidacy was requested.

Kostroma received a positive answer on 11 November.

Georgi Dimitrov's telegram was published in the newspaper SEVERNAYA PRAVDA. Numerous meetings were held by the collectives and almost 30,000 people attended the citywide electoral meeting. In their appeal to G. Dimitrov, they stated: "Dear Comrade Dimitrov! We learned of your agreement to become a candidate for our electoral district with great joy and enthusiasm. We, the working people of the Kostroma Electoral District, are proud to send you, dear Comrade Dimitrov, to the USSR Supreme Soviet to represent our electoral district.

"We shall vote for you with the greatest happiness, for we know you as a passionate revolutionary, who has dedicated all his forces and energy to the struggle for the cause of the working class, the victory of the proletarian socialist revolution throughout the world and communism.

"We know that you, Comrade Dimitrov, the son of the Bulgarian working class, joined the ranks of the revolutionary workers movement at the age of 15, as and apprentice printer.

"We know that you attended the hard school of proletarian training. We know that the raving bourgeoisie and its frenzied detachment hated by all mankind--the fascists--frequently tried to remove you from the ranks of the revolutionary movement, that it arrested you and sent you to jail. However, no bourgeois intrigues were able to bend your will and courage, forged in the struggle for the cause of the proletariat.

"Your name, Comrade Dimitrov, lives today in the hearts of millions of people. You have become close to millions of people throughout the earth, particularly after the struggle you waged against German fascism and the victory you won thanks to your exceptional courage and revolutionary talent. Your speech at the trial is an outstanding example of the speech of a bolshevik in a bourgeois court. Over the heads of the fascist judges you addressed yourself to the proletariat of all countries, calling upon it to fight fascism and for the cause of the worldwide proletarian revolution.

"Persistently and angrily the working people the world over demanded of German fascism freedom for you and your comrades.

"Our Soviet government, expressing the united will and desire of our multi-million-strong people, took the leadership of this movement of international proletarian solidarity.

"To our most profound happiness, you, Comrade Dimitrov, became a citizen of the great Soviet Union--the homeland of all working people.

"We know, Comrade Dimitrov, that as secretary general of the Comintern Executive Committee, you are waging, like a firm Leninist bolshevik, a persistent and tireless struggle for strengthening the fraternal communist parties and uniting the working people the world over in a single popular front of struggle against fascism, war and capitalism and for the victory of the worldwide proletarian revolution and communist throughout the world.

"We firmly believe that in your further work as deputy to the supreme organ of our system you will struggle for our common cause with even greater zeal."

Dimitrov's arrival in Kostroma, for a meeting with the voters, was the high point of the electoral campaign.

Georgi Mikhaylov arrived in the city on 8 December 1937 by special train. He was welcomed by the city party committee secretaries, the full membership of the district electoral commission and the secretaries of the Yaroslavskaya Oblast VKP(b) committee (at that time Kostroma was part of Yaroslavskaya Oblast).

The happy news of the arrival of the famous fighter against fascism and capitalism spread rapidly throughout the city. After their morning shifts, factory and plant workers ceremoniously marched to the building of the VKP(b) city party committee on Revolution Square. Bands were playing joyful marches and happy songs could be heard throughout the city. The single idea was expressed in the numerous slogans and posters: "Let Us Vote as One for the Great Comintern Leader Dimitrov."

Here is way SEVERNAYA PRAVDA, the city newspaper, described the meeting:

"The square was crowded. Thousands of eyes were staring at the rostrum where the person for whom the voters were impatiently waiting was expected at any minute.

"Suddenly the square echoed with enthusiastic shouts of welcome, tempestuous applause and loud hurrahs. Comrade Dimitrov, our candidate for Supreme Soviet deputy...mounted the rostrum. The happy and precious name spread like lightning: 'Dimitrov....'

"'Look, comrades, here is our Dimitrov.'

"'There he is, our dear Georgi Mikhaylov,' an old woman said, making her way closer to the rostrum. The old woman was neither stopped nor scolded for 'disturbing' the order. Everyone understood the feelings and the mood of the old person who, hobbling on her cane, had come to look at her candidate for deputy to the Council of the Union.

"Shouts of greeting and unrestrained expressions of joy and enthusiasm could be heard throughout the square....

"Comrade Dimitrov waved his arms in a gesture of greeting from the rostrum. Again and again the voters answered each movement of their beloved candidate with shouts of greetings, applause and thunderous hurrahs."

Georgi Dimitrov had a cold and was unable to address this open-air meeting in the December cold.

That same evening he spoke at the city drama theater imeni A. N. Ostrovskiy at his meeting with representatives of the district voters. He thanked the voters who had submitted his candidacy for the USSR Supreme Soviet for their trust, described the successes of the land of the soviets achieved during the 20-year period after the victory of the Great October Revolution, with which it was presenting itself for the elections, and analyzed the international situation.

Georgi Mikhaylov dedicated a considerable share of his speech to the characteristics and importance of the elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet and compared them with elections in the capitalist countries.

"The country of victorious socialism," Dimitrov said, "is advancing toward the elections and choosing among its sons the best representatives to the supreme organs of the country, in order to continue to build socialism, to improve the well-being of the Soviet people and to enable the people to march united toward communism. Look, comrades, at the elections in the capitalist countries. In these 'democratic' countries voting qualifications deprive the tremendous majority of voters of their voting rights. In many of the most democratic bourgeois countries, to this day women are deprived of the right to vote and to participate in the electoral process. The entire electoral machinery of the government is placed at the service of the ruling

bourgeois parties. The tremendous majority of newspapers, the big press, mislead the voters so that those who are politically unaware and economically dependent vote not for their own representatives but for their enemies. Millions are spent on preparations for the electoral campaign and there is an infinite amount of demagoguery.

"Comrades, those who have not been abroad and have not seen an electoral campaign in countries such as England, France and other democratic countries would find it difficult to imagine the extent and forms of manifestation of electoral demagoguery. I recall a number of such cases and events in the electoral district where I was running. The leader of the democratic party was also a candidate in the same district. He traveled from village to village making demagogic speeches. This leader would tell the peasants: 'If you vote for us, for our party, for me, we shall build you a bridge.' The peasants were puzzled. 'Why do we need a bridge, when we have no river?' (laughter). The demagogic leader's answer was: 'Well, we shall make you a river' (laughter).

"In our land of the soviets there is no need for demagoguery. In our country there is no place for bribery or electoral forgeries. The voice of the Soviet voter and the entire press is at the service of the Soviet people. Everything is focused on enabling the voters to exercise their sacred voting right on 12 December. Not only are there no obstacles or difficulties in exercising one's electoral rights but thousands of agitators, thousands of bolsheviks and non-party members are involved in interpreting the nature of this campaign. Here, in Kostroma, there is no house in which no explanations or instructions have been given as to how to vote, where to vote and who is the candidate. The Soviet Union is interested in having all Soviet voters vote on 12 December. The bolshevik party speaks out during the electoral campaign and voices on the bolshevik truth. Our party has no demagoguery or lies, and the strength of the party lies in the truth."

G. Dimitrov pointed out that unlike the voters fooled by bourgeois propaganda, the Soviet citizens are conscious voters. A conscious ballot cast for the candidates of the bloc of communists and nonparty people means to swear a solemn oath that the land of the soviets and the party will remain true to the end to the socialist homeland, will actively participate in building a socialist society and will protect like the apple of their eye the unity and fraternity among the peoples of the USSR and the great socialist gains.

"As far as I personally am concerned, as a Soviet voter and as your candidate," said Georgi Dimitrov in concluding his Kostroma speech, "you can rest assured, comrades, that I shall remain an honest soldier of the proletarian revolution and to the end of my days will remain loyal to Lenin's great party...."

The Deputy--Servant of the People

The results of the vote confirmed yet once again convincingly the love of the voters for Georgi Dimitrov. He garnered almost 100 percent of the vote.

Work pressure prevented Georgi Mikhaylov from coming to Kostroma to receive the certificate of his election to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The full membership

of the district electoral commission went to Moscow, where the mandate was ceremoniously presented to Dimitrov in his Comintern office.

After the speech of the chairman and the members of the district electoral commission, who congratulated Georgi Mikhaylov on the occasion of his election as deputy and submitted to him the voters' instructions, Dimitrov delivered a speech.

"Comrades, allow me to say a few words to you. In accepting this mandate of deputy to the Supreme Soviet of our great socialist homeland, I can assure you and, through you, all of my Kostroma voters, that I will honestly try to justify fully their high trust....

"Comrades, the election of a member of the Communist International as deputy to the Supreme Soviet of our great socialist homeland must also be considered a specific manifestation of the feelings of proletarian internationalism on the part of the working people of the Soviet Union, as a specific manifestation of international proletarian solidarity with the working class and the working people in the capitalist world in their struggle against barbaric fascism and the yoke of capitalism, the struggle for freedom, peace and socialism.

"It is self-evident that now I consider myself even more obligated to work for strengthening this international proletarian solidarity and for strengthening and achieving full unity between the working people of the Soviet Union and the international proletariat....

"We, deputies and voters, must continue to stress all our efforts and honestly fulfill our duty to the end.

"Allow me to wish our Kostroma comrades to show even greater energy in their own sector, even greater firmness and efforts in their work...in order to consolidate the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, which was so brilliantly demonstrated on 12 December.

"Once Kostroma District and Kostroma were the center of czarist reaction, the homeland of the Russian kings. We must do everything possible for this district to become a real, a truly progressive district in the great Soviet Union, to become a developing center of socialist production and socialist culture.

"As a citizen of our great country, together with the Kostroma voters, I will be happy to see Kostroma develop into a model city. Already today, in my view, it is a model on one respect--in the participation and activeness of the women.

"Kostroma is a city where a characteristic situation has developed in which it is not the women who walk hand in hand with the men but, as I already pointed out in my electoral speech, it is the men who go hand in hand with the women in the building of socialism and the management of the state. This is particularly indicative in terms of the capitalist countries, in which,

as you know, women have no equality and are actual slaves in most of these countries. Our comrades must describe and popularize this important feature abroad. I am confident that it is precisely this fact, the active role and leading participation of the women in Kostroma and in the USSR in general in the building of socialism and the administration of the land of the soviets, that will give a great impetus to the women's movement in the capitalist countries against fascism, reaction and capitalism, and for socialism. However, together with you, I would like to see Kostroma not only indicative in this respect but as a good example in other fields of life in our beautiful socialist homeland."

Like a true people's tribune, born organizer and agitator, whose element was to fight in the thick of the masses, Georgi Dimitrov had an irresistible personal charm. His attitude toward others was warm and concerned. He attracted them with his modesty and cordiality. There was not even a shadow of conceit or the desire to be superior to others in his behavior.

Stored in the party archives of the Kostromskaya Oblast Party Committee are recollections by people who met with G. M. Dimitrov when he was a candidate for and a deputy at the USSR Supreme Soviet. The thought of Dimitrov's humanism, his attentive attitude toward people and constant readiness to help them meet their requirements and solve their problems, runs throughout the recollections.

A. S. Nikolayeva, a weaver at the Flax Combine imeni V. I. Lenin and an honored citizen of Kostroma, recalls how excited she was, when she sat in the presidium next to Dimitrov, for it was her duty to welcome him on behalf of the combine. He calmed her down and cheered her up, and when she took the floor she began to speak simply, using her own words to describe the Soviet constitution, which had been approved at the extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets, a delegate to which she had been. She spoke of the equality of Soviet women, who are participating side by side with the men in the work and social life and in resolving governmental affairs. She recalled her difficult life in the past and appealed to everyone to vote for Comrade Dimitrov. When she finished her speech, Georgi Mikhaylov said: "Well, there was no reason to be excited, everything turned out well. The main thing is that you spoke from the heart."

During his short stay in Kostroma, Georgi Mikhaylov did not forget his correspondents at the Kostroma boarding school. The children were invited to the meeting and an intimate talk was held backstage during the intermission. Georgi Mikhaylov asked the children about their lives, studies and work. In parting, he said that they had informed him about the needs of the school. Teacher A. D. Lazarevskaya, who took part in the talk, asked G. M. Dimitrov to help to procure premises for a school workshop. Comrade Dimitrov helped, and premises were assigned.

Ye. G. Shlykova, former Kostroma City Party Committee secretary and CPSU member since 1924, recalls that "when Comrade Dimitrov came to our party gorkom, he greeted very warmly the then city party committee secretaries A. V. Kharkeyeva, T. M. Donskaya and me. In the course of the conversation

Georgi Mikhaylov particularly admired the fact that all three city party committee secretaries were women heading such a major sector of party work. Comrade Dimitrov behaved quite simply and we were not embarrassed."

Georgi Mikhaylov immediately pointed out that in Kostroma not only the city party committee secretaries but the managers of many enterprises, sectors and departments were women. Five of the nine members of the district electoral commission were women, including the chairwoman and her deputy. He noted this circumstance in his electoral speech in Kostroma and at the presentation of his deputy certificate.

The members of the electoral commission recall that after the mandate was presented to Georgi Mikhaylov, despite his tremendous amount of work, he held a long talk with them and asked them individually about their lives, work and families. He saw to it that the Kostroma delegation was given hotel rooms. He then introduced them to his wife, Roza Yul'yevna, and asked them to sing a Volga song. The Kostroma people sang the "Volga Song." G. M. Dimitrov's wife spent the entire day with the Kostroma delegation, showed the delegates the sights of Moscow and that evening took them to the theater to see "Man with a Weapon."

The Kostroma delegation remained very pleased with the reception. "This encounter with Georgi Mikhaylov remained unforgettable to all of us for life," wrote V. S. Loginova-Bernova, who was then a Stakhanovite weaver, Komsomol member and the youngest member of the district electoral commission.

As USSR Supreme Soviet deputy Georgi Mikhaylov did a very great deal to help the people of Kostroma to develop their economy and culture.

Few residents of Kostroma remember today that in 1937-1938 the city was short of electric power for the developing industry and its communal-consumer services. Naturally, the overwhelming majority of letters which the city soviet, enterprise directors and citizens sent their representative included requests to improve the city's electric power supply.

The Kostroma deputy actively helped to resolve this problem. To begin with, he was able to increase the power generated by the TETs of the People's Commissariat of the Textile Industry by one turbogenerator (6,000 kilowatts). Documents from that period include the answer of the people's commissar for electric power plants and the electric power industry in this matter.

The people of Kostroma requested and the deputy help them to obtain additional electric power by stringing a power cable (LEP) from Nerekhta, the rayon center, to Kostroma (40 km) and in building a substation along the high-tension Ivanovo-Gor'kiy LEP. The Kostroma city soviet sent M. S. Ryabkov, the director of the city electric power plant, to see Dimitrov on this matter. Here is his story:

"I arrived in Moscow without any preliminary arrangements with Comrade Dimitrov. At the premises of the Comintern Executive Committee I realized that I would be unable to see Georgi Mikhaylov on the day of my arrival, for on that day he was meeting with a number of foreign delegations.

"I was amazed to discover that when Georgi Mikhaylov found out that I had been sent by the Kostroma voters, he asked his assistant to inform me that he would see me after the French delegation. Without much delay I was taken to Georgi Mikhaylov's office, which was quite simply furnished and lined with floor to ceiling bookshelves. He was quite cordial. He asked me detailed questions about life in Kostroma. I presented the request of the city soviet. Georgi Mikhaylov said that this was a rather complex problem but that he would do everything possible to speed up the supply of electric power to Kostroma. I left his office impressed by G. M. Dimitrov's charm and simplicity.

"Soon afterward, work was initiated on laying the high-tension cable between Nerekhta and Kostroma."

The completion of the first electric power plant of the Volga power system--the Rybinsk GES--was planned for 1941. In a letter to the deputy and the Kostroma city soviet, the People's Commissariat of Electric Power Plants and Electric Power Industry and the USSR Gosplan reported that Kostroma's electric power supply would be improved with the help of the electric power to be generated by the GES.

The correspondence with the deputy shows that the building of a hydroelectric power plant was being planned in the area of Buy, on the Kostroma River. The power it generated was to be consumed mainly by the Kostroma industry (the plan was not carried out because of the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War).

At the request of the voters of the Kostromskiy Rural Rayon, G. M. Dimitrov helped in the reconstruction of Shungeskaya Electric Power Plant, after which it was able to supply electric power to 12 village soviets, 72 kolkhozes and 8 small suburban processing enterprises which were previously receiving some of their power at the expense of the city.

The study of these documents, the requests of the Kostroma people addressed to their deputy and the answers of people's commissariats and departments on ways to improve electric power supplies to Kostroma, leads us to subconsciously compare the past with the present. Whereas in 1938 the total electric power produced in the city was 62.4 million kilowatt hours, in 1981 it was 17,426,000,000. Fulfilling the wish of their first deputy to make the district leading in terms of economic development, expressed by him at the time he was presented with his mandate, with the tremendous help of the CC CPSU and the Soviet government, the people of Kostroma built TETs No 2 and the Kostroma GRES, which totaled eight 300,000-kilowatt turbines; for the opening of the 26th CPSU Congress, a one-of-a-kind turbine generating 1.2 million kilowatts was commissioned at the power plant, or the equivalent of two Dneproges in a single turbine! In the past, the people of Kostroma were asking for an increase in the capacity of the TETs-1 by installing a 6,000-kilowatt generator!

Today the Kostroma electric power plants account for a large quantity of electric power contributed to the Unified Power System of the European part of the union and a certain amount of power is shipped through the Mir power transmission cable to the fraternal socialist countries, including the Bulgarian People's Republic--the homeland of the first Kostroma deputy.

Numerous documents kept in the archives confirm the close ties which the deputy maintained with his electoral district. They include requests submitted by the soviet, enterprises, schools, technical schools and private citizens and the clear and convincing answers of the deputy, imbued with concern and attention for the people and the desire to help them to resolve difficult problems of daily life.

...The RSFSR People's Commissariat of the Municipal Economy refused to allow the Kostroma City Soviet to include in the 1940 plan the construction of a 24-apartment building. The city soviet turned to the deputy for help, as there was a severe need for housing in the city. From 1934 to 1939 the population had increased by 37.1 percent while the housing area had increased by no more than 18.6 percent. This increase was essentially the work of industrial enterprises and the city's population (private construction), while not a single square meter of housing had been completed by the city soviet. The city soviet asked the deputy to help build at least one 24-apartment building....

The city soviet asked that at least 500 tons of bitumen be allocated in 1941 to improve the city streets, most of which were paved with cobblestones or unpaved....

The USSR Sovnarkom Main Petroleum Procurement Administration answered the deputy and the petitioner that the requested amount of bitumen would be allocated in July-August 1941 in equal shares from its office in Yaroslavl'....

The city soviet asked the deputy to support its request for increasing the capacity of the water treatment station, as there was a shortage of water for the population. There were requests, and more and more requests....

