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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THIRD WORLD POLITICAL-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SURVEYED

Sofia POLITICHESKA PROSVETA in Bulgarian No 6, 1978 pp 83-93

[Article by Professor Lyuben Berov: "Trends in the Struggle for a Third World Noncapitalist Development"]

[Text] The question of the socioeconomic orientation of the large group of over 100 countries of the so-called Third World¹, which developed after World War II is closely linked with the main contradiction in the present development of the world--the contradiction between the capitalist and socialist socioeconomic systems. As a result of the victory of the October Revolution and, particularly, the establishment of the world socialist system, the countries newly liberated from imperialist rule acquired the real possibility to become free from exploitation and oppression and take the path of noncapitalist development.

The choice of a general direction to be followed by the individual members of this variegated group of countries in their socioeconomic policy depends on the complex interaction among a number of internal and external factors. Internal factors are of prime significance--the overall level of economic development and the respective disparate correlation among different class forces, levels of political consciousness of the popular masses in terms of the different activeness of their political organizations, the ideological orientation of the governing circles in a given country, and so on. No less important, however, are the external factors, to the extents to which the Third World countries develop not in a certain isolated sterile environment but within the existing world economy under the conditions of the confrontation between the two world social systems and, frequently, of a number of still existing forms of dependence inherited from the Colonial Epoch.

The two opposite world social systems pursue different policies concerning the Third World. Basically, the imperialist strategy is founded on the use of the fact that most of the developing countries are linked with the world's capitalist economy in order to promote capitalist relations and to strengthen the private capitalist sector as a necessary social support under the conditions of the continuing new and more concealed neocolonialist forms of exploitation of the Third World by the developed capitalist countries. In their relations with the developing countries the socialist states proceed

from the aspiration to insure true equality and lasting reciprocal benefits with the cooperating countries in assisting the state sector and progressive development trends.

The factual achievements or failures of each of the two worldwide socioeconomic systems in the course of their peaceful competition in the fields of labor productivity, volume and quality of output and services, material prosperity of the people's masses, level and nature of their culture, democratic nature of administration, and so on, influence, directly or indirectly, the orientation of the socioeconomic policies of the developing countries.

The assessment of the general trend of the changes taking place in the socioeconomic orientation of Third World countries would have been greatly facilitated had a profound demarcation gap existed between the group of countries with a procapitalist economic policy and the group of countries aiming at noncapitalist development, without intermediary cases and transitional steps. However, this is not the case in the variegated group of developing countries. The broad range of different levels of development of production forces, different ratios of class forces, different levels of maturity of political life, disparate levels of dependence on imperialist countries, and others lead to a great development variety and hinder the classification of Third World countries into separate groups of states. On the other hand, the common features of economic backwardness, dependence on foreign capital, and others, frequently lead to the adoption of more or less similar (superficially, at least) measures in the economic field. Occasionally, this creates an apparent similarity among countries with factually different socioeconomic characteristics.

In some developing countries the ideas of scientific socialism were declared the officially acknowledged ideology, whereas the leading circles of other countries took the positions of non-Marxist currents more or less closed to scientific socialism, such as "Arab" socialism, "African" socialism, and others. The lack of popularity of capitalism lead to the fact that a number of Third World state leaders proclaimed socialism, in its more or less clear or reformist definition, as "the basic objective of state policy." In fact, they used this to conceal an essentially cruel capitalist orientation. That is why the assessment of changes in the socioeconomic orientation of Third World countries may not be based on the external acknowledgment or rejection of socialism in general.

Of late some authors have supported the view that the line separating countries with a capitalist and noncapitalist way of development is becoming evermore arbitrary, since of late socioeconomic reforms (even though of differently radical nature and scope) are being implemented in virtually all developing countries. With such a formulation of the matter the term "noncapitalist way of development" is claimed to have lost its significance, for virtually all developing countries claim a more or less noncapitalist development.