How greatly the scale of housing construction and urbanization has increased in Georgi Dimitrov's electoral district! Every year dozens of thousands of square meters of housing are being completed. Whereas in 1938 Kostroma's housing resources totaled 751,200 square meters, they were in excess of 3.6 million in 1981. Today the city water treatment station has a reserve water supply capacity. Every year hundreds of kilometers of streets and highways are being asphalted in the city and the oblast. During the 10th Five-Year Plan alone more than 1,000 km of paved roads were built. The city buses carried 225,000 passengers in 1938; buses and trolleybuses transported 98,403,000 citizens in 1981.

In November 1938 a delegation of Kostroma voters, consisting of V. Ye. Pavlov, city soviet chairman, non-party member teacher P. N. Tsvetkova, RSFSR Supreme Soviet first convocation deputy, and M. S. Ryabkov, principal of the industrial technical school, requested a meeting with Comrade Dimitrov. On behalf of the Kostroma working people they asked Georgi Mikhaylov to address the voters in the city theater on the occasion USSR Constitution Day on 5 December 1938.

Comrade Dimitrov was sincerely pleased with the invitation. Unfortunately, however, he pointed out that he was unable to leave Moscow because of preparations for a Comintern Executive Committee meeting.

"Do not be disappointed," he said. "I will ask Comrade Kolarov to take my place" (indeed, Vasil Kolarov, a major leader of the Comintern and the Bulgarian Communist Party, and G. Dimitrov's friend and fellow worker, went to Kostroma and addressed a solemn meeting in the city theater on 5 December).

Georgi Mikhaylov asked the people of Kostroma if they had any other requests. The principal of the industrial technical school asked him to help preserve the developed specialization of the school, which was training heat technicians and chemical laboratory assistants for the textile industry. At that time the industrial technical school was under the jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat of Local Industry, which wanted to turn it into a school training construction materials specialists. Such reorganization was clearly inefficient, for the school had a suitable faculty, laboratories and equipment.

Georgi Mikhaylov promised to help. One month after the meeting, in December 1938, an order was issued by the USSR Sovnarkom transferring the Kostroma Industrial Technical School to the People's Commissariat of Chemical Industry. Thanks to the active help of the deputy, the technical school was able to retain its cadres and its area of specialized training. The People's Commissariat of Chemical Industry allocated substantial funds to strengthen its material and training facilities.

The archive documents, the correspondence between G. M. Dimitrov, the Kostroma deputy, and the voters, and the recollections of representatives of the city and private citizens who went to see him clearly prove that despite the tremendous amount of work which Georgi Mikhaylov was doing in the Comintern Executive Committee and the leadership of the clandestine Bulgarian Communist Party, he invested a great deal of time and effort to carry out his duties as a deputy.

All the answers to the requests of city leaders and working people are imbued with the desire to understand and to help or else convincingly to explain the impossibility of resolving one problem or another under the specific circumstances or within the requested period of time.

The people of Kostroma sacredly revere the memory of their first deputy and try to meet his wish of making Kostroma "a developing center of socialist production and socialist culture."

Ancient and eternally young Kostroma spreads along the high and steep banks of Russia's main street--the beautiful Volga. Kostroma was awarded the Order of the October Revolution in 1977 for achievements in the revolutionary movement and successes in the development of its economy and culture and on the occasion of the 825th anniversary of its founding.

The Kostroma area produced more than 160 heroes of the Soviet Union during the Great Patriotic War. The title of Hero of Socialist Labor has been awarded to more than 80 working people in plants, fields and livestock farms, 7 of whom have been awarded the title twice.

During the tenure of the first deputy, the textile industry dominated the city. Today Kostroma is a city of machine builders and power workers. These sectors are developing particularly rapidly in the rayon named after G. M. Dimitrov.

Kostroma is a sister city of the Bulgarian city Samokov, with whose revolutionary activities Georgi Dimitrov was closely related. Every year the sister cities exchange delegations. The cooperation between the flax workers and machine builders of Kostroma and Samokov helps both to fulfill their five-year plans.

...A monument to the great Lenin stands on a high hill in Kostroma, on the left bank of the Volga. The Kostroma proletariat built it with funds it collected and placed it on the pedestal of a former monument to the 300-year-old Romanov dynasty. The busts of kings and queens crowded the approaches and niches of the pedestal. They were removed by the people and replaced with the sculpture of their leader. The fact is symbolic! This may be the only monument of its kind which reflects in such an original manner the changes which have taken place in Russia since the Great October Revolution.

On the other bank, in the Dimitrovskiy Rayon, the people of Kostroma are planning to erect a monument to Georgi Dimitrov, their first deputy, fiery revolutionary, great son the Bulgarian people and student of the great Lenin.

How strangely human destinies sometimes become intertwined! This is one more line of communication between Lenin and Dimitrov, the proletarian leaders, via Kostroma.

It was master craftsman Nikanor Illarionovich Kurochkin, the son of a muzhik from Gusevo Village, in the Kostroma area, who hand-made the sarcophagus for the V. I. Lenin mausoleum, for which he was thanked by the USSR Central Executive Committee and Commission for Perpetuating the Memory of V. I. Lenin. He subsequently participated in crafting the stars made of rubies for the towers of the Moscow Kremlin, for which he was awarded the USSR State Prize. It was also he who made the sarcophagus for the G. M. Dimitrov mausoleum in Sofia, for which he was awarded the Silver Order of Labor by the Presidium of the Great National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic. It was thus that after Georgi Dimitrov's death, with the help of N. I. Kurochkin, his name was once again linked with Kostroma and its people, whom he faithfully served for many years as their first deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Kostroma-Moscow

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## 12TH CONGRESS OF THE BCP AND THE SHAPING OF THE SOCIALIST PERSONALITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 82 pp 79-88

[Article by Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary]

[Text] The Bulgarian Communist Party has covered a hard and glorious road in the course of its long, heroic history. This road, which began in August 1891 at the Buzludzha Congress, at which the foundations of the revolutionary Marxist party in Bulgaria were laid, led to the highest peaks in March-April 1981, when the BCP held its 12th congress.

The 12th congress, which was held of the year of the celebration of 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state, the 90th anniversary of the Buzludzha Congress, the 25th anniversary of the renovational April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum and the 10th anniversary of the adoption of the program for building a developed socialist society, summed up noteworthy results. Economically, the Bulgaria of 1980 equals two Bulgarias of 1970; in terms of national income, it is equivalent to 6.5 Bulgarias of 1956. We would be fully justified in saying that the past quarter of a century has been the most fruitful period in the development of the country throughout its entire 13-centuries-old history.

The successes achieved in building a socialist society are not self-seeking. Their purpose is to create all the necessary prerequisites for the blossoming of the individual as a socialist personality.

Georgi Dimitrov, the centennial of whose birth is noted by all progressive mankind, the great son of Bulgaria and noted leader of the international communist and workers movements, saw such individuals as internationalists raised in the spirit of communism, fighters for the triumph of the great proletarian ideal, "directly linked with the life and progress of their people, tempered and physically strong, with vast culture and knowledge, people who can and are ready to make their contribution to the prosperity of the homeland."

The Soviet person, as described by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, is the guideline in our work of molding the socialist personality: "...He is a conscientious working person, a person with high political standards, a patriot and internationalist. He was raised by the party, the heroic history of the country and our entire system. He lives the rich life of the builder of the new world."

The 12th BCP Congress formulated a number of problems related to the upbringing of the socialist person in our country.

1

The BCP is steadily improving social management, making it consistent with the level of development of production forces and the maturity of production relations. In recent years it has paid particular attention to the increasingly fuller, more systematic and comprehensive application of new economic management methods or to what we generally refer to as the socialist economic approach, which is achieved through the application of the new economic mechanism. As was pointed out at the 12th congress, the party has undertaken the elaboration of a comprehensive system of economic methods and means for influencing, regulating and shaping a type of organization which encompasses planning, production, distribution and management, as a powerful means for the comprehensive intensification of the national economy. In this connection, the congress called for the full application of the basic principle of the new economic mechanism--"the conversion of all types of economic and social activity to a cost effectiveness basis, the core of which is self-compensation. The proper utilization of this principle presumes that each labor collective and individual working person will invariably act as the true owner of socialist property and realize that his personal well-being depends on the results of his toil."

The full application of the socialist economic approach presumes the existence of necessary objective conditions and the respective preparedness of the subjective factor. We must develop the type of educational system which will make the new methods profoundly understood by the working class and all working people and taken up as their own project, work method and way of life.

The systematic and comprehensive application of the economic approach influences the shaping and further development of the socialist personality both directly and indirectly. In practice, this leads and will increasingly lead to substantial changes in the social environment under whose steady influence the individual operates and improves himself.

In analyzing the interaction between social environment and the individual, we proceed from the fact that the individual is an active factor in shaping the environment but is also developing and enriching himself, as a specific sociological system, along with the development and enrichment of the social environment. In this sense, Marx' fundamental thesis to the effect that human nature is "the totality of all social relations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 3, p 3) must be interpreted in the sense that the individual is both the creator of such relations and their specific summed-up result.

What are the directions along which we expect changes in the social environment as a result of the application of the new methods of socialist economic management, the improvements in the economic mechanism and production intensification?

First, we must bear in mind that the new economic mechanism makes the marketing of produced goods the main prerequisite for wages and for the formation of the funds of the economic organizations and, consequently, for the satisfaction

of the material interests of the working collectives and the individual working people and the moral and political assessment of their efforts. Marketing is the material tie linking the activities of the labor collective and economic organization with domestic and foreign markets. The demands of our consumers are rising steadily and the demands of foreign consumers--members of CEMA or nonsocialist countries--are growing rapidly, changing and becoming increasingly stricter. Under such circumstances, while retaining its leading significance, the plan assumes an increasingly greater role as an accountability document. Less and less frequently the economic organizations are asking for a reduction in the plan indicators. Initiative in the production of promising goods in demand, and their improved quality and technical, functional and aesthetic indicators, is increasing. The efforts of the economic organizations in applying the achievements of scientific and technical progress and improving labor productivity are becoming energized particularly rapidly.

Secondly, socialist democracy becomes considerably broader and the purely administrative methods of national economic work and management are reduced. Improvements in labor incentive, based on the quantity and quality of labor, are increasingly encouraging the creativity and initiative of specialists and workers, leading to the increasingly extensive use of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the application of new technology. This creates even more favorable conditions and opportunities for the implementation of Lenin's instruction according to which an equitable distribution alone is insufficient; "one must consider such distribution as a method, a tool, a means for increasing production" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 43, p 359).

Thirdly, major changes are taking place in the sociopsychological climate in the labor collectives. Since wages are based on end economic results and become a residual value, social control and self-control inevitably increase. People become more exigent toward themselves and others, and public opinion assumes a greater role in the collective.

These and other changes in the social environment cannot fail to affect the development of the socialist individual, starting with his material interest and ending with his cultural standard and degree of conscientiousness. Such influence and dependence are unquestionable. They are manifested mainly in the interaction between the economic approach, which is achieved through the new economic mechanism, and the incentives for individual activity.

Therefore, the application of the economic approach introduces substantial changes by becoming the main structural element in the material incentive of the individual. The fact that wages become a resulting and residual value makes it possible to implement consistently and completely the basic socialist principle of wages based on labor. This reformulates the question of material incentive as the main reason for labor and the development of the capabilities and qualities of the socialist individual. This is exceptionally important, for it affects the entire structure, the entire mentality of the individual and his development.

In other words, it is a question of material incentive, on the one hand, which appears as a structural element, as an essential feature of the behavior and

growth of the individual and which, on the other, contributes to the fact that every worker and specialist "becomes interested in the development of the production process" (V. I. Lenin, *ibid*, Vol 44, p 165). This is the meaning of the party stipulation we are currently implementing: to act and to manage on the basis of material interest as one of the main levers of management.

The changes in personal material incentive broaden and increase the incentive of the worker to upgrade his skills and general and specialized culture. As we know, the main way leading to expanding and improving the quality of public production under our circumstances is the prompt application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. That is why the 12th BCP Congress raised with particular urgency the question of intellectualizing all types of production, in order to make maximal use in all types of activities of the gains of the scientific and technical revolution and to make it the main ally of socialism and socialist production. The successful solution of this problem presumes a steady increase in incentives and the broadening of opportunities precisely in the areas of upgrading the skills of workers and specialists with the help of the experience of the Soviet Union and other developed countries. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov points out, the task is not to work today better than yesterday but to apply the best worldwide scientific and technical achievements, i.e., to use the latest equipment and modern technology and the most advanced methods of production organization and management.

Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, under the specific social conditions of our country, changes in individual material incentive become powerful stimuli not only for improving skills but also for ensuring the fuller manifestation of the creative nature of the individual and the development of the creative qualities of every person.

It is precisely material incentive, which assumes an increasingly equitable and progressive nature with the systematic application of the socialist economic management method and with the help of the new economic mechanism, that is one of the levers for developing the initiative and creativity of the masses and for determining and realizing the creative capabilities of all categories of workers and specialists. Under such circumstances, material incentive is being used with increasing expediency and good sense for the sake of achieving two most noble objectives: on the one hand, for the sake of improving production forces, the nature of the social production process itself and its comprehensive intensification; on the other, for the sake of the increasingly greater development of the creative forces and opportunities of every person.

Increased material incentive, based on the socialist principle of distribution, is of great moral significance as well, for it strengthens the moral foundations of society. Here the material aspect is combined and, to a certain extent, coincides with the moral motivation far more directly and organically, for the economic assessment of the work of the collective and the individual increasingly becomes a moral-political assessment as well.

The changes in individual material incentive are reflected in a number of elements of the conscientiousness of the individual, his social mentality and his behavior at work. The systematic application of the socialist economic

approach through the new economic mechanism creates conditions for intensifying and improving the education functions of the socialist distribution principle. The quantity and quality of labor invested by the individual working person and the entire production collective and the end economic results are increasingly becoming the main criteria of conscientiousness and behavior in the work of workers, specialists and managers.

The basis of the specific evaluation of human behavior in the course of the labor process and the growth of conscientiousness should be sought in the people's more profound understanding of the party's present economic policy; the fuller awareness of the specific place and responsibility of the individual worker and collective in the overall sectorial production system and, therefore in the national economy; the conscious subordination of interests and actions to those of the collective and the entire society; the more profound realization of the legitimate connection and interdependence between individual and social development; the increased reciprocal exactingness and intolerance of negative phenomena; and the increased aspiration of the individual toward further self-advancement and mastering new work methods in individual jobs and management activities, i.e., in all aspects which characterize the blossoming of the socialist individual.

2

The second problem in shaping the individual has to do with the education and upbringing of the young generation and its readiness to pursue an independent life.

The qualitative changes which have taken place in this area in the course of the building of socialism in our country are the legitimate result of the accelerated all-round socioeconomic development and the triumph of the Leninist April policy of the BCP in all areas of social life. The radical changes in the social environment and conditions in which the people live and work led to the assertion of a socialist way of life and created the type of objective environment in which the new type of personality is shaped. In this respect the public education system plays a primary role.

One of the most important problems which determines the socioeconomic development of society--the problem of cadres--is resolved mainly in the field of education. The scientific and technical revolution, the elimination of major disparities between mental and physical labor, the comprehensive intensification of public production and the comprehensive application of the socialist economic approach, which is directly linked with it, demand a steady improvement in the level of education and skill of all working people--managers and performers.

As Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out, education--activities in and the area of spiritual culture to which the BCP ascribes strategic significance in the plan for the all-round development of the Bulgarian People's Republic--can carry out its responsible mission only if it operates on a contemporary scientific and technical and organizational-methodical level, in a state of total harmony between the activities and the interests of all public and governmental organs.

The theses on the development of the educational system in Bulgaria, in which our party's strategy and tactics were formulated in the field of education at the stage of building a developed socialist society and a gradual transition to communism, were discussed and approved at the July 1979 BCP Central Committee Plenum. Comrade Todor Zhivkov's letter to the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol, which stipulated that the new and main aspect in work with the youth must be the creation of necessary conditions for the full determination and manifestation of the capabilities of the young generation, was the basis for the theses and the corresponding educational reform. Any approach which does not contribute to the all-round advancement and full and highly effective self-assertion of the young generation must be rejected.

One can clearly say that the efforts of our schools and entire educational system so far have been directed mainly at giving the students as much knowledge as possible in various fields of science and life and, to a far lesser extent, the development of their independent, analytical and creative thinking and actions. Taking this major shortcoming into consideration, the party called for raising the type of individual who would not only have extensive knowledge but, above all, an active life stance. The theses of the 12th BCP Congress point out that "the reorganization of education must ensure the development of a communist ideological conviction and high conscientiousness, the development of the creative talents of the individual, solid knowledge, high general culture, mastery of skills with a broad polytechnical aspect and a specific specialty, which will guarantee the full manifestation of the qualities of the individual in life and his readiness to work."

Lenin's instructions on the need to upgrade the standard of training and education by combining them with productive labor and developing a polytechnical training and education have not only kept their relevance but are becoming increasingly topical. They are the basis of the BCP line of establishing a single secondary polytechnical school as a "school for the present and the future," which brings together the historically developed general educational and vocational directions.

Three main levels become inseparable parts of the single secondary polytechnical school, which combines "general educational training--mastering a broad skill while specializing in a specific area:" The first involves the 10th-grade training; the second, in the course of which the student selects basic professions covering a broad polytechnical range and begins vocational labor training; together with it, the third, which covers the last two grades, ensures the mastery of a specific skill under actual production conditions. The children will enter school not at the age of 7 but 6.

The education theses stipulate that the training of the young person for life, as provided by such basic schools, should not be considered as an effort to standardize the development of different individuals. Its purpose, within the range of existing objective opportunities, is to determine and advance the capabilities and gifts of everyone, so that each may feel himself to be a full-fledged individual and citizen and act as one. To this end, disciplines and subjects are classified into mandatory, elective and optional. This offers extensive opportunities for individualizing the training and education process.

The close combination of school with production training is an essential feature of the educational reform. This is expressed not only in mastering both a broad and a specific skill in the course of the training process but in the qualitatively new organization of production practice. It is structured in such a way that, as a rule, the students are engaged in productive toil at enterprises under real production conditions or train in school workshops and laboratories. The production of marketable goods is the most indicative feature in this respect. By following this system, some schools are already covering all their expenditures and are even showing a profit. Such practices become an important educational factor. They closely link the students with the working class and enable them to become fully aware of the social significance of their work.

The new approach to education presumes increasing integration and demands, as was noted in the theses of the 12th BCP Congress, the more active and broader "interaction and synthesis between education and science, artistic culture and mass information media." It is essentially where the efforts of all these areas of our spiritual culture meet and join efforts that the new features which characterize the spiritual aspect of the socialist individual are essentially created. With this in mind, the party turned to men of science, art and culture with the appeal to make their contribution to the development of the educational system and the shaping and advancement of the socialist individual.

The first congress of public education workers, which was held in 1980 and which elected the Higher Training Council, laid the foundations of the state-public principle in education management. Today the bureau of the Higher Training Council exercises the functions of the collegium of the Ministry of Public Education. At the same time, the public education offices of okrug people's councils were reorganized into okrug public education councils. Such councils were created on the obshtina level as well. Each council has tutorships whose members include representatives of the public organizations, enterprises and parents. The tutorships ensure the link between the school and the enterprises and the other elements of the social environment. Through this method all organs and organizations, the public and the parents become involved in the advancement of the education process, making it a nationwide project.

3

The question of the nationwide aesthetic upbringing and development of the creative principle in man has become particularly topical and important to us.

Guided by the Marxist-Leninist concept that the building of the mature socialist and the communist society is inconceivable without the blossoming of the spiritual wealth of the individual and without the active participation of the creative nation developing, molding and properly and expediently absorbing and consuming artistic and other cultural values, at its 10th congress (1971) the BCP included in its program the stipulation that "all the necessary measures must be taken to ensure the aesthetic upbringing and to upgrade the aesthetic activeness of the socialist working people. The historically developed gap between material-production and aesthetic areas must be filled."

Accordingly, a comprehensive program for nationwide aesthetic education was formulated in the period between the 10th and 11th congresses, with the coordinating role of the Committee for Culture and the participation of all creative unions and social and state organizations. The program was adopted in 1975. Its basic purpose is to create optimal conditions and opportunities for the blossoming of the creative forces of the people and the individuals and the molding of a comprehensively and harmoniously developed individual who would manifest freely and without coercion and would apply the infinite wealth of the forces inherent in man.

Subsequently, in the Central Committee accountability report to the 11th BCP Congress (1976), Comrade Todor Zhivkov called for organizing rich and varied work for aesthetic upbringing, which would enable the members of all age groups, regardless of the nature of their activities, actively to display their aesthetic possibilities. Accordingly, extensive work was done to concretize and ensure the practical implementation of tasks related to aesthetic education. The 12th party congress called for the "ideological enrichment and qualitative improvement of the nationwide movement for aesthetic upbringing," which must be "developed on a broad social basis" and used in asserting the aesthetic criteria of the socialist way of life.

The role and significance of artistic culture in enriching the leisure time of the working people was to be enhanced even more purposefully.

Therefore, in its latest congresses, the BCP paid particular attention to aesthetic upbringing. It systematically defined the tasks in each stage of this work. Primary importance is attached to the requirement that aesthetic upbringing must be nationwide and aimed at awakening and developing the creative principles in man, both in the theoretical interpretation and the practical solution of the problem.

As an inseparable part of communist upbringing, aesthetic education presumes the purposeful mastery of a system of aesthetic knowledge, skills and habits. This alone, however, is insufficient, and we might say it is not the essence of the matter. The core of aesthetic upbringing is to create conditions for the manifestation of the superior spiritual forces of man and his ability to perceive, build and create the world, as Marx said, "according to the laws of beauty as well" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 42, p 94).

This view of the nature of aesthetic upbringing is based on the recognition of the great opportunities for the manifestation of the inner potential with which every normal individual is born and which are an objective base for his advancement as an integral, comprehensively developed and harmonious individual, given the existence of favorable social conditions and factors.

In the words of Academician N. Dubinin, the outstanding Soviet geneticist, "human capabilities are the gold stock of society." The scientist pointed out the comprehensive nature of the problems related to the development and manifestation of such capabilities. "We must develop the mental capabilities, creative aspirations, emotional standards, physical possibilities, character and willpower, and an aesthetic attitude toward reality." With all this,

N. Dubinin emphasized, we must bear in mind above all that the "normal (non-pathological) genetic human program is complete in terms of its comprehensive development" (see KOMMUNIST, No 11, 1980, p 73).

We must take into consideration that it is a question of awakening and developing the creative principle in the course of the artistic-creative realization of the individual and of his practical participation in all other areas of socially useful activities--various types of productive labor, in life and social relations, etc. This is one of the qualitatively new aspects of our project, in accordance with the comprehensive program for nationwide aesthetic education. The fact that it is possible and necessary to create "according to the laws of beauty as well" in various fields of activity is the basis for increasing the requirements concerning such an education. As the authors of the book published in the USSR "Teoriya Esteticheskogo Vospitaniya" [Theory of Aesthetic Education] point out, "the generalized aesthetic creative ability is manifested in the fact that in all types of practical activity and social and spiritual life man acts in one way or another, also taking into consideration the laws of beauty, i.e., acting as an aesthetic subject" (Iskusstvo, Moscow, 1979, p 26).

We can confidently say that as a result of the greater organizational and systematic work to promote aesthetic education in recent years, its content has become considerably richer and its forms in various social areas and types of activity have become more varied.

Today an increasing number of enterprises are raising their requirements regarding the aesthetic side of their output as an inherent component of quality. They are improving the aesthetics of the labor environment and the production process and are creating increasingly more favorable conditions for amateur artistic activities and the spiritual enrichment of the working people. For example, the Nayden Kirov Plant for Electrical Engineering Goods in Ruse has achieved significant results in these directions. The plant's output is of high quality and consistent with strict aesthetic requirements. It enjoys extensive demand in Bulgaria and abroad. Furthermore, the plant is encouraging the development of artistic crafts on a voluntary basis, such as woodcutting, making wrought iron objects, embroidery and tapestry. These original items of high aesthetic quality are triggering a great deal of interest and enjoy great consumer demand. Amateur artistic activities have been extensively developed as well: The plant has collectives for artistic recitations, dancing, folk and variety singing, etc. We can justifiably say that here as well as in many other enterprises throughout the country, aesthetic-artistic creativity has become widespread.

In accordance with the stipulations of the 12th BCP Congress and the reorganization, the efforts in the realm of education are focused on the further improvement of aesthetic education with the help of all school subjects, on improving training in disciplines within the aesthetic cycle (in order to complete the cycle, a new discipline on the basic problems of aesthetics and aesthetic education will be introduced), the integration of art in the entire educational process, the awakening and strengthening of a creative attitude on the part of the students toward reality and harmonizing the overall development of the young person.

In the field of daily life, aesthetic criteria and requirements are manifested in movements for a "model home," and for developing the domestic and social environment as a factor for molding a new attitude toward labor and for the aesthetic and overall communist upbringing of the new man.

However, artistic creativity has been assigned the leading role in the process of aesthetic upbringing in our country. Exceptionally interesting initiatives were developed and are becoming increasingly popular in this area in recent years.

A long-term program for upgrading the role of art and culture in the all-round harmonious development of the individual, based on the example of the life, creativity and activities of many outstanding people, was formulated at the extension and further concretizing of the program of nationwide aesthetic education.

The individual stages in this long-term program cover outstanding personalities such as V. I. Lenin, Leonardo da Vinci, N. K. Rerikh and Constantine-Cyril the Philosopher. The subsequent stages in the long-term program will cover the life and works of A. Einstein, R. Tagore, Avicenna, M. V. Lomonosov, Jan Komenski and J. W. Goethe. Familiarization with these giants of human thought and action, with the help of various artistic and cultural tools, will enable us to learn even more about the tremendous creative opportunities of man and gain social experience for their full realization.

Another major initiative is the Banner of Peace International Assembly, which has been rallying in Sofia children from all parts of the planet for the past 3 years under the slogan "Unity, Creativity, Beauty." Whereas children from 77 countries attended the Banner of Peace International Assembly in 1977 and from 84 countries in 1980, representatives of 97 countries came to Bulgaria for the 1981 assembly. The great creative successes of the children, the considerable increase in the number of participants, and the broadening of their social and age structure and types of creativity proved that the Banner of Peace movement is distinguished by its exceptional vitality and deeply humanistic, artistic-creative charge and greatly contributes to strengthening the noble cooperation among children and young people the world over. It was highly rated by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev as well.

In emphasizing the great importance of the Banner of Peace International Assembly, the 12th BCP Congress expressed its total support of it as a system for the overall development of the creative gifts of the growing generation and as an initiative which has become a firm part of the cultural life of the country and gained a rapidly rising international prestige.

The further shaping of the socialist individual in our country is taking place under difficult international circumstances and the conditions of a sharp ideological struggle between imperialism and socialism. That is why the BCP is promoting the further consolidation of the scientific dialectical-materialistic outlook in the minds of the working people and the youth. It is upgrading the role of class-party criteria in their thinking and is strengthening the unity between their patriotic and international awareness. In this respect,

the teaching of love and respect for the USSR and the great Soviet people, as features of the national character of our nation, plays a substantial role.

This, in turn, calls for increasing and improving the struggle against anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, revisionism and reformism, the struggle against negative phenomena within the country and for the further increase in the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas in the world and the effect of the attractiveness of the example set by real socialism.

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## ANTIWAR MOVEMENT IN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET PUBLIC

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[Article by A. Shitikov, chairman of the Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, and chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation]

[Text] As we know, the 1980's began in an atmosphere of aggravation of international tension caused by the policy of the aggressive imperialist forces and their course of undermining detente and increasing material preparations for war. This is the most serious situation since World War II. The intrigues of the militaristic circles have particularly worsened the situation in Europe, where the arms race, particularly that involving nuclear weapons, in which the United States is involving its allies, is fraught with a mortal danger for the peoples of that continent. The broad population strata in the Western European countries are answering the danger of destruction which threatens them with an unparalleled upsurge of the antiwar movement, which has become an important factor in the contemporary political life of these countries.

The Soviet public, which has always systematically opposed the threat of war, actively supports the peace program for the 1980's, formulated by the 26th CPSU Congress, and the initiatives included in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speeches subsequently, based on specific proposals related to restraining the arms race and improving the situation in Europe. The Soviet people are making an increasing contribution to the struggle waged by the peoples for peace, disarmament and European security. They react with understanding and a feeling of solidarity to the actions of the participants in antiwar activities in Western Europe and are increasing their efforts aimed at achieving the best possible reciprocal understanding and cooperation in the most topical problems of international life on our continent.

### I

Peace and war have been closely interwoven throughout European history. In the 20th century alone two world wars broke out here, causing tremendous casualties and destruction. The "cold war" triggered by imperialism led to a power confrontation between the two military-political alliances, which split Europe into two camps, a situation unparalleled under peacetime conditions.

However, it is precisely in Europe, despite the resistance of the forces of reaction and militarism, that the detente process was started, in the second half of the 1960's, culminated by the 1975 Final Act adopted by the participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe--the true charter of peaceful coexistence on the continent. The implementation of the Helsinki agreements, including the practice of political consultations among countries with different social systems, measures to strengthen trust in their relations, the development of economic and cultural cooperation and the expansion of humanitarian contacts were aimed at strengthening Europe's abandonment of the "cold war" status and opening up a real opportunity for organizing international relations in the area on a truly stable and peaceful basis.

At the beginning of the 1980's, however, Europe once again found itself the center of a confrontation between the forces favoring detente and disarmament, on the one hand, and the forces imposing a military and political confrontation and an arms race, on the other. The aggressive U.S. circles, who set the tone in the NATO bloc, have formulated a frankly militaristic program. The implementation of new programs for increasing strategic and other armaments, the deployment of new types of medium-range nuclear missiles and chemical weapons in Western Europe, with a view to ensuring in the final account military superiority not only on European soil but on a global scale, are Washington's officially announced intentions.

The U.S. militaristic circles are trying to accustom world public opinion to the monstrous idea of the possibility of applying mass destruction weapons. They are concocting a variety of doctrines on striking the "first," preventive, "demonstration" and other nuclear strikes. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress, "efforts are being made to suggest to the people that a nuclear war may be limited and to reconcile them to the idea of the admissibility of such war. However, this is a direct swindle of the nations! The American idea of a 'limited' nuclear war in Europe, for example, would mean from the very start the certain death of European civilization."

World public opinion is deeply alarmed by the recent decisions made by President Reagan on the implementation of a multibillion dollar program of U.S. "chemical rearmament." The barbaric nature of this weapon, in the modernization and growth of which Washington is currently engaged, is matched by the insidiousness of the plans for its utilization, concocted on the other side of the ocean. The United States does not conceal that according to its plans chemical warfare would be waged in the densely populated parts of the globe. The frank statement of the U.S. deputy secretary of defense regarding the need for "chemical rearmament" of the American army, in order "to have the possibility of engaging in large-scale chemical warfare in Europe against the members of the Warsaw Pact" is noteworthy.

The aggressive nature of Washington's policy was also manifested in its anti-Polish campaign. Violating basic norms of international relations, the U.S. administration is not only trying to interfere in the strictly domestic affairs of the People's Republic of Poland but does not conceal its intention of turning Poland into a hotbed of tension in Europe.

In their effort to gain military superiority and to weaken the positions of socialism, Washington's strategists are trying to acquire the possibility of dictating their conditions to the rest of the world. Objectively, their present policy is aimed at wrecking mutually profitable commercial, scientific and technical, cultural and other relations among European countries, which took decades to develop, to spoil the atmosphere wherever talks are under way on most topical contemporary problems and, in general, to destroy anything good and valuable which was achieved during the period of detente. The United States is trying to tie the other Western countries to its aggressive foreign policy line, totally ignoring the harm which this would cause to their national interests.

The foreign policy course pursued by the Soviet Union is countering the aggressive imperialist policy. There is not other country in the world which has formulated such a broad range of specific and realistic initiatives on the most important problems of international relations as has the Soviet Union in recent years. "...The new measures we are suggesting," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out from the rostrum of the 26th CPSU Congress, "cover a broad range of problems....All of these suggestions obey the single purpose and our common aspiration of doing everything possible to eliminate the threat of nuclear war hanging over the peoples and to preserve peace on earth."

As to Europe, where the two confronting military alliances have concentrated tremendous military potential, in the final account, in the view of the Soviet Union, it could and should become a continent free from nuclear weapons, both medium range and tactical.

The Soviet program of rescuing Europe from nuclear weapons, based on the principle of equal and identical security of the sides, convincingly proves that the Soviet Union proceeds in its policy also from a consideration of the vital interests of the broad masses of the Western European population. This policy, which is consistent with the profound interests of the Soviet people, provides a positive answer also to the aspirations of the participants in the European antiwar movement.

The initiatives formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 17th USSR Trade Unions Congress and the 19th Komsomol Congress provide new substantial proof of the radical difference between the policy of the Soviet Union and the course charted by the United States, convincingly refuting the fabrications of those who would like to equate the activities of our country with those of Washington. The decision of the Soviet leadership to apply a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in the European part of the country, naturally providing that the United States would not engage in practical preparations for the deployment of its missiles in Europe, and the decision to reduce the number of Soviet medium-range missiles by a certain number this very year, unless there is a new aggravation in the international circumstances, most clearly confirm the principled peacefulness of the foreign policy of the land of the soviets. All sincere supporters of an end to the nuclear arms race can easily see who is interested in eliminating the threat of nuclear war in Europe and who is not, the more so since the current postponement of the proceedings of the Madrid meeting, achieved by the United

States with the help of several NATO allies, once again confirms its intention to exacerbate the atmosphere in Europe even further and thus to facilitate the implementation of the sinister U.S. plans concerning the deployment of the so-called "Euromissiles."

The Soviet public greatly approves of the peaceful initiatives of the CPSU and the Soviet state. The Soviet people, who are loyal to the ideals of peace and disarmament, share the concern of the broad population strata in the other European countries concerning the nuclear threat which is increased by Washington's actions. They firmly object to the energizing of the aggressive imperialist forces.

Naturally, the struggle which the public, the broad popular masses, are waging for strengthening peace on earth is developing under basically different political circumstances in the West and in the socialist countries. The public and the political leadership in our country have coinciding views on the need for an immediate solution to the problem of limiting armaments. Virtually all social strata and groups of the Soviet people are participating in the struggle for peace. The USSR does not have antagonistic classes as in the capitalist countries. Nor do we have the type of social forces interested in the manufacturing of armaments, making war preparations and increasing international tension.

Millions of Soviet people--men, women, boys and girls, people of the middle generation and war and labor veterans--are objecting to preparations for war and to the unrestrained arms race in all possible ways. They are doing this at meetings and demonstrations and in the large number of letters to the CC CPSU, USSR Supreme Soviet, the Soviet government and the Soviet press, radio and television. The signatures under the new Stockholm appeal of the World Peace Council in 1976, which called for putting an end to the arms race and undertaking the implementation of real disarmament measures, was a nationwide referendum in favor of peace and against the arms race. The appeal was signed by the leaders of the communist party and the Soviet state along with more than 170 million Soviet citizens.

The opinion of the Soviet public and of the representatives of the various strata of our people are fully taken into consideration in the elaboration of USSR domestic and foreign policy. This was clearly confirmed by the results of the nationwide discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution and the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress. The peace program for the 1980's is, therefore, the concentrated expression of the will of the entire people.

The voice of the representatives of the Soviet public is loudly heard in the discussion of important foreign policy problems at USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sessions and meetings of the foreign affairs commissions in both chambers of the supreme organ of Soviet power.

The main holidays of the working people in the land of the soviets are characterized by loyalty to the ideals of peace and the support which the Soviet people give to specific peace actions, such as 1 May, the day of international solidarity among working people, and 7 November, the anniversary of the Great

October Socialist Revolution, when dozens of millions of Soviet people demonstrate throughout the country under the slogans of peace, detente and disarmament. In answering the holiday appeals of the CC CPSU, which express the thoughts and expectations of the entire people, the demonstrators express their unanimous and firm support of the party's line of the defense of peace, restraining the arms race and eliminating the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

In plant and factory shops, university lecture halls, palaces of culture, clubs and other public premises, at big meetings and gatherings, working people, students, men of literature and the arts and scientists pass resolutions calling for putting an end to the dangerous stockpiling of armaments in Europe and throughout the world. These actions are supported by the mass--party, trade union, youth, women's and creative--organizations. Last October, meetings on the occasion of United Nations Disarmament Week were attended by hundreds of thousands of Soviet people. They express their peace aspirations also at mass demonstrations in honor of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War and other unforgettable wartime anniversaries and the inauguration of monuments to the war heroes. All of these actions are invariably held under the slogans of peace and friendship among nations. To us the memory of the last war presents one more opportunity to call upon the peoples of the world to do everything possible to ensure that never again will the flames of a military conflagration break out on this earth.

Inspired by the great ideals of peace and friendship among nations, the Soviet people did a great deal of work to prepare and hold the 22d Olympic Games in Moscow. The many international friendship clubs which are active in schools, Pioneer homes and VUZs and which include many thousands of young citizens of our country are promoting an international education quite actively.