It is true that with few exceptions, after World War II, there was no classical development of capitalism in the developing countries on a scale and with

organizational forms apparent in the developed capitalist states. However, this logic may lead to the claim that in the first ten or twenty years after its liberation bourgeois Bulgaria followed a noncapitalist way since the embryos of Bulgarian capitalism at that time were still quite weak and incomparable with their development scale in Western Europe or the United States. It is equally true that in most developing countries certain socio-economic reforms were implemented in the past two decades: agrarian and fiscal reforms, nationalization, and others. However, we should not forget that great differences exist in the natures and scopes of such reforms, the consistency of their implementation, and so on.

The development of the state sector is equally uncharacteristic of the countries following a noncapitalist way of development. It is practiced in a number of other developing countries in connection with the objective requirements of the struggle against economic backwardness and imperialist dependence or as a result of the inability or unwillingness of the local bourgeoisie to develop certain capital intensive and nonprofitable economic sectors. However, essential differences exist in the structure, share, work methods, and social functions of the state sector among the various groups of countries. Equally characteristic of most Third World countries is the development of the cooperative movement. However, substantial differences exist among the individual countries in terms of the type and social nature of the established cooperative organizations, their share of the country's economy, and so on.

The existence of such seemingly common development features does not refute the possibility or necessity to categorize the developing countries on the basis of their socioeconomic orientation and the respective singling out of the group of countries which are following the noncapitalist way of development with a more or less emphasized socialist direction. This existence of this group of countries represents a confirmation of Lenin's prediction that following the victory of the Socialist Revolution over a considerable part of the globe some countries may convert to socialism avoiding, to one or another extent, the capitalist phase. Naturally, this is not an absolutely homogeneous group and some additional subgroups may become apparent within it. However, the development of these countries have clearly manifested common features.

First among the criteria used to distinguish this group of countries is the nature of the political system. Because of economic backwardness and the weakness of the working class, in most countries following a noncapitalist path of development the political system is in the hands of circles representing, above all, the interests of the nonproletarian toiling masses. True, variants are possible in concepts concerning the factual interests and moods of the toiling masses at a given moment. In all cases, however, the big and middle national bourgeoisie and the representatives of the precapitalist exploitation strata and, respectively, their political organizations have been removed from power. In some countries following a noncapitalist way of development the system is in the hands of vanguard political parties

which rally the best representatives of the working class, the peasantry, the revolutionary intelligentsia, and the other working people supporting Marxist-Leninist positions.

Secondly, we must take into consideration the share of the structure of the private capitalist sector. In countries following a noncapitalist way of development it covers only petty and, partially, medium industrial output, the kulag farms and the villages, and a certain percentage of commerce (mainly retail trade while foreign trade usually is mainly or entirely in the hands of the state). Naturally, this does not mean that the private sector in these countries is on the threshold of total elimination. However, the policy adopted toward it is one of gradual elimination after conditions for the assumptions of its functions by the public sector have been secured.

In this connection, the third important criterion is the scope and social nature of the state sector of the economy. In this group of countries, as a rule, it has a dominating position in industrial output and a monopoly or dominating position in foreign trade, air, sea, and rail transportation, communications, financing, insurance, public construction, and wholesale trade (at least for the most important commodities); occasionally, furthermore it plays a certain role in retail trade and agricultural production.

Unlike the case of countries with a procapitalist orientation, in the countries with a noncapitalist way of development the state sector creates the material and technical prerequisites for socialism and is not used to provide benefits to the national bourgeoisie by supplying its enterprises with less expensive electric power, transportation, raw materials, and so on. Representatives of private capital do not participate in the management of state enterprises. Measures are taken for the gradual democratization of the management of state enterprises and associations by broadening the rights of trade union or other organizations of workers and employees such as, for example, the working people's assemblies in enterprises and associations in Algeria, workers' commissions in the Yemen People's Democratic Republic, and others.