The Soviet Peace Committee, Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation play a major role in coordinating social antiwar actions. The Soviet Peace Fund, to which members of many different population strata make voluntary contributions for activities in the defense of peace, is generously supported by the people. The fund pays for a variety of measures the purpose of which is to encourage the peaceful foreign policy of the USSR and to intensify mutual understanding with members of the foreign public.

The Soviet public is a structural and indivisible component of the world and European peace movements, aimed against the threat of global thermonuclear and chemical war. Although universally known, the facts which confirm this should be mentioned more frequently, for some people in the West, in their effort to divide and disarm the antiwar movement in the capitalist countries, have been insinuating of late that the participants in antimilitaristic actions should not include people who support the foreign policy of their government, as is the case with the socialist countries. They deliberately fail to mention the nature of the policies of countries with different social systems. With the help of slanderous fabrications, efforts are being made to conceal from the Western public the fact that the foundations of the peaceful foreign policy course pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state and the other members of the socialist comity is determined by their socioeconomic system and that

these countries consider securing peaceful conditions for continuing the building of socialism and communism their main international task.

In countering such devices on the part of overt, covert, willing and unwilling opponents of strengthening peace, the representatives of the Soviet public, who participate in the contacts maintained with representatives foreign anti-war movements and various social organizations, deem it their duty to tell the truth regarding the basic motive forces of socialist foreign policy and to explain the peaceful international positions of our country. All public organizations in the USSR, including the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, participate in this work.

## II

The Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation was founded in June 1971 on the basis of agreements among various public organizations in the country. The founders of the committee--the USSR Parliamentary Group, USSR Academy of Sciences, AUCCTU, Komsomol Central Committee, Committee of USSR Youth Organizations, Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, Soviet Peace Committee, Committee of Soviet Women, creative associations and other organizations--expressed in their declaration their profound conviction of the need for active efforts on the part of the public forces in different countries for the sake of ensuring European security and peace and cooperation on the continent.

The committee appeared at a time when the process of detente was growing, greatly influenced by the Soviet peace program, and when preparations were under way for convening a European security and cooperation conference, while in the public circles of all European countries the desire to remove the artificial barriers which had been erected during the Cold War and were hindering contacts and cooperation among the various sociopolitical forces interested in strengthening peace on the continent had increased. This was the basis on which European security public committees, associations and forums began to appear in different countries.

The initial period of activity of the Soviet committee involved the active participation of our public in the movement of broad political and social circles, which was spreading throughout the continent, in support of the positive efforts of governments and a dialogue among them on holding a European conference.

The assemblies of public forces for security and cooperation in Europe, which were held in Brussels in 1972 and 1975, gave the new movement its organizational shape; an International Committee for European Security and Cooperation was founded. From the very beginning the public forces represented at the assemblies unconditionally supported the idea of a European conference of heads of governments and worked actively to ensure its success.

We cannot fail to remember gratefully the outstanding contribution to the initial successful steps of the movement of major figures such as the Belgians Jean Tref, Maurice Lambillotte and Victor Laroque, the Frenchman Louis Sallant,

the Soviet academician M. D. Millionshchikov and others. Thanks to the efforts of these and many other supporters and enthusiasts, the social movement for European security and cooperation began to gather strength.

The experience gained by holding the two assemblies and the various international actions which followed them convincingly proved that the Brussels movement could make and was making a contribution to strengthening an atmosphere of true security and equal cooperation among countries and peoples on the continent. The objectives and tasks of the movement, which were defined 10 years ago at the initial assemblies, retain their major importance to this day, when the conditions under which the struggle for peace is waged have worsened substantially.

In the light of the current international situation, the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation is trying to concentrate along two main directions. First, the dissemination of the truth concerning Soviet foreign policy and its peaceful nature, and the explanation and comprehensive popularization of the peaceful proposals formulated by the CPSU and the Soviet government. Second, the Soviet committee works to broaden and intensify contacts and dialogues with different sociopolitical circles in Europe concerned with the increased threat of war and the arms race and involved in the current mass antimilitaristic activities in Western European countries.

The specific nature of the activities of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation was determined, both in its early stages and at present, above all by the irreversible changes which detente brought to the European continent. It is a question mainly of the gravitation on the part of broad political and social European circles toward a dialogue on basic international contemporary problems. In the course of such a dialogue, the representatives of the Western European public want to know firsthand the truth concerning the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and its peaceful initiatives. Many of them express their desire to participate together with the representatives of the Soviet public in the search for realistic and efficient measures which could bring the peoples of Europe closer to the ideal of firm security based on a reduced level of military confrontation, trust and cooperation.

Since Europe once again finds itself in the center of the confrontation between the forces of war and peace and since the poisonous myth of the "military threat" presented by the USSR remains the main propaganda weapon of the forces of war, the representatives of the Soviet public, who participate in the activities of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, consider that their most important task is to expose fabrications on Soviet aggressive and hegemonistic aspirations. We consider this task particularly important today. Actually, there is no more important task facing the peace-loving social organizations today than to help the population masses realize the true reasons for the dangerous tension which exists in contemporary international relations and the radical difference between the two trends: the first, which favors strengthening peace, ending the arms race and engaging in a dialogue and mutually profitable cooperation, and the second, which favors greater tension, a spiraling arms race and balancing on the brink of nuclear catastrophe.

The Soviet people follow the development of today's antiwar movement in Western Europe with close attention. They look at it as an entirely natural reaction of hundreds of thousands and millions of people to the increased danger of war which could wipe entire European peoples off the face of the earth, as a manifestation of the understandable feeling of self-preservation on their part and as the desire to find a way for the elimination of the threat of nuclear destruction. It is the view of the Soviet people that the present growth of antimilitaristic feelings in the West is a manifestation of one of the main laws of today to which V. I. Lenin himself drew attention--the increased influence of the popular masses on international politics and the active expression of their profound interest in peace. The thought which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev expressed at the European conference in Helsinki to the effect that the agreements reached there "will broaden possibilities of increasing the influence of the peoples on so-called 'big politics'" is being confirmed again and again.

It is clear that in addition to being a mass movement, today's antiwar movement is characterized by the active participation of a range of social organizations of different ideological and political orientations, broader than at any other time. It is developing with the direct participation of a variety of political and social forces, involving the active efforts of social democrats, communists, Christian democrats and members of centrist parties. Its ranks include believers and atheists and members of trade unions and of women's and youth organizations. Repeated public opinion polls conducted in almost all Western Europe countries confirm that even among those who are not directly involved in public actions in favor of peace and disarmament more than one-half support the slogans of the antiwar manifestations.

The different conditions under which the struggle for peace is developing in our country and in the West is not considered by the Soviet people an obstacle to closer cooperation between the supporters of peace in our country and the participants in the antiwar movement in the West. While showing respect and understanding for their independent positions and views and the sovereignty of the organizations which shape the movement, the Soviet public neither wants to nor can stand aside from the sharp debates which arise on the subject of this movement, for problems of the policy pursued by our country, its safety and the peaceful future of the present and future generations of our people become frequent discussion topics. The desire to cause serious damage to the antiwar movement as a whole is visible in some attempts artificially to pit the antiwar movement in Western countries against the struggle for peace and disarmament waged by the Eastern Europeans and to promote discord among the different Western organizations favoring peace and disarmament. The spirit of the Cold War can be sensed in these attempts.

People with different social status, political and ideological affiliation, many women and young people, and many of those who had remained so far away from active participation in the struggle for peace are now spontaneously joining the movement against the arms race and for disarmament. It is entirely natural that they bring to the movement their own ideas of the reasons for the worsening of the international situation and responsibility for the increased threat of nuclear catastrophe. Various views are being expressed on

the ways to reach this objective, based on a common initial aspiration to eliminate this threat.

Although we respect the right of all people who are sincerely aspiring toward peace and are making their contribution to strengthening it on the basis of their own views, we openly express our attitude toward some trends even though they may not be typical of the entire Western antiwar movement. One of them is the attempt to equate the attitudes of capitalist and socialist countries toward the arms race and to assign "equal responsibility" for unleashing it to the United States and the USSR, and to NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

In the view of the Soviet public, such a stand cannot contribute to the successful struggle for security and peace in Europe, for it could split the antiwar movement and mislead some of its participants. The American administration has tried to use precisely the lack of accurate information on the real state of affairs in the field of existing armaments, the uncritical acceptance of Washington's statements, which distort reality, and the dangerously oversimplified approach to the complex problems of nuclear parity, by suggesting the adoption of the so-called "zero option" in resolving the problem of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, in order to bring down the wave of antinuclear actions in Western Europe. The farsighted and consistent fighters for peace justifiably defined this position taken by the Reagan government as a propaganda trick incapable of concealing the contradictoriness between the adventuristic course taken by the U.S. militaristic forces and their NATO allies, on the one hand, and the realistic peace-loving policy of the socialist countries, on the other.

In fact, it is precisely those who are tempted by this "option" who ignore the fact that the currently existing parity is based on the fact that the opposing sides have components of different technical data, which balance each other only if considered in their totality. The realistic approach to this problem important to Europe does not allow us to face the two great powers with demands which may seem identical on the surface.

The groundlessness of such demands becomes obvious in the light of the political views and practical positions of the two powers in terms of the objectives of the contemporary antiwar movement in Europe, such as the removal of nuclear weapons, which threaten the European countries, the prevention of a nuclear conflict, whether "limited" or not, the banning of the neutron bomb and the adoption of measures to curb the arms race.

In this connection, the foreign public welcomed with great interest the pamphlet "The Threat to Europe," which was published by our committee and the scientific council on the study of problems of peace and disarmament last autumn. Its authors were committee members. The experience of our debates with many foreign personalities and the questions they asked, which were either of concern to them or the result of bourgeois propaganda, were taken into consideration in the work. We have no reason to avoid such questions, although they are sometimes voiced by our collocutors in a prejudiced or provocative manner, for the truth concerning the essence of these questions is on our side.

The fact that we found in our publication the correct approach to explaining the vital problems facing Europe is confirmed by the reaction of the Western press, which is by no means always friendly to us, and the extensive correspondence triggered by the pamphlet with members of various Western social circles. Thus, THE WASHINGTON POST pointed out that specialists consider that in the eyes of the European public this version is far better substantiated and presented on a higher standard compared with the one published by the Pentagon. According to J. Effel, the noted French painter and public figure, "this outstanding pamphlet issued by the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, is perfectly planned, brief and substantiated, and offers a great deal of new information." Prof J. Stoffels, chairman of the Luxembourg Committee for European Security and Cooperation, writes that "the authors of the pamphlet deserve great credit for their effort to reproduce the atmosphere of the dialogue which is most frequently absent from such works in the interesting and vivid form of questions and answers. The systematic concern of the authors on the subject of maintaining a balance of armaments in Europe between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, which runs throughout the pamphlet, is unquestionably the principal merit of the dialogue they have initiated."

The experience gained in establishing contacts with representatives of the foreign public proves that many people in the West live in a world of stereotypes created by the bourgeois mass information and propaganda media. Even experienced politicians and experts, who tend to mock the mores of the Western press or television, occasionally fail to note omissions regarding the content and meaning of Soviet peace initiatives. Our task is to make all those who are willing to listen to us without prejudice aware of the fact that our country is systematically and purposefully developing a program for the elimination of nuclear armaments targeted on Europe--whether medium-range or tactical--and is ready to engage in an honest and constructive dialogue on this subject, on the basis of equality and security for both sides. It is very important for as many people as possible in the West to understand that our idea and example of freezing nuclear medium-range missiles for the duration of the talks on this subject is not self-seeking but a major step aimed at initiating a process of their radical reduction and that the unilateral reduction of a certain quantity of Soviet nuclear missiles is a step which opens the way for the solution of the problem, provided that the United States and its allies agree to take it.

A new problem arises now, that of the threat posed, particularly in terms of Europe, by the measures taken by the American administration to increase the production of chemical weapons. In the course of several international encounters the representatives of the Soviet public have already drawn the attention of their partners to the fact that the refusal of the United States to discuss with the USSR the conclusion of a treaty banning the production and stockpiling of chemical weapons heralds an increased threat of chemical warfare, which could also inflict incalculable calamities on the peoples. We deem it our task to explain this truth to the broad public circles in the West in the light of recent facts.

### III

In our view, the further intensification of reciprocal understanding of problems of peace, security and cooperation among different social circles in the Western and Eastern parts of Europe is exceptionally important. We consider that an efficient means for achieving this objective is a dialogue which, in our view, members of political currents, parties, parliamentary factions and antiwar movements, in the entire variety of their current forms and manifestations, could and should participate. Our partners may include many people who do not share our ideological views but who oppose the sliding of the European continent toward the abyss of confrontation. A number of positive examples of such bilateral and multilateral discussions are available.

The Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation and the Scientific Council on the Study of Problems of Peace and Disarmament held an international symposium on topical problems of European security and detente in April 1981. Noted scientists, parliamentarians and public and political personalities from 22 countries, members of the all-European Helsinki Conference, participated. This was one of the first international public encounters held after the 26th CPSU Congress. The focal point of attention was the peace program for the 1980's, which was formulated at the congress by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. A wide and frank exchange of views on the situation and on possibilities of ensuring the security of the European continent was held.

Bilateral encounters are also very useful. Every year, our committee welcomes 40 delegations of national committees and representatives of the foreign public to familiarize them with the viewpoint of the Soviet public on topical problems of international relations and with its activities. Approximately the same number of Soviet delegations go abroad. We recently welcomed representatives of various political parties from The Netherlands, while Soviet representatives visited Denmark and Norway. Such contacts make it possible to engage in profound discussions on problems affecting both sides, such as the talks in Geneva and Vienna, the Madrid meeting, and the forthcoming second special UN General Assembly disarmament session.

The Soviet public believes that big, average and small countries and their publics could and should make an effective contribution to the struggle for peace. We consider contacts and discussions sponsored on an all-European basis by the International Committee for European Security and Cooperation useful and fruitful.

As the discussions of the international committee held in its recent Brussels session indicated, the broad European public circles are seriously concerned with the future of the peaceful development of our continent. In its communique adopted at the session, the international committee described the unilateral decision presented by L. I. Brezhnev of the declaration of a moratorium "an important contribution to the success of the talks whose objective is to free the European continent from the tremendous amount of nuclear armaments currently stockpiled here." The participants in the session expressed their unanimous desire to see a positive completion of the Madrid meeting and the elaboration of an effective program for action by the forthcoming special UN General Assembly disarmament session.

The Soviet public and the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation are making their contribution to maintaining and developing the positive process initiated at the European conference. The members of our committee participated in the preparation and publication of the international committee pamphlets "From Helsinki to Belgrade" and "From Helsinki to Madrid." With the active participation of the Soviet representatives, the social commission of the international committee produced and distributed (mostly through trade union channels) the pamphlet "The Working People of Europe in the Struggle for Peace and Disarmament," which, on the basis of rich factual data, describes the fatal consequences of an unrestrained arms race and the favorable consequences of converting the military sectors of the economy to peaceful use.

The publication, on our committee's initiative, of the three-volume anthology "European Poetry," a work which was published in the USSR after long years of preparation, was welcomed by the European countries as proof of the specific contribution made by the Soviet public to the implementation of the Helsinki agreements related to the so-called "third basket." An anthology of works by European writers and political journalists entitled "Europe: The 20th Century" (in German and Russian) was published through the joint efforts of our committee and the Rhein-Westphalian Foreign Society (FRG).

Measures were earmarked at the meeting of the commission of the Committee for Cultural Cooperation, which was held in May, to expand the contribution of Soviet men of culture to the struggle for preventing the threat of a nuclear war in Europe and throughout the world. The Soviet public is trying to contribute actively to the development of economic and scientific and technical ties with signatories of the Helsinki Final Act. Recently, representatives of the Soviet committee attended an important international seminar on problems of industrial cooperation between East and West, which was held in Varna.

To defend the peace is today the most important task facing all peoples on earth. "Naturally, Europe must play a special role in strengthening the peace and intensifying detente, perhaps for the fact alone that it is the smallest and most brittle of all the 'homes' of mankind, which would inevitably become the victim of a nuclear conflagration," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed.

The antiwar actions of the broad Western European public circles proved the growing awareness of the masses on the continent of the really existing and increasing threat to their own existence. The Soviet public expresses its solidarity with the fighters for peace and disarmament and its readiness to participate in the joint efforts to reach such objectives and to find new forms of contacts and dialogue with the defenders of the cause of peace and security in Europe.

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## CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES' THIRST FOR FREEDOM

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[Article by V. Pavlovskiy]

[Text] There is no country or area in the contemporary capitalist world in which the increased strength of the forces of national and social liberation is not being felt. This immutable reality is being convincingly confirmed by the important changes which are taking place in the Caribbean basin.

For a long time the countries located in this area where Central and South America meet, from Belize, Cuba and Jamaica to Guyana, Surinam and French Guiana, with a population of 30 million people, were a historical anachronism against the background of the sharp confrontation between the people's masses and imperialism and local reaction in the various parts of the continent. Unlike the other Latin American countries, most of which gained their freedom as early as the 19th Century, only two Caribbean countries--Haiti and the Dominican Republic--became independent at that time. It was as though time had stood still in the Caribbean. In the imagination of many people life in this area, with its sunny beaches and emerald seas, appeared like a tourist idyll, tranquil and restful.

Nevertheless, the desire for independence was growing deep within the Caribbean countries as well, assisted by the general upsurge of the global liberation struggle and the revolutionary changes in Latin America itself. The colonizers failed to stop the winds of change blowing toward the Caribbean area. Today 15 countries, or approximately one-half of the Caribbean territory, are politically independent. After a long and degrading period of colonial slavery, a new chapter is being written in the history of the Caribbean basin.

### I

Colonization in the Caribbean basin began earlier than elsewhere on earth, dating from the first expedition of Christopher Columbus (1492), who named the local islands the West Indies. It was precisely that the Spanish conquistadors made their way to the wealth of the new world by the fire and the sword. They were replaced by British, Dutch and French and, subsequently, American colonizers. The foreign conquerors expelled from the inhabited areas and destroyed the native population, particularly the Caribbean Indians who

mounted a stubborn resistance. Thus, only half a century after the island of Hispaniola (today Haiti) fell under the rule of the Spanish crown, only a few thousands of the three hundred thousand aborigines remained alive by hiding in the jungles.

Plantations for valuable tropical crops--sugar cane, tobacco and spices--were developed on the lands taken from the native population. Hundreds of thousands of slaves were brought in from Africa to populate the land. Subsequently, Asian workers were brought under contract, many from India. The new settlers were most cruelly exploited and repressed. "Naturally," K. Marx pointed out, "the treatment of the natives was most horrible in the plantations which raised exclusively export crops, as was the case in the West Indies . . ." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 23, p 763).

The establishment of colonial systems marked not only the breakdown of traditional economic systems but the essential reappearance of a subjugated population. Whereas in other areas colonialism lasted a long time, in the Caribbean it lasted through its entire history after the foreign conquerors appeared. The American sociologist F. Mason has justifiably pointed out that "from its beginning, the Caribbean society was the most colonial of all colonies."

The burden of foreign oppression in the Caribbean intensified even further during the age of imperialism, particularly as the U. S. monopolies expanded their influence. Washington tried to put in its service the natural and human resources of the area and to use its propitious geographic and strategic location for aggressive imperialist purposes. It was no accident that private American companies, which invested \$4.5 billion in the development of mineral and other resources and in the tourist business, firmly settled in the Caribbean. The United States receives from this area two-thirds of its bauxites and alumina for its aluminum industry, other minerals, and one-fourth of its petroleum products (from the petroleum refineries in the Virgin Islands and Trinidad). The Caribbean countries are a profitable investment area for American banks which, benefiting from a virtual lack of control, engage in a variety of financial machinations. This is confirmed by the activities of so-called "extraterritorial banks" in the Bahamas and many other Caribbean islands. These "cockle-shells", as they are known in the area, rarely engage in local operations. They are primarily involved in deals made by their parent organizations--American and other multinational corporations--in the United States and Western Europe.

The Caribbean countries pay a high price for the lording of the imperialists. They have been reduced to the status of agrarian and raw material appendages of the United States and other developed capitalist countries. Despite the fertility of their land, the Caribbean territories are unable to grow their own food but are forced to import both comestible and industrial commodities in increasing volumes. According to official data, unemployment in the area ranges between 25 and 30 percent of the active population. More than 40 percent of the children suffer from malnutrition. The situation in terms of education, medical services and social insurance is extremely unsatisfactory. Every year an increasing number of local citizens go to the United States,

Great Britain and Canada to earn a living, where they are treated as second-grade people.

In the plans of American imperialism the Caribbean is considered a kind of "cordon sanitaire" which protects the "banana" and other U. S. empires in Central and South America on the east. In order to implement such plans, Washington sets its "own people" to rule the area, such as the Duvalier family in Haiti, which has been savagely suppressing many aspirations for freedom. In order to escape from terrorism and a hungry death, two million people, or one-third of the island's population, were forced to leave their homeland. The imperialists organize subversive campaigns, use naked force and act as colonial masters should systems unsuitable to the American imperialists come to power in a Caribbean country. At the beginning of the 1950s, when the People's Progressive Party, headed by Cheddi Jagan, which had won the elections in British Guiana (today Guyana), undertook to make major changes, the "quiet Americans" provoked disturbances in the country. The British administration used this as a pretext to remove the legitimately elected government from power. London's SUNDAY TIMES frankly wrote that "the CIA got rid of Jagan." The U. S. government used armed force in the Dominican Republic when it sent its marines to the country in 1965 to "bring order" and suppress actions which were threatening the interests of U. S. capital.

Many other examples of Caribbean reality eloquently prove that the presence, mainly military, of the imperialists is aimed at strengthening the colonial order and the dependent status of the countries and nations in the area. Rear Admiral (Knoytsen), Commander of the U. S. Navy in the Caribbean Sea, stated while in Puerto Rico that the presence of the American Navy is "the best guarantee" against revolutionary change.

Organized crime as well is serving imperialism in the Caribbean. Today the American Mafia has replaced the pirates who ravaged these places several centuries ago. The Mafia's "godfathers" have set up a transshipment base for drugs brought by air from South America destined for the U. S. at Turks and Caicos Islands. According to conservative estimates, marijuana and cocaine alone, worth \$100 million, pass through the islands every year.

The imperialists are using an entire arsenal of means of military, political and economic influence in protecting their domination of the Caribbean. It is not astounding, therefore, that to this day one out of two territories in that area is still not free and that the entire area remains one of the focal points of colonial possessions in the contemporary world. The foreign oppressors do not conceal their intention to maintain this situation in the future. However, they are clearly unable to annul the effect of the laws of historical development.

## II

The Caribbean countries have never presented an idyllic picture of tranquillity or social peace. This was a myth stubbornly and deliberately spread by the colonizers in order to perpetuate their domination. The Caribbean nations were not willing to tolerate their hard lot imposed upon them by colonialism and

imperialism. The latest history of the countries in the area is full of peasant uprisings, workers' strikes, and actions mounted by the broad population strata for national independence and democratic rights.

Communist parties and Marxist groups, in the vanguard of the struggle for true national liberation, appeared in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guadeloupe, Puerto Rico, British Guiana, Martinique and other Caribbean countries. They faced a serious and strong enemy, the more so since in each Caribbean country landowners and the old and new bourgeoisie were strong elements. To this day the imperialist circles benefit from the splintering of the Caribbean territories and their economic and partially political underdevelopment. The poor class differentiation, lack of experience and traditions of democratic struggle by the broad masses, whose actions are systematically met with bloody reprisals and racial clashes promoted from the outside play an important role.

However, the fighters for freedom and social progress in the area have never been alone. They rely on the solidarity of progressive forces and are achieving important successes under circumstances in which world socialism, the national liberation struggle, and the international communist and worker movements are having a decisive impact on the contemporary world situation.

The victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959 was an event of truly historical significance. It crowned the centuries-old struggle waged by the Cuban people for freedom and independence. It was more convincing proof of the inevitability of the laws of social development. The entire world is familiar with the outstanding achievements of the Cuban people. After suppressing the opposition of the internal class enemy and attempts of foreign intervention, the socialist revolution in Cuba is confidently advancing and, in the words of V I. Lenin, it is worth something, for it knows how to defend itself.

The search for possibilities for further development is underway in the Caribbean as through the world, in the course of a sharp struggle based on the confrontation between supporters of the socialist and the capitalist orientation. The realities of the circumstances in the area, where both past and present colonialism is associated with the capitalist order, are affecting the general nature and forms of struggle of the supporters of the new and the old, making the opposition to capitalism more tangible and widespread. "Never before," M. Manley, the leader of the Jamaican People's National Party, declared, "has a system reflected more fully the process of political, social, psychological, and in the final account, even philosophical domination as capitalism."

It is no accident that in recent years a number of Caribbean countries have decided to direct their development toward socialism. This proves the growing attractiveness of the ideas of socialism in the Western Hemisphere as well as the bankruptcy of the supporters of capitalism who are vainly trying to present the birth of a new social system here as an "accident" or "island phenomenon." "There is no country or group of countries," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "or any ideological or political current which has not experienced to one extent or another the influence of socialism."

In the case of the Caribbean countries, this law is manifested in Grenada, where a people's regime was established after the 1979 overthrow of the bloody dictatorship of (Geyri), the puppet of the American monopolies and the Mafia. The National Military Council, which came to power in Surinam, in February 1980, called for the creation of "a society without oppressors and oppressed." In neighboring Guyana, the ruling People's National Congress, having proclaimed in its Sofia Declaration (1975) the need for the development of "cooperative socialism," undertook to apply the traditional forms of cooperation as an effective means for building a new society.

The programmatic stipulations of the ruling parties and groups in the independent Caribbean countries which have proclaimed their support of socialism express the interests not of a single class but of a broad spectrum of social forces. These stipulations are not always specific and consistent, particularly in defining positions on basic problems such as the class struggle and the participation of the working people in the administration of the state. For example, attempts are being made in the People's National Congress in Guyana to resolve problems by decree. To a certain extent, this hinders the political creativity of the masses. Nevertheless, the practical measures taken in the Caribbean countries in accordance with socialist principles have different degrees of general democratic content. It is a question of nationalizing the properties of foreign countries, expanding the state sector, developing cooperation, and applying the principles of planning in the national economy.

These changes are taking place in the Caribbean under the conditions of a sharp struggle and clashes between conflicting trends caused by economic and political difficulties, which are intensified by outside blackmail and pressure and the energizing of the activities of counterrevolutionary forces. Nevertheless, such purposeful and radical efforts facilitate the solution of the problem of surmounting the fatal consequences of one-sided development and backwardness and contributes to the creation of the material and social foundations for building a new life. Naturally, a great deal depends upon the ability of the ruling systems in the Caribbean, which have taken a socialist orientation, to rely on the broad masses, the working people above all, in order to implement the planned reforms and prevent their failure as well as the danger of the seizure of power by reactionary pro-imperialist elements.

These are the circumstances under which the Guyanan People's Progressive Party and the Marxist-Leninist organizations in the other Caribbean countries are intensifying socioeconomic changes, the unification of all progressive and democratic forces, and the effective rebuff of the intrigues of domestic and foreign opponents of the socialist course.

The supporters of the capitalist order do not dare to act openly even in Caribbean countries whose leaders prefer the "free enterprise" system. Unquestionably, they look at the sad example of Puerto Rico, whose rulers broadly advertised the capitalist way as a means for "national salvation" 10 years ago, but who have kept silent afterwards, following their economic and political fiasco.

The actions of the ruling circles of Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, and until recently, Jamaica, are typical. Their ruling parties are persistently promoting the idea that both capitalism and socialism are "unacceptable", alleging that they are unable to "settle" national construction problems. These parties consider "nationalism" and "pragmatism" as the alternative. In practice, such a "pragmatic approach" turns into aid to the development of local private enterprise and the creation of favorable conditions for its cooperation with foreign capital, including multinational corporations.

Some circles within and outside the Caribbean are trying to depict the economic revival of Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago not as a result of favorable circumstances--petroleum in one case and tourist boom in another--but as proof of the advantages of their chosen orientation. Reality proves, however, that the solution of problems related to national development and to surmounting the fatal consequences of the colonial past has been substantially hindered in Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago. Thus, as in the past, Trinidad and Tobago must import considerable amounts of food, including 80 percent of the rice they use. The country is short of schools and hospitals. It is no accident that Tobago--half of this twin-island state--is considered a zone of "worst economic difficulty" in the Caribbean basin.

Both the Western and the Caribbean press are questioning the very idea of the creation of viable "minicountries" instead of the colonies. The ADVOCATE NEWS, published in Barbados, which is a small island, claims that if independence would be granted to the Caribbean islands, they would simply be "unable to survive", for they are allegedly unable to cope with economic and political difficulties.

In turn, some "elite" groups in the Caribbean colonies are themselves delaying or rejecting the idea of national statehood. E. Gambs, the chief minister of the island of Anguilla, openly stated that her administration would rather not demand independence preferring to retain British jurisdiction. Similar statements have been made by some influential leaders in Montserrat and the Cayman Islands. They see their national and personal future as one of close association with the mother countries.

Despite all this, the freedom movement is intensifying in the Caribbean territories under colonial rule by the Western powers. This movement involves the broad population strata and people of different political views but fully resolved to put an end to the domination of the colonizers. The struggle for independence is bringing new successes. Belize and Antigua gained political independence in 1981. The liberation of St. Kitts, Puerto Rico and a number of other territories is next.

### III

The Caribbean countries, which may have different approaches to the solutions of domestic problems, hold largely common or similar positions on topical international problems, mainly those related to the struggle for strengthening peace and security and defending the sovereign rights and freedoms of the peoples. They are profoundly interested in securing peaceful conditions for

building a new life with no outside interference whatever. It is thus that the Caribbean countries are working to normalize the situation in their own area and are making a positive contribution to the reorganization of the system of international relations on a firm democratic basis and on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

It is no accident that in today's tense situation in the field of international development, the young national states in the Caribbean basin call for intensifying the process of detente and giving it a global nature. They speak out against colonialism and racism and are defending the right of nations to determine their own fate. Most of them are pursuing a policy of nonalignment and, as their actions at the 1979 Havana Conference of heads of states of governments of nonaligned countries demonstrated, they actively favor the strengthening of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist direction of the nonaligned movement and close cooperation with the socialist comity. In assessing the results of this conference, the JAMAICA DAILY NEWS particularly singled out the common positions of the nonaligned and the socialist countries on topical international problems, as demonstrated in Havana.

The organization of regional Caribbean cooperation is an important feature. The countries in the area consider this a support for their own efforts to eliminate the consequences of colonial oppression and to strengthen the foundations for independent development. The Caribbean Community (CARICOM), with 14 members, was created in 1973. Trade among the members of this organization has expanded and regional plans for the development of transportation, education and food production have been drafted. It is true that so far not all of these plans have reached the stage of practical implementation; they are hindered by the shortage of funds and the opposition of the imperialist monopolies.

It is noteworthy that political cooperation is also being developed along the CARICOM line. The ministers of foreign affairs of member-countries meet regularly. When the threat of armed intervention in the domestic affairs of Grenada arose in March 1979, involving the use of mercenaries recruited in the United States, the ministers of foreign affairs of Guyana, Jamaica and Barbados issued a joint communique which stated their firm opposition to the prepared intervention. The recognition of the government of Grenada which came to power, headed by M. Bishop, by these and other Caribbean countries, helped to defeat the plans for isolating this progressive regime.

The importance which the countries in the Caribbean ascribe to the development of friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity is understandable. Unbreakable friendship links Cuba with the USSR. This is a direct manifestation of the socialist nature of the two countries and the live embodiment of the lofty principles of socialist internationalism. Today Soviet-Cuban cooperation applies to various areas and is developing on a long-term basis. "In this battle for our sovereignty," Comrade Fidel Castro said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "and in our constant efforts to insure the development of the socialist economy, we have always received the fraternal internationalist aid of the Soviet Union, its people and its party members."

An increasing number of Caribbean countries have concluded economic and cultural cooperation agreements with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. The visits which the heads of the governments of Trinidad and Tobago (1975), Guyana (1978) and Jamaica (1979) paid to the USSR became important events in the area's political life.

The desire of the Caribbean countries and peoples to play an active and equal role in regional and international affairs is meeting with the understanding and support of all other peace-loving countries. The same position is held by realistic western leaders as well. W. Brandt has spoken out firmly in favor of recognizing the realities of the situation in the Caribbean basin. Addressing an international conference held in the Dominican Republic, D. (Teberge), former United States ambassador to that country, pointed out that "it is in America's interest to deal with the Caribbean countries as its equals and to allow their political and economic diversification." However, the desire of the Caribbean countries and peoples to live in peace and cooperation is meeting with the fierce opposition of aggressive imperialist circles, American in particular, and their efforts to "export counterrevolution."

The desire of the United States to maintain its economic blockade of Cuba and illegally to hold part of age-old Cuban territory--the Guantanamo Base--is a factor which greatly complicates the situation in the area. The constant U. S. intervention in the internal affairs of other Caribbean countries is a constant threat to peace and stability. This became particularly obvious after the new Republican administration came to power in the United States, which discarded the verbal camouflage of its predecessors and based its Caribbean, as in fact its entire foreign policy on open diktat and imperial ambitions. Today Washington broadly proclaims its "special approach" to areas in its vicinity, on the basis of newly formulated concepts or, on the "Reagan Doctrine", as such concepts are known. However, as the influential French newspaper LE MONDE has justifiably pointed out, this doctrine "contains nothing particularly original or new, for it puts once again on a pedestal the policy of the 'big stick'."

In fact, in his 24 February speech to the Organization of American States, Reagan formulated what he called the "Caribbean prospect", which is actually a program for the use of military force against unsuitable systems in this part of the western hemisphere and in neighboring Central America. Actually, the headquarters of "special purpose forces" in charge of American air and naval forces in the Caribbean basin was set up in Key West, 90 miles from Cuba, as early as 1979. The intention now is to make military intervention of the North American neighbor in the affairs of the area, which Reagan himself described precisely as "third order" of the United States, a permanent threat.

Immediately following the President's speech to the OAS, Admiral Hayward, the U. S. naval chief of staff, announced that American military leaders were studying "possible alternatives" in the use of navy ships and marines for "protecting" the interests of the United States in the "vitally important" Caribbean and Central American areas. As reported by THE WASHINGTON POST, the CIA, in turn, was given official permission to mount an extensive program which would include "militarized" operations in the countries of the area, involving the use of American personnel.

The United States is involving its military allies in the implementation of its aggressive plans. Last March, on the insistence of the American administration, large scale NATO exercises code-named "Safe Pass-82" were held in the Caribbean Sea. Dozens of navy ships and airplanes and more than 10 thousand military personnel simulated combat operations in that part of the Atlantic. Yet another demonstration of "military muscle" took place in May--the regular NATO exercise "Ocean Venture-82". It involved the participation of 45 thousand military personnel, including elements of the "rapid deployment force", 350 combat aircraft and 60 navy ships. American marines landed in the Guantanamo Base and a scenario of intervention aimed at eliminating "unfriendly governments" was played out.

The ruling American upper crust is clearly trying to strike at the national liberation movement by calling for a struggle against "international terrorism." According to Grenada's Minister of External Affairs U. Whiteman, the activities of the American military and its accomplices are a rehearsal for invading this island state where a reactionary regime was overthrown 3 years ago.

The current makers of U. S. Caribbean policy base their activities on military power. They try to conceal their true intentions behind a smokescreen of lies. Here again, showing no originality, official Washington is using the threadbare bogey of the "communist", or, more specifically, the "Cuban threat."

Caribbean reality proves that such methods are obviously spurious. C. Cheysson, the French minister of external relations, stated after visiting a number of countries in the area, that the reason for the tension existing in this part of the world is frequently caused by the existing "unfairness and social evolution which is unacceptable in terms of land ownership and the fact that some people are drowning in wealth while the majority live in poverty." Sober voices have been heard in the United States itself. P. Habib, who has been a special envoy of the U. S. Department of State to a number of Caribbean countries, pointed out in his report that "uncertainty and instability cause economic, political and social problems in the area itself--not Cuba's outside influence or actions.

Obviously, with some justification, of late the White House has begun to look for additional ways to conceal its "Caribbean stick." To this effect, the President's army has been heavily advertising the idea of a "Marshall Plan" for the Caribbean basin and Central America as a panacea for all troubles. In the past as well the United States has formulated many projects for "help" for the Caribbean countries. A "Caribbean Economic Development Group" was set up in the summer of 1978 under the aegis of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, with the participation of the United States, England, the FRG, France, Canada and several other countries, something in the nature of an international consortium. The practical results of its activities proved to be far more modest than the promises. The Caribbean territories were given loans totaling no more than \$82.4 million of the planned allocations totaling \$101.5 million for 1978-1979. The Caribbean countries interpreted this as the unwillingness of the U. S. and other Western powers to compensate for the damages caused by the systematic plunder on the

part of the multinational corporations and the tendency to use such loans and credits as tools of pressure for the purpose of obtaining additional privileges. As was to be expected, Reagan's broadly publicized "Marshall Plan" for the Caribbean was a trick the political meaning of which was an attempt to stop the liberation movement. It was no accident that the lion's share of the \$350 million pledged was for military aid to repressive and dictatorial regimes supported by America, with the help of which Washington is hoping to perpetuate its new colonial rule in the Caribbean basin.