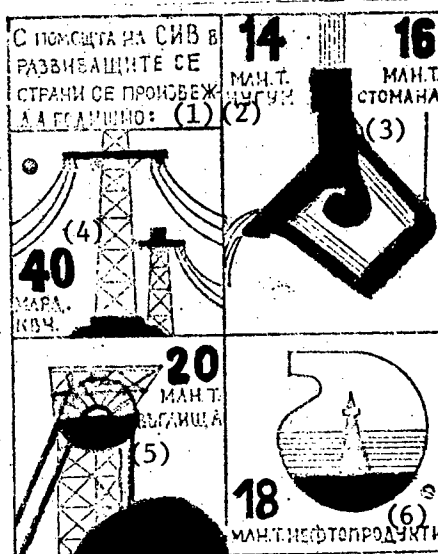
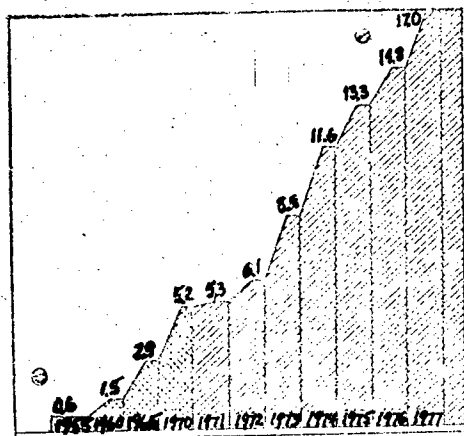
In the field of agriculture, the countries following the noncapitalist way are distinguished by their more radical agrarian reforms which, by setting low limits for the maximally admissible land ownership, practically eliminated feudal and landed estate ownership (compensation-free as a rule) and distributed the land to most of the landless peasants or peasants with little land against moderate payments. Furthermore, the state is particularly active in promoting rural cooperatives, paying particular attention to production cooperatives which account for a far higher share compared with capitalist-oriented developing countries.

As a rule, the policy pursued toward foreign capital in countries with a noncapitalist way of development is more radical and consistent compared with the remaining Third World countries. As a rule, most of the foreign-owned enterprises have been nationalized or operate in export sectors alone such as,

for example, the extraction of copper, natural gas, petroleum, uranium ore, and others (for whose development, usually, there are insufficient skilled national cadres, funds, organizational experience, equipment, and others).

This is not to say, however, that the influx of new foreign direct capital investments has been generally stopped in Third World developing countries following the noncapitalist way. Because of a shortage of funds and experience the investment of new and foreign capital is allowed in a number of such countries but only for the implementation of projects within the national economic plans and under contractual conditions offering greater benefits to the state (usually in the form of mixed enterprises involving state and foreign capital or enterprises operating under strict governmental control).

Dynamics of Exports by CEMA Members to Developing Countries (in billion dollars)



- Key:
1. With CEMA help the developing countries produce annually
 2. Pig iron, million tons
 3. Steel, million tons
 4. Kilowatt hours, billions
 5. Coal, million tons
 6. Petroleum products, million tons

The last but not least important feature and usual prerequisite for a noncapitalist way of development is the more or less intensive economic and political ties with the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union. In some cases, regardless of great distances, imports from the socialist countries exceed one third of total imports. The members of the socialist comity provide comprehensive economic, scientific, and technical, and military assistance and aid to the developing countries, based on the principles of

equality and mutual benefit, in their efforts to build an independent economy and repel the attacks of neocolonialism. The CEMA countries alone have rendered and continue to render to the young countries, economical and technical assistance in the building of 3,280 industrial enterprises and other important national economic projects. So far the CEMA-member countries have trained over 350,000 Third World technicians and specialists.

The imperialist countries and the specialized international credit institutions which are factually controlled by them try to limit the scale of economic aid given countries following the noncapitalist way of development. In a number of cases, this demands of the socialist countries to grant substantial credits and loans to such countries with a view to securing some of the funds needed for the acceleration of their economic development. Summed up United Nations statistical data indicate that between 1972 and 1974 eleven countries following the noncapitalist way (Algeria, Egypt, Congo, Guinea, Somalia, Burma, Syria, Iraq, the Yemen People's Democratic Republic, Benin, and Tanzania) received from the socialist countries a total of \$3.03 billion, compared with \$0.49 billion from the developed capitalist countries. The opposite situation prevails in the case of the remaining developing countries--\$0.7 billion from the socialist countries compared with \$34.69 billion from the capitalist countries and their international credit institutions.