Once again the Caribbean countries are realizing that Washington is hardly concerned with giving them direct aid. Instead, for the umpteenth time, these countries are pledged assistance through private capital investments and liberalization of trade. It is indicative that when President Reagan met with the heads of five eastern Caribbean countries in Barbados, last April, they made their discontent quite clear. As M. Charles, the Dominican prime minister stated, it would be ridiculous to expect that anything could be achieved with the help of private capital alone considering the overall underdevelopment of the Caribbean island territories.

The Caribbean countries realize that such "assistance" provided through private capital investments and trade, as proposed by the Reagan administration, can only result in the increased economic domination of North American monopolies, which are already extracting returns of \$2.24 per each dollar invested in the Caribbean economy, or a total of more than \$10 billion. The true price of the U. S. "Caribbean initiative" can be clearly seen against this background.

The U. S. militaristic circles are already actively using the promised funds. According to SOUTH, a London journal, the United States and Great Britain are encouraging the development of a regional coastal defense and, on its basis, self-defense forces for the Organization of Eastern Caribbean Countries in the hope that this group will develop into a military force. Larger numbers of "quiet Americans" are going to Barbados, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, in accordance with the agreements concluded with the United States on providing assistance in military training and delivery of military equipment.

The Chinese hegemonists are operating together with the imperialists in the Caribbean area as in other parts of the world. While basically proclaiming their desire to cooperate with the Caribbean countries, the Beijing leaders remain silent whenever it becomes necessary to support the struggle waged by these countries for closing down foreign military bases, total decolonization and securing sovereign rights and territorial integrity. At the same time, Beijing is clearly approving the increased American military presence in the Caribbean basin and is in favor of continuing the economic blockade of Cuba.

The Caribbean policy pursued by China and the United States is harmonious to a large extent. In their meetings with Caribbean leaders, Beijing's official representatives invariably make anti-Cuban and anti-Soviet statements and do not conceal their approval of United States actions. "Today," wrote on this occasion the West German newspaper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, "is now participating in the foreign policy game on the side of the United States. Unquestionably, this means intervening in the affairs of the Caribbean countries."

The intrigues of imperialism and reaction may delay but are unable to stop the movement of the Caribbean countries toward freedom, peace and cooperation. The suggestion of turning the Caribbean Sea into a zone of peace, which was included in the resolutions passed at the conference of ministers of foreign affairs of CARICOM countries is gaining increasing support.

The initiative of Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo of establishing a "climate of detente, peace, democracy and stability" in the Caribbean basin and in Central America, met with a broad response. Portillo called upon U. S. President Reagan to say "no!" to armed intervention in the area, and even more so in Nicaragua, and expressed himself in favor of the conclusion of a system of nonaggression pacts between Nicaragua and the United States and between Nicaragua and its neighbors. Comrade Fidel Castro sent a message to the head of the Mexican state emphasizing Cuba's readiness to cooperate in the implementation of such plans, should the U. S. government guarantee not to attack its neighbors, put an end to constant threats, stop supporting systems guilty of genocide and put an end to subversive actions.

All peace-loving countries are firmly on the side of the realistically thinking heads of Caribbean and other Latin American countries. "I am deeply convinced," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, "that here again the road to peace and security goes not through imposing the will of some countries on others but through respecting the rights of every nation to build its own life as it deems necessary."

The very foundation of the liberation movement in the Caribbean area is broadening and new social forces are joining the movement. The proletariat and the peasantry are becoming increasingly active in the defense of their vital rights. The 1975 Conference of Communist and Worker Parties of Latin American and Caribbean Countries, which was held in Havana, and the 1979 Consultative Meeting of Representatives of Communist, Worker and Revolutionary Democratic Parties and Organizations of Caribbean Countries held in Georgetown, became major stages in strengthening the unity among fighters for independence and democracy.

The struggle for national and social liberation in the Caribbean basin is an important component of the global liberation process. The aspirations of the Caribbean countries and peoples to live and work under conditions of freedom, peace and social progress enjoy the support and sympathy of the progressive forces and of all those who value international security and cooperation.

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## SOVIET TRADE UNIONS--THE PARTY'S RELIABLE SUPPORT

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[Review by V. Prokhorov, deputy chairman of the AUCCTU of the book by L. I. Brezhnev "Sovetskiye Profsoyuzy v Usloviyakh Razvitogo Sotsializma" [The Soviet Trade Unions Under Developed Socialist Conditions], Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 623 pages]

[Text] As the biggest organization of the working people, the trade unions have become an inseparable component of the Soviet political system and an influential social force. The new USSR Constitution has granted them broad rights in resolving political, economic and sociocultural problems and enhanced their role in the development of the social activeness of the working people even further. Today the trade unions rally more than 130 million workers, kolkhoz farmers, employees, university students and students enrolled in the vocational-technical education system. In other words, they are an organization representing all classes, population strata and social groups.

In formulating the large scale tasks to be implemented by the country in the areas of economic and social development, the communist party relies on the powerful creative initiative of the masses. It ascribes great importance to improving the work of the trade unions further, for it considers them its reliable support among the masses and a powerful means for the development of democracy and involving the working people in the building of communism.

The structure of the Soviet trade unions and their organizational and ideological principles were the result of complex and long sociohistorical development, the radical sociopolitical changes in our country's life and the increased conscientiousness and creative initiative of the broad toiling masses. V. I. Lenin pointed out that as a result of the great change which took place in history, when the proletariat came to power, the trade unions "experienced the greatest possible change in all of their activities. They became the main creator of the new society, for it is only the multimillion strong masses who can create this society." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 37, p 451).

Under socialist conditions the interests of the trade unions and the state coincide and the increasingly fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual

needs of the people becomes the target of the entire society. The trade unions are offered the necessary opportunities to express the interests of the working people and to defend their legitimate rights effectively. As Lenin foresaw, the trade unions become organs of labor and socialist upbringing, a school of management and a school for communism "for the entire mass of workers and subsequently for all working people." (Ibid., Vol 44, p 346).

The varied activities of the USSR trade unions, their rich history and their further prospects are inseparable from the systematic and purposeful embodiment of the Leninist doctrine of the class struggle and the revolution, and the building of socialism and communism. Lenin laid the theoretical foundation of trade union activities and defined their place among the other organizations within Soviet society. He developed the principles governing their relations with the communist party and the Soviet state. At the present historical stage this theory has been developed and concretized in CPSU documents and above all in the resolutions of its 24th, 25th and 26th congresses.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, has made an outstanding contribution with his works to the development of the theoretical foundations and practical tasks of the trade unions under the conditions of building a new society. The second expanded edition of his book "Sovetskiye Profsoyuzy v Usloviyakh Sotsializma" provides a comprehensive study of the basic principles and functions of the most widespread organizations of the working people in our country and arms the Soviet trade unions with an expanded program for the further improvement of their organizational and educational work. The work provides answers to the most topical problems of the building of communism, the molding of the new man and the struggle for strengthening peace on earth.

The reports, speeches, addresses and greetings delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, covering a vast historical period--from November 1964 to February 1981--illuminate the very rich experience of the party's work with the trade unions, show their role in the political system of the mature socialist society and study in detail the tasks of the trade union organizations in the implementation of the party's economic and social strategy.

The materials in the collection develop Lenin's theory of the trade unions, enriching it with new concepts and conclusions. They offer a profound analysis of the basic functions of these mass organizations of the working people and characterize the organizational structure of the Soviet trade unions and the changes directed at its further advancement. The author studies problems of trade union construction at the mature socialist stage in close connection with the practice of the building of communism and the specific practical problems of our five-year plans. The content of the book is based on the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the leading position of the working class within the system of socialist social relations. It is based on the historical significance of its unbreakable alliance with the kolkhoz peasantry and the increased role of the party in the building of communism as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society.

The author describes with tremendous emphasis the need for trade union workers to master the theory of Marxism-Leninism and to insure the active implementation of the party's economic policy. In terms of the current stage of the building of communism, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev formulated this task with extreme clarity at the 17th USSR Trade Unions Congress: "We must reach every working person and make the requirements of the party's policy close to and understood by him. We must convincingly prove that it is precisely this policy that is consistent with his vital interests, for which reason it is everyone's duty to contribute to its full success through his initiative and creative search . . . "

This year our country's trade unions are celebrating the 70th anniversary of their founding. They were created during the first Russian revolution with Lenin's direct participation and under the guidance of the Bolshevik party and became a real school of class struggle for millions of working people. After the Great October Revolution, the trade unions became an organization of the ruling class.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's book contains ideas, concepts and conclusions on the party's leadership of the trade unions in the socialist society of invaluable theoretical and practical significance. In guiding the trade unions, the party considerably enhanced their role in social life. It improved their organizational structure and ways and means of work. The party's leadership gives the trade unions particular strength, authority and confidence in the accuracy of their actions. The trade unions extensively interpret the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU. They mobilize the forces of the working class, the kolhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia in the implementation of the party plans for the development of the national economy. The party has never had any administrative rights concerning the trade unions or any other mass public organization. It proceeds from the fact that the trade unions are organizationally autonomous associations of the working people, operating on the basis of freely and independently formulated statutory principles and norms.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev describes the meaning and the direction of the party's leadership of the trade unions, which is ideological-political in nature and has nothing in common with any belittling of the role of these associations or a restriction of their rights. It is manifested in always seeing to it that the trade union activities are as fully consistent as is possible with their position in society, their rights and their degree of responsibility. In recent years alone, on the initiative of the CC CPSU, a number of laws were passed which substantially widen the legal foundations for trade union work directly related to concern for the interests of the working people. The party follows a course of increasingly active participation on the part of workers, kolkhoz members and employees in managing the production process and all social affairs through the trade unions. It demands of every party member who is a member of the trade unions not formal membership in this organization but active participation in all its activities. The party has given strict assignments to the party members working in trade union organs and teaches them how to care for the trust of the masses and justify this trust through their actions.

In formulating these basic concepts, the head of the communist party and the Soviet state draws attention to the need for the party organizations to give real help to the trade unions. He emphasizes that this help "must be manifested also in supporting the just demands made by the trade unions of the economic workers, insure the strict observance of the stipulations of collective contracts by administrations and see to it that every manager is aware of his obligations and the need always to seek the advice of the trade union organizations and to listen carefully to the opinion of workers and employees" (p 91).

The party's leadership of the trade unions was, is and will remain one of the sources of their strength. The profound study of the Leninist theoretical legacy on problems of the trade union movement and the words of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on the basic problems of the development and functioning of the Soviet trade unions under the conditions of mature socialism is the most important prerequisite for the further enhancement of their role in the life of Soviet society.

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev points out, the main characteristics of the Soviet trade unions are determined by the fact that they are functioning in a society of victorious socialism. This means above all that the USSR trade unions have covered a long and difficult path, have learned a great deal and have acquired qualitatively new features in the course of the building of socialism. Instead of the 2,000 small associations, which existed in Russia in the first days following the October Revolution, today, as was pointed out at the 17th Congress of USSR Trade Unions, there are 32 big sectorial unions, more than 750,000 primary organizations, about 570,000 shop committees and trade union bureaus and more than 3 million trade union groups in shops, livestock farms, departments, production sectors and brigades. More than 60 million people, i. e., virtually one out of two trade union members, is a member of the trade union aktiv, steadily engaging in the fulfillment of social assignments.

The trade union movement in the USSR is steadily broadening its social base as it participates in the process of building a new society. During the last 5 years about 9 million kolkhoz members became members of trade unions. Today, 97.7 percent of all kolkhoz members are members of trade unions. Therefore, an organizational foundation has been developed in the countryside as well for the active participation of the trade unions in the development of agriculture and in improving the living and working conditions of the Soviet people.

At this point we must mention the tireless attention which our party and its Leninist Central Committee, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, pay to the solution of a vital topical problem of food supplies. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized from the rostrum of the 17th Trade Unions Congress, that in agriculture and in related industrial sectors there are a number of urgent vital problems which can and must be resolved immediately in order to improve population food supplies. The trade unions have adopted as their combat assignment Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions of drawing the attention of the public to improving the storing of agricultural produce and the struggle

against losses, and sharply to formulate and resolve problems related to the utilization of all local opportunities for food processing, and showing constant concern for the development of the auxiliary farms of enterprises and the private plots. The party has called upon the trade unions to find specific means for the development of the initiative and activeness of all organizations and working people involved in food procurements.

The Soviet political system is the embodiment of real democracy for the broadest possible masses, achieved for the first time in history. As Lenin said, it insured "specifically for the toiling classes, i. e., for the tremendous majority of the population, the type of actual opportunity to make use of democratic rights and freedoms not even an approximation of which has ever existed even in the best and most democratic bourgeois republics" (Ibid., Vol 37, p 499). Comrade L. I. Brezhnev bases his analysis on this Leninist thought, emphasizing that the trade unions, which act as an influential social force, play a major role in our political system and in the development of socialist democracy. "To us," he says, "the pivotal question has always been that of the literal meaning of the word democracy or rule by the people, i. e., the participation of the masses in the solution of governmental and social problems, the type of real popular self-management described by V. I. Lenin" (p 283).

According to Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the trade unions' efforts to involve the working people in production management more and more extensively, is merely one of the manifestations of socialist democracy. This assessment convincingly proves the indivisibility of socialism and democracy. It directs the party, the state and the public organizations toward the increasingly broader development of democratic principles in the building of communism. Naturally, it is a question of socialist democracy, i. e., a democracy which covers the political, social and economic areas, a democracy which insures social justice and equality above all.

The profoundly democratic nature of the political system of developed socialism is broadly reflected in the new USSR Constitution. The collection includes Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's reports on the drafting of the country's fundamental law. His speeches at CC CPSU plenums, reports at the 24th, 25th and 26th party congresses and addresses at Soviet trade union congresses describe the extensive political and organizational work of the trade unions on the development of the creative activeness of the working people, the organization of the socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor. They note the increased labor activeness of the broad masses and define profoundly and comprehensively the means for the implementation of the tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan. They provide an expanded characterization of the socioeconomic problems formulated by the party for the period through 1990. L. I. Brezhnev brings to light the main task formulated at the 26th congress--insuring the further growth of the well-being of the Soviet people on the basis of the stable progressive development of the national economy, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the conversion of the economy to intensive development, the rational utilization of the country's production potential, the all-round conservation of all resources and improvements in work quality.

The trade unions, which extend to the various strata of the socialist society, not only can but actually do influence all areas of social life--economic, social, political and spiritual. They have the rights to initiate legislation. They are engaged in extensive social and governmental activities. They participate in the establishment of power organs, the drafting of laws and governmental decisions and the elaboration and implementation of various governmental measures. They cooperate closely with the state organs on all problems of production, work, living conditions and culture, i. e., on problems the solution of which is of vital interest to workers, kolkhoz members and employees.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's book provides a profoundly substantiated answer to the question of why the USSR trade unions, which have rights which enable them to be direct participants in governmental affairs, nevertheless do not become state organizations (which is precisely what our ideological opponents claim). By virtue of their nature, the trade unions in a socialist society act as a public organization, on the basis of broad democratic principles, and are a school for communism.

The growing interconnection between economic and social progress is characteristic of mature socialism. The collection shows the leading role of our social program, which is directly aimed at improving the popular well-being, improving the living and working conditions of the Soviet people and insuring the further upsurge of their spiritual culture.

With unusual comprehension and conviction the author describes the organic interaction between trade union work and the party's economic and social strategy and the involvement of the trade unions in anything related to economic intensification, the scientific and technical revolution in the country, the struggle for high production quality, economy and thrift, and the steady improvement of the well-being of the Soviet people. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has drawn the brilliant dialectically powerful and profound conclusion of the twin task of the Soviet trade unions. This formula organically combines their concern for the development of the national economy with that of safeguarding the rights and interests of the working people, and their working and living conditions. It enhances the essentially important socialist concept that the growth and qualitative improvement of the economy is the direct and true path to improving the living conditions of the working man, his family and all citizens.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev draws our attention to the tasks which must be carried out with the particular assistance of the trade unions. He emphasizes that the trade union organizations have many tried means of influencing an area of social life of decisive significance--material production. He formulates programmatic stipulations which define the way to the more extensive involvement of the working people in the management of production and social affairs. "One of the main characteristics of the Soviet trade unions," he points out, "is that they are directly and actively involved in the development of the entire society, the upsurge of the production process, the enhancement of its effectiveness and the management of the national economy" (p 87).

The trade unions implement the party's course of involving the working people in production management through a number of channels--participation in the formulation of state economic plans, organization of permanent production conferences at enterprises, establishments and construction projects, concern for the development of independent scientific and technical creativity and progressive experience and the implementation of pledges based on collective contracts. Thus, during the last 5 years the number of participants in the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers and in technical and scientific societies was increased by nearly five million people. The total savings from the utilizations of inventions and rationalization suggestions in the national economy was 29.2 billion rubles.

The trade unions have a responsible state assignment--to organize the socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor.

In our days the competition is increasingly concentrating on effectiveness and quality and on achieving the best possible end national economic results. The trade unions try to link more tightly the competition with counterplans and with the main line followed by the party's economic strategy. A great deal is being done to upgrade the educational importance of the competition and to eliminate formalism, bureaucracy and ostentation which sometimes afflict this live and creative undertaking of millions of people.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev puts the working man and concern for his feelings and daily vital interests in the center of these vital problems. In particular, he points out that moral incentives should not be reduced merely to awards. According to Leonid Il'ich, something else is equally important--the ability to create the type of atmosphere and public opinion which would enable the people at each enterprise and collective to know who works and how he works and to reward people on a merit basis. He says that everyone must be confident that good work and proper behavior in the collective will be always recognized and appreciated and will earn the respect and gratitude of fellow workers. In precisely the same manner everyone must know that absentees, parasites, drifters and wastemakers will enjoy no benefits or tolerance.

The principles which govern the organization of the competition are thus raised to the level of most important moral categories. They become the moral requirements of the builders of communism.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's works describe vividly and impressively the ways and means for the implementation of the Leninist competition principles, the conditions of mature socialism, the economic base of which offers opportunities for the fullest possible manifestation of their tremendous opportunities. Publicity, comparison of results, mutual aid, and possibility of duplicating progressive experience are based today on a more powerful and more advanced economic foundation and on the tremendous experience acquired by the Soviet working class and the trade unions in the building of socialism and communism.

Life itself has included the struggle for effectiveness and quality and for the best possible end labor results among the key tasks in the country's socio-economic development. Under such circumstances, the main problem of the

socialist competition is to develop in the working people at all levels great responsibility for assignments, the fulfillment of production tasks, counter-plans and stricter socialist obligations.