However, it would be erroneous to base the assessment of the noncapitalist way of development of a given country exclusively or mainly on sporadic changes in its foreign political orientation and relations with individual socialist or capitalist countries, for in such a case diplomatic relations would assume primacy compared with the factually existing production relations as characteristics for the socioeconomic pacification of Third World countries. Another result would be the illogical and recurring deletion or addition of a given country to the group following the noncapitalist way of development based on momentary fluctuations in its foreign policy.

Social relations within the countries with a noncapitalist way of development are no longer precapitalist or bourgeois. Yet, nor are they socialist as yet. To a greater or lesser extent they are of a transitional nature and are developing in a socialist direction. Depending on specific conditions, some institutions and relations are assuming a semisocialist nature, even though this is not typical of all sectors or aspects of social relations. In a number of cases a socialist oriented superstructure (particularly should it be the result of revolutionary coups d'etat) initially does not correspond to the economic base. However, it influences its change when the subjective factor plays a particularly active role.² Occasionally, this special role played by the subjective factor may be negative, for it frequently creates prerequisites for internal political instability. The recent events in Egypt, i.e., the policy of alliance with imperialism pursued by A. Sadat, offer the most vivid example of this.

The thus-characterized type of countries with a noncapitalist way of development did not appear suddenly in the historical arena after World War II. In

terms of time the progressive or reactionary economic-political changes in the individual countries do not precisely coincide. In more general lines, however, we could single out quite clearly the existence of four stages in the postwar socioeconomic development of the Third World.

The first stage covers the first postwar decade, characterized by the predominance of the armed forms of national liberation struggle against imperialism and domestic reaction. The imperialist countries tried in vain, usually with the help of the domestic reaction, to stop the breakdown of the colonial system and recapture their previous positions (France's military operations in Indochina, the Netherland's actions opposing the transfer of West Irian to Indonesia, and others). At that time the national liberation revolution of the few newly liberated countries had not reached the stage of more radical social reforms. Characteristic of this stage of development was the attempt launched by Britain and France to engage in armed operations against Egypt caused by the Suez Canal nationalization in 1956.

The second stage of development started in 1956-1957 and lasted until approximately 1964. It was characterized by the predominance of nonmilitary methods used by the former colonies for acquiring national sovereignty. The national liberation movement was focused mainly in Africa (unlike the first stage during which it was successful in Asia). This was a period of fast and occasionally tempestuous changes occurring in the developing countries (the newly liberated in particular), with a great dose of fluctuations and eclecticism in ideological and political positions, internal political instability and military takeovers or attempted takeovers in many countries. Under such circumstances, and as a result of the complexly interwoven influence of the developed capitalist countries and of the socialist countries, many Third World countries covered a zigzag way of development with right and left turns of different intensity, occasionally with a contradictory combination of radical democratic changes with compromises and restrictions on democratic life.

During that period the national liberation revolution in a number of developing countries was directed toward the resolution of domestic social problems based on noncapitalist development. The initial steps in this direction were taken in Egypt under the guidance of G. A. Nasser, the noted leader of the African National Liberation Movement. That country, which had experienced several years of initial political ferment after the 1952 revolution, launched the first nationalizations (1956-1957), followed in 1961 and 1963 by a second and third waves of more radical nationalizations with an intensification of the revolutionary process and gradual clarification of the ideological positions of the then-established united political organization represented by the Arab Socialist Union.³

A similar process was noted in Indonesia which, after passing the December 1958 laws and the 17 August 1959 political declaration, also elected a noncapitalist way of development. Such was equally the case of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) following the electoral victory of the united leftist forces and

after Solomon Bandaranaike came to power in 1956. Only a few years after gaining national independence, the Ghanaian National Convent Party, headed by Nkrumah announced, in 1960, that the country was to follow a non-capitalist way. A similar case was that of Mali where the fifth and sixth congresses of the ruling party, the Sudanese Union-African Democratic Union, proclaimed, in 1960 and 1962, the need for the country to follow the non-capitalist way of development. In the wake of Guinea's independence, progressive socioeconomic changes were made by the ruling Guinean Democratic Party, headed by A. Sekou Toure, proclaiming, at its sixth congress, held in December 1962, a noncapitalist development as the base of its policy. In March 1962 progressive military circles seized the power in Burma and chose the way of a socialist reorganization of society. Again in 1962 France was forced to sign the Evian accord ending its long war against the Algerian National Liberation Movement and recognizing the Republic of Algeria which also chose a noncapitalist way. The assumption of power by the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Baath) in March 1963 was a major step toward a progressive socioeconomic development in Syria, even though deeper social reforms were carried out only after February 1966.