Socialist competition is a powerful incentive for improving the organization of the production process. It helps to strengthen the labor discipline, lifts up laggards to the level of frontrankers and is a powerful means for mobilizing the masses for the implementation of the five-year plans. Naturally, the work to strengthen labor discipline in all production sectors is being carried out, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev teaches us, through the means and methods inherent in our socialist system, i. e., the development of responsibility and consciousness, and a planned system of material and moral incentives, comradely criticism and self-criticism and the daily influence of the collective.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's wise advice and remarks to the trade unions are also related to the urgent problem of the development of new forms of labor brigade organization and incentive. By upgrading production efficiency, the brigades act entirely consistently with the party's current economic strategy. They must become most extensively widespread this five-year plan. Therefore, the expanded considerations on the use of the brigade system, described by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 17th Trade Union Congress, become truly invaluable. He pointed out that the contracting method is being applied too slowly and not always consistently. There have been cases of brigade dissolution. Not all economic managers show the desire to provide the brigade with the necessary working conditions and to assume their share of responsibility. The work is affected also by shortcomings in the organization of the production process and conservative thinking. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that all of this undermines the very nature of the brigade method--its cost effectiveness basis. He considers as the basic solution of the problem the continued reorganization of the economic mechanism, improvements in material and technical supplies and the struggle against formalism in labor planning and accounting. The confidence expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev of the fact that "the trade unions --each in its own sector and area--are actively and persistently contributing to the establishment and strengthening of this progressive form of labor organization" assigns a major obligation to the trade unions and inspires them to engage in persistent and constructive work.

The Soviet trade unions are carrying out their protective function purposefully and extensively. Under developed socialist conditions the characteristics of this function are determined above all by the fact that for quite some time there have been no exploiting classes in our country. This has been particularly emphasized by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at recent USSR trade union congresses. He has pointed out that "today as well the trade unions must defend the working people, as Lenin said, from excessive departmental zeal and bureaucratic distortions which, unfortunately, are still occasionally encountered" (p 87). However, the fact that the functions of the Soviet trade unions are far broader is an essential feature in this matter.

The trade unions accepted most willingly Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instruction that "to be concerned with the well-being of the working people does not mean to be the 'sugar daddy' of all working people, regardless of their contribution

to public production" (Ibid.). They use live and specific examples in explaining to every working person the direct correlation between the goods he obtains in the socialist society and his personal contribution to the production successes of the collective. Leonid Il'ich's simple and profound statement to the effect that wages must always be earned and that the benefits which the new five-year plan will provide the Soviet people will not come as a gift from above, is the most important criterion governing the work of soviets and trade union committees. These goods must be produced, which requires persistent effort and intensive work.

In his article "The Great Initiative", Lenin pointed out that the difference between real communism and luxuriant, refined and "solemn phrase-mongering . . . is precisely that they reduce everything to labor conditions" (Ibid., Vol 39, p 22). Our party is distinguished by such a truly Leninist approach to the solution of all social problems as the facts convincingly prove.

Under the party's guidance, the trade unions perform important functions directly related to their concern for the living and working conditions of the Soviet people and their well-being. Their responsibilities include many problems related to wages, material incentives, control over housing construction and the organization of public catering and services. They play an important role in improving working conditions at enterprises, the technical retooling of industry, agriculture and transportation, the solution of a major social problem, such as reducing manual, unskilled and physically heavy work to a minimum and creating conditions which will exclude professional diseases and production accidents.

Considerable changes took place in labor and in its conditions, nature and content in the 10th Five-Year Plan. A broad set of measures were implemented to eliminate harmful production factors on the job, reduction of heavy, manual and unskilled labor, and the creation of good production conditions on the basis of technical retooling, mechanization and automation, installation of new equipment and use of new technologies, and modernization of installed equipment. A total of 25,000 enterprises and almost 200,000 shops and sectors underwent capital repairs and reconstruction; 25,000 shops, sectors and production lines were converted to comprehensive mechanization and automation; more than 60,000 automated and mechanized assembly lines were installed and 604,000 people were relieved from heavy manual labor.

In accordance with the approved norms for improving labor conditions, the working conditions of twenty million people, including seven million women, were improved over the five-year period and the rate of production accidents dropped by 24 percent and that of professional illnesses by 26 percent.

Such positive results are directly related to increased trade union control over the implementation of the comprehensive plans for improving labor safety conditions and taking sanitation improvement steps. This became the basic document of enterprises and entire economic sectors in defining measures aimed at improving the working, living and leisure time conditions of workers and employees. During the 10th Five-Year Plan alone, 25 billion rubles--50 percent more than during the 9th Five-Year Plan--were spent on the implementation of the measures stipulated in the comprehensive plans.

The extensive work to implement the long-term task of converting from the technology of safe work to safe technology, which has become widespread throughout the country, is contributing to the solution of the major labor safety problems.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan, the volume of work related to labor safety will increase even further. Total outlays for such purposes have been doubled. The trade union committees and councils and technical inspectorates are assuming permanent control over all work related to further improvements in labor conditions, including the use of industrial robots. This will enable us to release hundreds and thousands of workers from heavy, monotonous and manual operations and eliminate man's direct participation in some work dangerous to human health.

The party's instructions in the field of social policy, related to improving the way of life of the Soviet people and showing concern for their health and recreation, have become a broad and specific program for action adopted by the Soviet trade unions. "Concern for the person, naturally, neither ends nor could end the moment he leaves the plant's gate," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 16th USSR Trade Union Congress (p 282). This humanistic concept predetermines the basic line of trade union work in the area of housing and social construction, technical creativity, allocation of public consumption funds, sanitarium-resort services, tourism, physical culture and sports, and aesthetic and moral upbringing.

The trade unions have noticeably increased their attention to the construction of children's institutions. This problem has been successfully resolved in most parts of the country--the working people have no difficulty in terms of kindergartens and nurseries. During the 10th Five-Year Plan alone, 61 million school students went to Pioneer camps. Nowhere in the world is so much housing being built for the working people as in our country. The role of the workers' collectives in the equitable allocation of housing premises has been substantially increased.

The trade unions pay tireless attention to the proper utilization of state social insurance budget funds, which are steadily growing and which will total 217 billion rubles this five-year plan. The trade unions are actively developing a network of health institutions where millions of workers, employees, kolkhoz members, and members of their families rest and regain their health. Of late there has been increasing construction of trade union resorts and sanatoria in the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, and the Nonchernozem zone in the RSFSR. Dozens of millions of people spend their annual paid leave at trade union tourist bases.

The party teaches us that the Leninist understanding of the role of the trade unions as a school for communism includes above all the development of a communist awareness in the people, closely linked with the production activities and their work for the good of society. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev points out that the linchpin of trade union educational work is to develop in the entire mass of workers a truly socialist, a communist attitude toward labor and toward the people's property.

Guided by these instructions, the trade unions are actively participating in the political education of the masses. They are engaged in extensive lecturing. They organize political information days in production collectives and extensively explain to the working people topical problems of party domestic and foreign policy. They structure their mass cultural work in the spirit of developing the communist idea-mindedness in the broad masses and the establishment of an atmosphere of reciprocal exigency and conscious discipline in the collectives. This work is being accomplished with the help of communist labor courses, the economic training system, the people's universities, the cultural clubs, houses and palaces, the libraries and the places of residence.

The profound interaction between science and practice in all areas of Soviet social life, including the trade unions, which are a powerful and dynamically developing sociopolitical organism, is becoming increasingly typical of the current stage in the building of communism. The effective functioning of this organism as the direct support of the party and its reliable aid in mobilizing the broad toiling masses for the implementation of the programs for economic and social development is possible only under the conditions of a profoundly scientific approach to the solution of comprehensive problems of trade union activities in the economic, organizational and mass educational areas.

Life and the daily practical work of the trade unions continually raise complex questions and demand profoundly substantiated decisions and recommendations. This applies mainly to improving the organizational structure of the trade unions in accordance with the changes occurring in the national economy. The experience of the trade union organizations in involving the working people in production management and other social affairs is of great theoretical and practical interest. The 26th CPSU Congress reformulated many problems of the theory and methods of ideological work. This too is directly related to the trade unions. It is clear that along other directions in trade union activities as well every step must be checked against the reliable compass of Marxism-Leninism.

The preparations for the 17th USSR Trade Union Congress and the holding of the Congress clearly indicated that the Soviet trade unions enjoy great prestige among the broad toiling masses and that they have all opportunities--legal and material--effectively to defend the labor, social and other interests of workers and employees. The state has created the most favorable conditions for such work. Naturally, this is possible only under socialism, in which the state and the trade unions have a single objective set by the communist party--everything for man and for his well-being!

Naturally, with every passing year, the content of the work of the trade union organizations becomes more varied and richer. Consequently, some difficulties arise as well. The trade unions face problems which they must resolve with greater initiative and persistence. This was quite well described by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the CC CPSU accountability reports to the 26th party congress.

In implementing the great socioeconomic program of the 11th Five-Year Plan, the party demands of all organizations, including the trade unions, to be on

the level of contemporary requirements. The trade unions must display greater initiative in the use of their broad rights. They must be more persistent in matters of implementation of collective contracts and labor safety. They must react more sharply to violations of labor legislation and to bureaucracy and red tape.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's book describes vividly and impressively the tasks of the trade unions as a school for class solidarity of the working people and proletarian internationalism. The CPSU proceeds from the fact that the labor movement is becoming an increasingly more important factor of social development. The universal-historical role of the working person is increasing. Working people everywhere are in the vanguard of the struggle for peace and international security, national liberation and social progress. This means that the responsibility of the working class to history is increasing and that it is showing greater understanding of its tasks in its confrontation with monopoly capital and the forces of reaction and war.

As the outstanding fighter for peace and the basic objectives of the working class that he is, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev interprets the vital problems of the contemporary trade union struggle. His comprehensively substantiated conclusions on the unity of action among the various detachments of working people, their common class interests and the need to establish contacts and organize cooperation among all currents within the labor movement, both nationally and internationally, are of tremendous importance. As to the Soviet trade unions, the author points out, they have worked and will work for the unity of the international trade union movement, although the achievement of this unity is a lengthy and difficult process. Currently, the USSR trade unions are maintaining relations with trade unions in 145 different countries. They are actively engaged in pursuing a class anti-imperialist line of action. They contribute to the cause of workers' solidarity and work to organize cooperation among the biggest international trade union associations, such as the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Conference of Free Trade Unions and the World Labor Federation.

The increased number of actions on the part of the working people and the trade unions in different countries in favor of the preservation and strengthening of detente, against aggressive imperialist policy and for the elimination of the threat of war and the termination of the arms race are clear confirmations of the accuracy of the course of broad unity of action.

The greetings which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev directed to the participants of the 10th World Congress of Trade Unions, held in Havana in February, state that the imperialist circles who are dreaming of global hegemonism, have turned preparations for a new world war into a profitable business which becomes the more profitable the greater tension rises in the world and the steeper the spiral of the arms race becomes. The participants in the congress, representing 269 million working people of all continents organized in trade unions, welcomed with understanding and profound approval Leonid Il'ich's words to the effect that today the struggle against the arms race and for converting the war industry to peaceful production is more closely and inseparably related to the protection of the vital interests of the working people

than ever before, the struggle of the trade unions against the exploitive policy of the monopolies, unemployment, inflation and other social vices of capitalism and distorted phenomena created by imperialism, such as neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism and fascism.

The participants in the 10th World Congress of Trade Unions warmly supported the decision of the World Federation of Trade Unions on awarding Comrade L. I. Brezhnev the Federation's gold medal "for great merits in the cause of serving the interests of the working people." This honor reward was presented to Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the 17th USSR Trade Union Congress. It was presented to him for his outstanding merits and great personal contributions to the cause of defending the peace, strengthening the friendship and cooperation among peoples and systematically helping the working class in the struggle for its rights.

With its entire inexhaustible wealth of ideas, conclusions and recommendations, the book by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev is a priceless manual for action for the Soviet trade unions. It teaches them a daring and innovative approach to the most complicated problems created in the course of the building of communism. This book has become a true encyclopedia of Marxist-Leninist knowledge regarding the rights, functions and tasks of trade unions under developed socialist conditions. It proves clearly and convincingly that for the trade unions to be builders of the new society they must have great and real rights in all realms of life and make active and purposeful use of them in the interests of every toiling person. The most important Leninist idea of the unbreakable unity between trade union rights and obligations, which was adopted by the Soviet trade unions in its entirety and which became the basis of all their statutory requirements, is interpreted in the work with exceptional clarity and depth.

The understanding by the trade unions of their high responsibility to the party, the state, and the entire people was impressively demonstrated at the 17th Congress. The congresses' letter of greeting to the CC CPSU and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, emphasizes that the trade unions will draw specific practical conclusions from Leonid Il'ich's instructions on the need to reorganize the work of the trade union organizations more quickly in accordance with the requirements of the present and the further strengthening of ties between the trade union organs and the masses. The delegates assured their party that "we shall tirelessly improve the style and the methods of activity of the trade union organizations and see to it that trade union workers and activists are always among the people, lively responding to their requirements and act as true organizers of the masses."

This assertion represents the basic course of the Soviet trade unions and their firm resolve to act as a reliable support of the Leninist party always and in everything.

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## TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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[Review by S. Ivanov of the book "Izbrannyye Stat'i i Rechi" [Selected Articles and Speeches] by G. Husak. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 816 pages]

[Text] A collection and speeches by Comrade Gustav Husak, CC CZCP general secretary Czechoslovak president, covering the period between October 1973 and May 1980 has been published by Politizdat. The work sums up and analyzes the CZCP experience in guiding the building of a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia, surmounting the consequences of the 1968-1969 crisis and enhancing the party's leading role. The work clearly shows the socialist nature of Czechoslovak foreign policy, based on firm alliance with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity and describes the struggle waged by the CZCP for strengthening the unity of the international communist and worker movements, durable peace and cooperation among nations. Comrade G. Husak particularly emphasizes the significance of the historical experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the building of developed socialism in the USSR. With clarity and inspiration he depicts the role of Leninist theory in the revolutionary reorganization of the contemporary world and the struggle for democracy, social progress and peace and security of the peoples.

The Karl Marx Gold Medal, which was awarded to Comrade G. Husak by the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, which is given for outstanding achievements in the social sciences, is proof of the scale and relevance of a large number of major theoretical and practical problems of the building of socialism, creatively developed and interpreted by him.

### I

The work convincingly proves the correctness of the policy which the CZCP formulated after the April 1969 Central Committee Plenum, at its 14th and 15th congresses. The implementation of this political course insured the successful building of a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia in the 1970s. The persistent and consistent restoration of party unity on a Marxist-Leninist basis, the enhancement of the party's leading role, the strengthening of the functions of the socialist state as the power organ of the working class and all working people, the skillful solution of complex economic problems and the strengthening of fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union and the other

socialist countries allowed the CZCP to note, as early as its 14th congress in 1971, that normal conditions for the creative work and life of the working people had been created in Czechoslovakia, that the party had been purged of those who had betrayed its Marxist-Leninist principles and taken hostile positions during the crisis, and that the CZCP had once again become a united and strong Marxist-Leninist party, which had gained prestige and earned the respect of the fraternal parties in the socialist comity and the entire international communist movement.

"The consistent restoration of the Leninist principles and norms in party life and in the management of society and the state," Comrade G. Husak said, "became a decisive factor which enabled us after April 1969 to eliminate the consequences of the crisis, consolidate rapidly and resume with the necessary confidence the Leninist way to the building of socialism. It is on this basis that we were able to formulate at the 14th and further develop at the 15th CZCP Congress a program for building a developed socialist society" (p 519).

As was pointed out at the 15th CZCP Congress, thanks to increased output and improved efficiency, the broad social program earmarked at the 14th congress was implemented. The living standard of the people improved significantly: wages of industrial workers and employees and members of agricultural cooperatives rose; state aid to children increased; long-term loans were granted to newly married couples and the social insurance system was improved. Assignments and housing construction in the cities were outstripped and improvements were made in the villages at a faster pace in the first half of the 1970s. Major successes were achieved in science, education, culture and public health.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev gave a high rating to the results of the implementation of the program for building a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia. Addressing the ceremonious meeting, which was held in Prague on 31 May 1978, he said: "Today's Czechoslovakia represents a powerful systematically developing economy, progressive science and culture, high level of popular prosperity and very big opportunities for the development of the individual and the active participation of millions of citizens in the administration of governmental and social affairs. All of this is backed by the reorganizing and leading activities of the communist party and the great and persistent efforts of the working class, the peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia."

The working people of Czechoslovakia persistently struggled for the implementation of the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1976-1980) under CZCP leadership. Despite worsened domestic and foreign economic conditions, the national economy continued to advance. Within that period the national income increased by 20 percent; industrial output increased by approximately 25 percent and the production of agricultural commodities by 9 percent. Positive structural changes were made in the economy and new machine-building capacities for the nuclear power industry were created. Individual and social consumption increased. However, the assignments of the Sixth Five-Year Plan were not met in full.

Comrade G. Husak's speeches delivered at party congresses and CZCP Central Committee Plenums and his addresses to the working people contain analyses of the problems and the difficulties experienced by the Czechoslovak economy and

point out the lagging of a number of sectors, the incomplete fulfillment of assignments on upgrading production efficiency, incomplete use of basic capital and slow utilization of scientific and technical achievements. Comrade G. Husak sharply criticizes shortcomings in economic management, labor organization and violations of labor and production discipline. "Life has taught us quite well," he points out, "the importance of applying the methods of critical analysis and practical exigency, reacting promptly to the needs of society and resolving problems efficiently . . . The timely elimination of shortcomings and weaknesses is an inseparable component of the Leninist work style" (pp 99-100).

## II

Materials on the communist party, its policy in the area of socialist construction and state activities, relations with the masses and improvements in its organizational, ideological and political work are the focal point of Comrade G. Husak's book. Recalling V. I. Lenin's statement to the effect that the party is "the mind, honor and conscience of our epoch," the CZCP Central Committee general secretary calls for continuing the efforts to strengthen the party's Marxist-Leninist character and unity, and to multiply and properly guide the creative energy of the party members. He emphasizes that this is a manifestation of the highest responsibility for the further fate of socialism and the future of the Czechoslovak people.

" . . . The basic prerequisite for the successful solution of the major and complex revolutionary tasks," Comrade G. Husak wrote in the article on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the victory over fascism, "will remain the leading role of the communist party. Our own experience has proved to us that only a united and cohesive party, loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, strictly guided by the Leninist norms in its internal life and all activities, and closely linked with the people of its country and with the international communist and workers' movements can successfully insure the revolutionary reorganization of society" (p 203).

The content of the collection shows the tremendous attention which the CC CZCP pays to strengthening the party, improving the qualitative structure and growth of party ranks, and upgrading the ideological standard and activeness of the party members and the activities of primary party organizations and party organs.