As a result of all this, between the end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's a total of nine countries took the noncapitalist path (Egypt, Syria, Algeria, Burma, Mali, Ghana, Indonesia, Ceylon, and Guinea), with a total population of about 190 million.

The third development stage covered the mid 1960's, beginning with a number of reactionary changes in several countries. The right wing forces gained the upper hand in the 1965 Sri Lanka elections, changing the course of the previous economic policy and foreign political orientation of the country. Following an internal political upheaval in 1965 and the bloody 1965-1967 events, a mass pogrom was launched against the Communist Party in Indonesia and, partially, against some other left wing circles within the national liberation movement. A right wing turn was taken in economic policy and the noncapitalist way was abandoned. Again in 1965 the Sudan reactionaries removed democrats from the government, proclaimed the communist party illegal, and gave the power to the bloc of landowners, the feudal-tribal leadership, and the big bureaucracy. In 1966 a reactionary coup d'etat took place in Ghana which overthrew the government headed by K. Nkrumah, who was developing a cult of personality, disbanded the National Convent Party, which had become heavily compromised, and used the criticism of the errors made as a cover for directing the country along a capitalist way of development. In 1968 a military coup took place in Mali where, largely under the influence of Maoist propaganda, the Modibo Keita regime had charted a course toward a so-called "active revolution," which was an attempt to resolve at once, using extreme left wing methods, the complex socioeconomic problems facing the country.

The military circles which assumed the power in Mali disbanded the ruling Sudanese Union Party, which had lost its influence, and terminated the activities of its united trade union organizations. Initially, however, they had no clearly formulated economic policy and did not openly declare themselves against the noncapitalist way.

Negative changes occurred at that time in some Latin American countries as well. In April 1964 a reactionary coup d'etat occurred in Brazil. In 1965-1966, yielding to the pressure of the United States and the local reaction, the J. Bosch bourgeois democratic government of the Dominican Republic was overthrown and J. Balaguer's reactionary regime took over. In 1966 a right wing military coup d'etat took place in Argentina as well.

True, the 1965-1966 turn to the right in a number of developing countries was also accompanied by a further intensification of progressive socioeconomic changes in individual countries which were already following the noncapitalist way. Such was the case with Syria in which the Baath government promoted in 1965 extensive nationalization and made the state sector dominant in industry. The differences which arose within the Baath party in connection with this nationalization led to a government crisis and to the seizure of power, on 23 February 1966, of the Baath wing which energized the struggle against local reaction and imperialism. The Syrian case was the exception, however.

The fourth stage, which began in 1968-1969, was characterized by the restoration of the progressive development trend in the Third World. In July 1968 the Baath party came to power in Iraq for the second time and the positions of forces representing, as stipulated in the 1971 National Action Charter, the "interests of the broad masses of workers, peasants, and other groups of working people" were strengthened. Consequently, the country took a definite noncapitalist orientation. In May 1969 the revolutionary democratic forces in the Sudanese army overthrew the reactionary regime with the support of other progressive forces and implemented a number of progressive economic changes despite the complex internal situation and the bloody reprisals against the communist party following the July 1971 events. In September 1969 the progressive military in Libya overthrew the monarchy and laid the beginning of radical social changes. In October 1969 a group of progressive officers seized the power in Somalia. Following the adoption of the 1967 Arusha declaration by the Tanganyika African National Union ruling party, and following the progressive reforms of 1967-1969, Tanzania as well adopted the noncapitalist way. Progressive social reforms took place in Panama as well after the 1968 political changes, and in Peru after the coup d'etat by progressive military circles headed by General Juan Alvarado, of October 1968, even though this was not as yet the equivalent of noncapitalist development. In Congo, in 1968, the power was assumed by the National Revolutionary Council, headed by Major Nguabi, and, following the establishment of the Congolese Labor Party in December 1969, the country took the way of building a socialist society.