By the end of 1980 the CZCP had 1,538,000 members and candidate members. Its worker nucleus has been strengthened in recent years. Today workers account for 45 percent of the overall number of party members and one-third of all CZPC members are under the age of 35. In the period between the 15th and 16th congresses, 321,000 new members were accepted, 61 percent of whom are workers, and more than 90 percent are young people under 35. The task is to continue to strengthen the party ranks with the best representatives of the workers, the cooperated peasants and the intelligentsia. Currently individuals who joined the CZCP during the past 10 years account for more than 40 percent of the membership. That is what makes so urgent the question of raising the young party members in a spirit of loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. At the same time, the party organs and

organisations must approach party enrollment on a more differentiated and exigent basis. They must link more closely improvements in the party's social and age structure with the specific requirements of upgrading the party's influence, particularly in key national economic sectors.

Comrade G. Husak emphasizes that the main prerequisite for the successful implementation of the CZCP's leading role is the systematic application by all party organizations and party organs of the basic principle of organizational activity--democratic centralism and intraparty democracy.

In order to increase the activeness of the party members and insure the party's healthy development and enhance the combat capability, the all-round development of criticism and self-criticism is of basic significance. "Leninism teaches us," G. Husak has pointed out, "that criticism in our movement is an irreplaceable means of progress. Some comrade asked where and to what extent is criticism allowed? The answer is simple: Wherever there are shortcomings, from top to bottom and from the bottom to the top, wherever there are shortcomings and confusions, wherever tasks are not fulfilled and wherever the way to fulfill them is not indicated" (p 672).

The power of the Leninist style, the author states, is found mainly in systematic work with the people, in explaining to them party policy, convincing them and involving the masses in active participation in the building of socialism. Here it is important to strengthen the unification among the theoretical, ideological, political-educational, organizational and economic party activities.

Today improving the quality of ideological work, raising the people in a spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, providing a theoretical summation of the experience acquired in party construction, strengthening the party's leading role, developing party history, and joining the systematic and principle-minded struggle for Marxist-Leninist purity assume prime importance. "The struggle did not end with the political defeat of right-wing forces and the withdrawal of their representatives from the political arena," Comrade G. Husak emphasized at the 15th CZCP Congress. "The principled struggle against all varieties of revisionism and opportunism remains an important task, particularly on the ideological front" (p 369). Comrade G. Husak re-emphasized the major role of the CC CZCP document "Lessons From the Crisis Development in the Czechoslovak Communist Party and Society After the 13th CZCP Congress" in terms of strengthening the masses, purging the party from right-wing revisionists and strengthening its Marxist-Leninist nature.

### III

Comrade G. Husak discusses in his addresses problems of the development of the socialist state and socialist social relations and improvements in the Czechoslovak political system and socialist democracy.

The book includes materials which prove the positive changes which are taking place in the social structure as a result of Czechoslovakia's increased economic potential and strengthened socialist production relations. The leading

role of the working class, which accounts for more than 60 percent of the country's population, has been strengthened. "Guided by its Marxist-Leninist vanguard," Comrade G. Husak points out, "the working class--the decisive force in society--is introducing in Czechoslovak life an entire set of basic changes, thus successfully fulfilling its historical mission and heading the building of socialism . . . . It is not only the creator of material goods but the ruler and master of its country and the main guarantor of the socialist system and the revolutionary gains" (p 2003).

As a result of the implementation of the Leninist cooperative plan, radical changes have taken place in the Czechoslovak countryside. A new class of cooperated peasantry has developed. It is the reliable ally of the working class and an active participant in revolutionary changes and in building the new life.

The country's intelligentsia is working together with the working class and the cooperated peasantry. It is deeply interested in the political, economic and cultural progress of society and is making a significant contribution to building mature socialism.

Comrade G. Husak emphasizes that the alliance among the working class, the cooperated peasantry and the intelligentsia has become the class foundation of the society, the basis of the National Front--the political unification of the working people in town and country. As in the other members of the socialist comity, the Leninist ideal that socialism is the work of the people's masses themselves has found its real embodiment.

The National Front, which includes political parties and the main social organizations, is creating the necessary prerequisites for satisfying the interests and insuring the manifestation of the initiative and activeness of all citizens in the republic, their participation in the management and administration of social affairs and the unification of their efforts in building socialism under CZCP leadership. "The National Front," Comrade G. Husak points out, "represents a broad platform for socialist democracy, which we shall continue to develop and improve. It is on the basis of this platform, the programmatic principles of which fully reflect the leading role of the working class and the vanguard role of the communist party, that the entire system of representative organs operates in our society: the national committees, the Czech and Slovak National Councils, the Federal Assembly and the executive organs of the socialist state" (p 354).

Comrade Husak repeatedly addresses himself to the activities of the basic organizations within the National Front. He analyzes in detail the work of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, which has more than 7 million members and notes with satisfaction the trade unions' full support of the party's policy and their active participation in the building of socialism. The trade unions, he emphasizes, must continue to mobilize the working people for successful production work, upgrading economic efficiency and organizing the socialist competition for the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of national economic plans. They must show comprehensive concern for the people and for improving their working and living conditions. The CZCP assigns the Socialist Youth Union--

the active assistant of the party in building socialist--major tasks in raising the growing generation in the spirit of the revolutionary traditions of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The author convincingly proves that all organs of the socialist state are assisting in the all-round development of the initiative and creativity of the working people and the building of a mature socialist society in Czechoslovakia. The extensive democracy of the Czechoslovak socialist system is clearly manifested in the increased political activeness of the workers and all working people, the women and the young people and the various means through which they participate in managing the state and the economy, developing the movements of innovators and rationalizers, the extensive participation of all citizens in the implementation of the electoral programs of the national committees, the activities of the social organizations and the initiatives of collectives and individuals in discussing and resolving all the problems related to the work and way of life of the people's masses.

#### IV

The CC CZCP general secretary extensively discusses party activities in international relations and the implementation of the line of the CZCP and the socialist state in the struggle for detente, the preservation and consolidation of peace in Europe and throughout the world and the strengthening of the international communist and workers' movements. "The basic direction of our foreign policy," Comrade G. Husak said at the ceremony on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the victory of the Czechoslovak people in the national liberation struggle and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet army, "is the creation of the most favorable external conditions for building a socialist society, strengthening unity and cooperation within the socialist comity and actively participating in the common struggle for social progress and peace throughout the world.

"The continuing strengthening of fraternal friendship, firm alliance and comprehensively intensifying cooperation with the Soviet Union is the cornerstone of this policy. The unity of interest in building socialism and communism and the struggle for progress and peace the world over, and the steadily intensifying cooperation between our fraternal parties, based on the single Marxist-Leninist theory and the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism guarantee the stability and solidity of these relations, which were born and were strengthened during the period of the joint struggle against fascism" (pp 804-805).

Comrade G. Husak describes in detail the practical steps taken by Czechoslovakia in the struggle for peace and cooperation among nations, aimed at strengthening the international position of the republic and the growth of its reputation as a peace-loving socialist state. Today Czechoslovakia maintains diplomatic relations with 130 countries (88 in 1969). It is a member of more than 60 international governmental and 1,250 non-governmental organizations.

The materials in the collection convincingly prove that the steady implementation and further development of the peace program formulated by the CPSU and supported by the fraternal parties in the socialist comity has had a considerable positive impact on the nature and content of international relations.

The substantial growth of the political, economic and scientific and technical potential of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity, the strengthened positions of socialism in the world, its relations with progressive and peace-loving forces and of the increased influence of the international communist and workers' movements are decisive features in this respect. It has been universally acknowledged that today no single major international problem can be resolved without the Soviet Union and the socialist comity. "The outstanding successes achieved by the socialist countries in international politics," Comrade G. Husak points out, "are mainly the result of the extensive, creative and active efforts of the Soviet Union and its communist party and the result of the personal contribution of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, whose principle-mindedness, consistency and daily creative efforts in securing peace earned him the profound respect not only of the Soviet people but of the Czechoslovak party members, our entire people, and the working people the world over" (p 376). The fact that peace has been preserved despite all the intrigues of global imperialism is a major achievement of the policy pursued by the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries.

"Of late," Comrade G. Husak points out, "the United States and other imperialist countries have begun to pursue an extremely aggressive political course. In particular, the most reactionary militaristic circles in the United States have mounted an open offensive against the policy of detente. This has considerably worsened and complicated the international situation. It is a serious challenge to all peace-loving forces" (p 805).

This turn in the behavior of the imperialist countries is a consequence of the fact that extreme reactionary forces, blinded by their hatred for anything progressive, forces which are trying to promote conflicts and to increase the arms race, have gained the upper hand in their domestic and foreign policy.

Comrade G. Husak emphasizes that during the entire postwar period the imperialist circles and international reaction have invested much effort to hinder progress and have tried to erect all possible obstacles on the way to building socialism, not only in the international arena but directly within the country. "Various counterrevolutionary elements and exiles who showed their true nature in 1968-1969, and all sorts of turncoats, who deserted the ranks of the worker and communist movements and openly took anticommunist and anti-Soviet positions, hastened to come to the aid of international reaction" (p 161). However, such vain attempts on the part of the imperialists, the emigre rabble and remnants of domestic antisocialist elements did not and could not stop the confident progress of the Czechoslovak people toward socialism. They did not and could not lower the international prestige and affect the peaceful internationalist foreign policy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Again and again, with great emphasis, Comrade G. Husak points out the decisive importance to Czechoslovakia of its affiliation with the socialist comity. He describes the steady pursuit of a foreign policy collectively formulated by the fraternal parties in the socialist countries by the CZCP and discusses problems of strengthening the alliance among socialist countries and the unity and cohesiveness of the international communist movement.

"The successes which we have achieved in recent years," points out Comrade G. Husak, "are closely related to the strengthened position of Czechoslovakia in the socialist comity and the development of its cooperation with the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. All of these successes in the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia are closely related to its all-round cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries. On this basis we, the Czechoslovak communists, consider the struggle for the national objectives and for international interests as two inseparable and interdependent aspects of the revolutionary process" (p 535). With the help of numerous examples, the CC CZCP general secretary proves the ever-growing importance to the party and to the successful building of socialism in Czechoslovakia of proletarian internationalism and solidarity with the international workers' movement. At the 15th congress, Comrade G. Husak states, "we reemphasized the vital need for international solidarity and our duty actively to contribute to strengthening the unity and power of the international communist and workers' movements in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Life offers steady confirmation that unity and class and international solidarity are the most effective weapons of the revolutionary forces in the struggle for social and national liberation. That is why we consider proletarian internationalism one of the basic principles governing our party's policy and an inseparable component of socialist patriotism" (p 405).

Comrade G. Husak consistently supports the unity between the socialist countries and the international communist movement. He opposes any deviations from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and proves the great harm they cause to socialism, social progress and peace. "Our movement," Comrade G. Husak said at the 25th CPSU Congress, "has frequently had to fight various opportunistic, revisionistic and nationalistic influences and to surmount them. Today we consider it necessary actively to counter the policy of China's Maoist leadership, which is openly allying itself with the most reactionary forces in the world. This policy is hostile to socialism, progress and peace, for which reason our party will continue systematically to struggle against Maoism and all forms of opportunism" (p 306).

In many of his articles and speeches, Comrade G. Husak speaks vividly and with inspiration about the Soviet Union, our people, the Leninist communist party, the unbreakable fraternal friendship between the peoples of the USSR and Czechoslovakia and their joint struggle for socialism and communism. The materials in the collection allow us to trace the tremendous influence of the support and aid which Lenin, the CPSU and the Soviet Union have given to the working class and the CZCP since the day it was founded in 1921 and to this day in the struggle against exploiters, the defense of the national independence and freedom, the liberation of the country from fascist aggressors, the victory of the national democratic revolution and the struggle for socialism and communism. "History proved," Comrade G. Husak pointed out at the 11th MSZMP Congress, "that strong, friendly ties of alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are a guarantee for our national freedom, state independence and successful socialist development. That is why the international unity among our parties and socialist countries and our friendship and alliance

with the USSR, its peoples and its experienced Leninist party is the cornerstone of our policy, our course and our work" (p 152). He has repeatedly emphasized that the Czechoslovak people "will never forget the great sacrifice made by the Soviet people for the sake of our freedom. They highly value the fraternal aid which the Soviet Union has given us as a loyal friend and ally throughout the entire 30 years of building socialism" (p 305).

With the help of specific data and facts the author proves that, guided by its vanguard--the communist party--and closely allied with the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity, the Czechoslovak people are successfully pursuing a general line of building a developed socialist society. This was convincingly confirmed by the 16th CZCP Congress, which was held in April 1981. In his address, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, head of the CPSU delegation, emphasized that "today the CZCP is confidently leading the Czechoslovak people toward building a mature socialist society. You are resolving the basic problems of the country's social and economic development in a socialist manner. You have the full right to be proud of the level of material well-being reached by the people's masses in Czechoslovakia. While carefully preserving the very rich cultural heritage of your people, you are achieving steady progress in science, art, public education, health care and sports--in all the areas contributing to the main objective of socialism, which is the increasingly better satisfaction of the steadily growing material and spiritual needs of society and the comprehensive development of the individual.

"All of this is the permanent merit of the CZCP and the confirmation of the correctness and the farsightedness of its political course.

"While properly assessing your achievements, you also clearly see the difficulties which arise, sharply criticize shortcomings and actively seek the best means for their elimination. This is revealed by the CC CZCP accountability report and the discussion of it at the congress."

The Soviet readers will be very interested in this collection of articles and speeches by Comrade G. Husak. It will help them to become more fully and deeply familiar with the policy and experience of the communist party and people of Czechoslovakia in building a developed socialist society. The work proves yet once again the loyalty of the Czechoslovak communists to the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism, Leninism, and alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity and shows the contribution to the struggle for peace and the security of the nations and for the victory of the ideas of socialism and communism.

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FOLLOWING THE PUBLICATION IN KOMMUNIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian, No 8, May 82, pp 127-128

[Text] "The End Result is the Main Thing," by N. Glushkov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices.

The USSR State Committee for Prices considered the article by A. Koshurin, general director of Krasnyy Vyborzhets Nonferrous Metal Processing Production Association in Leningrad, entitled "The End Result is the Main Thing" and reports as follows:

The questions raised in the article regarding the efficient and economical utilization of nonferrous metals, which can be resolved, following the example of the Krasnyy Vyborzhets Production Association, by increasing the production of economical types of nonferrous metal rolled parts and delivering them to consumers on the basis of long-term direct creative and economic relations, are of major national economic importance and presume improved planning, price setting and economic incentive methods.

Assignments related to the conservation of nonferrous metals by applying progressive technological processes, upgrading metal production quality, strengthening planning discipline and other measures are reflected in the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," which were approved by the 26th CPSU Congress.

It is on their basis that the directival organs formulated the specific assignments of ministries and departments on lowering nonferrous metal outlays in the 11th Five-Year Plan and the taking of steps insuring the implementation of these assignments.

Price setting and methods of economic incentive in the production and utilization of progressive types of metal goods play a specific role in lowering nonferrous metal outlays.

New wholesale industrial production prices, applicable to nonferrous metal production, became effective as of 1 January 1982. The formulation of the new wholesale prices for rolled nonferrous metals was based on stimulating the production of rolled parts of increased and high precision and replacing standard shapes with more economical ones with the help of price incentives.

In order to increase the interest of production associations (enterprises) in producing rolled metal goods requiring increased labor intensity, for the first time wholesale prices for the individual items were based in accordance with profitability as the ratio between profit and production cost, after deducting the cost of the raw materials, fuel and energy used.

The incentive to lower metal outlays in machine building is achieved by establishing higher norms of profitability and incentive markups to wholesale prices of new highly effective items.

In accordance with the existing regulations, part of the incentive markup (up to 70 percent) from the marketing of new highly effective goods will go to the economic incentive funds of production associations (enterprises).

The new wholesale prices of rolled nonferrous metal goods will insure the enterprises profits which will be 35 percent higher than the absolute level of profits under current conditions.

In accordance with the 12 June 1979 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree, starting with 1 January 1982, norms have been introduced for the net output of rolled nonferrous metal parts. Together with the other steps taken to improve planning and to strengthen the influence of the economic mechanism, they will contribute to upgrading production effectiveness and work quality and the objective assessment of activities of associations and enterprises.  
\* \* \*

"Journal's Mail: July-December 1981," by S. Vikulov, editor-in-chief and A. Shitikov, for the party organization secretary.

The party organization of the journal NASH SOVREMENNİK discussed the letter by Comrade M. Rutkevich, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member and that of Comrade S. Filippova, engineer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Bashkir Branch Chemistry Institute (KOMMUNIST, No. 2, 1982) and accepted as just their criticism of the note "Pebbles in One's Hand," by V. Soloukhin (NASH SOVREMENNİK, No. 3, 1981, p 39).

The party members in the editorial board drew serious conclusions from V. Soloukhin's note, particularly as regards the prose department which prepared for publication the selection "Pebbles in One's Hand." The main editorial board was called upon to upgrade the ideological and political level of criteria in selecting and editing materials to be published. In turn, the party members of the main editorial board find the publication in your journal timely and relevant. It is their intention that in the future readers will have no reason for objecting as Comrades Rutkevich and Filippova have.  
\* \* \*

Note by V. Kochetkov, party committee secretary, RSSSR Union of Writers, Moscow Writers' Organization.

The letter by reader M. Rutkevich, published in Issue No. 2 of your journal, criticizes some statements by writer and party member Vladimir Soloukhin found in his "Pebbles in One's Hand," published in Issue No. 3 of NASH SOVREMENNİK, the literary-artistic journal.

I deem it necessary to report to you that the letter by reader Rutkevich was discussed at a meeting of the party bureau of the Creative Association of Moscow Poets. The party members in the association considered the criticism addressed to Vl. Soloukhin just. Inaccurate formulations and careless handling of scientific facts indeed give grounds to believe that party member Vl. Soloukhin, the author of "Pebbles in One's Hand," "is playing with divinity", as reader Rutkevich pointed out. The members of the party bureau pointed out to Vl. Soloukhin the need to formulate his natural scientific views more clearly and not to allow ambiguities and innuendoes which would lead the readers to suspect this party member of preaching religious views.

Writer Vl. Soloukhin, who addressed the party bureau meeting, assured the party members that he will try not to allow such inaccuracies, which give grounds for misinterpretations, in the future. He assured the bureau members that he was and remains a convinced atheist, that he has never engaged in promoting belief in God and regrets that a careless sentence has given grounds for justifiable readership remarks.

The party bureau resolved to pay greater attention to the ideological and political upbringing of the party members in the Creative Association of Poets.

In turn, the party committee of the Moscow Writer's Organization, drew the attention of all primary party organizations on the need to intensify scientific atheistic propaganda within the party education system.

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