Starting with the 1970's the process of strengthening the positions of left wing forces in developing countries became even clearer. The 1970 Sri Lanka elections once again brought victory to the united left wing front forces which, even though under more complex circumstances, began to restore the progressive orientation followed by the country's economic policy. In 1970 a number of radical social changes were undertaken in Chile as the

result of the electoral victory of the Popular Unity Bloc, leading to a transition to a noncapitalist development. Following the secession of Bangladesh from Pakistan, in 1971, the new state also adopted a noncapitalist way of development. A new military coup d'etat was carried out in Ghana, in 1972, by the National Salvation Council, which removed from power the reactionary military and began to restore the noncapitalist way through the creation of new mass political organizations in the country. A similar course was charted in Mali as well where a gradual transition from military to constitutional government was proclaimed in 1974 with a planned development of the economy, and where the creation of a new unified political party was undertaken. In 1971 the power in Benin (Dahomey) the power was seized by progressive young officers headed by Mathieu Kerekou whose revolution government implemented a number of social changes and proclaimed in November 1974 that the country was to undertake the building of a socialist society based on Marxist-Leninist ideology.

After the February 1974 anti-imperialist and antifeudal revolution in Ethiopia the progressive military circles issued program documents and carried out radical social reforms which proved that the country was being directed toward insuring the prerequisites for the building of a socialist society. Important socioeconomic reforms leading to a transition to a noncapitalist way of development, with some characteristics inevitable to the circumstances of African reality, were proclaimed in Zambia as well, in 1974. Following the 1974-1975 political changes in Portugal and the liquidation of the Portuguese colonial empire, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Cape Verde became definitively established as independent countries. Despite the varying degrees of internal stability, the progressive national liberation movements in these countries as well were oriented toward reforms in the direction of a noncapitalist development as a transition to the building of a socialist society. Progressive military circles took over in the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar) in 1975 who took the direction of radical social changes as well and proclaimed as their objective the socialist reorganization of society.

On 27 April 1978 a government of the People's Democratic Party, headed by Nur Mohammed Taraki, came to power as the result of a revolutionary coup d'etat. It proclaimed the implementation of measures for the economic and social development of the country on a democratic basis and in the interests of the broad people's masses.

Some measures included in the socioeconomic policy of the A. Bhutto regime in Pakistan, implemented between 1972 and 1976, could be considered a weaker manifestation of an overall positive development trend (such as, for example, the 1 January 1974 nationalization of a number of enterprises and banks, the leading role assumed by the state sector in industry, finance, maritime transportation, and exports, the new stage of the 1972 agrarian reform, tax benefits to poor and middle peasants, measures related to funds kept abroad by the Pakistani bourgeoisie, and others). Following the 1977 coup the new military regime in Pakistan is leaning to the right. However, the

reforms it inherited would be difficult to eliminate. Progressive changes in the nature of the system occurred recently in the small island republics of the Seychelles and Sao Tome and Principe, which could also be considered as the beginning of a noncapitalist development.

After a long armed struggle, in 1975-1976 the revolutionary movements totally crushed the local reaction and the interventionists in South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. This represented the victory of the socialist revolution in these countries which dropped out of the capitalist oriented part of the Third World.

Let us also emphasize the recent trend toward quality changes in some countries already following the noncapitalist way toward setting up and strengthening vanguard political parties which have proclaimed their adoption of Marxist-Leninist positions (Benin, Congo, Angola, the Yemen People's Democratic Republic, Mozambique, and Ethiopia). In these cases the development of the political superstructure outstrips the economic base and creates favorable conditions for the faster development of a socialist sector in the economy.

All this indicates that the last decade, starting with 1968-1969, appears as a period of a turn toward progressive changes in the socioeconomic orientation of a number of developing countries. These changes narrowed the scope of the procapitalist orientation among Third World countries and increased the share of countries following the noncapitalist way with a more or less emphasized socialist direction.

True, in recent years certain negative phenomena have been noted as well against the background of this progressive trend of development. First among them was the right wing August 1971 coup in Bolivia against the government of General J. Torres, the reactionary fascist coup d'etat in Chile and overthrow of the Allende government in September 1973, and the right wing coup in Bangladesh, in August 1975, which led to sharp turns in the policies of these countries. Nor should we forget the adverse changes in Egypt's economic policy and foreign political orientation after 1975. The course taken by A. Sadat of alliance with imperialism and "liberalization" of economic policy in favor of private capital, seriously threatens the future progressive development of the country even though it has not as yet resulted in the elimination of the priority enjoyed by the state sector in industry, banking, insurance, and foreign trade.

Some partial "liberal" changes were introduced in the economic policies of Burma and some other countries in 1973-1974. Of late the Maoist influence, with its negative nationalist coloring, has been strengthened in the Sudan. It is expressed, among others, in the hostile position adopted concerning the revolution in Ethiopia. The complex internal political circumstances in Sri Lanka led to certain difficulties in the functioning of the left wing front, attacked by the extreme right, resulting in certain retreats from the progressive line followed by the state in its economic policy. In August 1975 a

bloodless coup d'etat occurred in Peru and General J. Alvarado, the country's president, was removed from power (officially for health reasons). The new rather variegated ruling team did not veer clearly to the right but undertook the implementation of a contradictory economic and, to a certain extent, authoritarian domestic policy while the economic situation of the country worsened. A coup d'etat took place in Pakistan in 1977. Recently negative changes have occurred in Somalia's foreign political orientation as well.

This indicates that the negative phenomena occurring in the latest stage of development of the Third World do not affect a number of countries or account for a substantial percentage of them. In only four countries have they signified a sharp change in socioeconomic direction. In seven other countries there have been only partial and temporary fluctuations on individual matters of economic or foreign policy (with a total number of positive changes which have taken place so far in 18 developing countries, starting with 1968). That is why there are no grounds to speak of hesitations in the overall progressive trend of development in the Third World in recent years.

As a result of such a progressive development we are faced with an impressive group of 27 countries whose characteristics are more or less noncapitalist. An internal gradation or classification of these 27 countries would be rather difficult, for the various traits of a noncapitalist way of development they show are either disparate or proportionally different. For example, in some of them the major and organization of the political system are rapidly approaching the situation of the socialist countries without an adequate development of the public production and trade sectors. In others the public sector is already dominating some basic economic areas despite the existence of specific lower forms of organization of the political system (sometimes even with a temporarily hostile foreign political orientation on the part of some leading circles).

The division of these countries into two subgroups is the currently only possible internal categorization: countries with a clearly expressed noncapitalist orientation and countries gravitating toward a noncapitalist way of development. The first group includes Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burma, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Ethiopia, Cape Verde,⁴ Iraq, the Yemen People's Democratic Republic, Congo, Libya, Mozambique, Syria, and Tanzania, or a total of 15 countries with a population of 141 million in 1976 (even though within this subgroup as well considerable differences exist which would make it impossible to equate, for example, Syria with Benin or Angola with Burma). The second group of countries includes Ghana, Zambia, Madagascar, Mali, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, and others, for a total of 12 countries whose population in 1976 totaled 177 million.

This proved that countries with or gravitating toward a noncapitalist way already total 318 million people or 16.5% of the overall population of the developing countries. This is an impressive force approximately comparable to the population of CEMA-member countries. The share held by the 27 countries of Third World territory is considerably higher. They account for 19.9 million square kilometers or 29.5% of the Third World's territory.

These results indicate that today the countries following a noncapitalist direction (or gravitating toward it) have tripled compared with the first half of the 1960's and that their population has increased 64%. The difference is both quantitative and qualitative. Generally speaking, the socio-economic relations developed in the older countries of this group, such as Algeria, Syria, Iraq, and others, are more socially oriented compared with the beginning of the 1960's.

Unfortunately, it would be difficult to rate the trends in the pace of economic development of countries following the noncapitalist way, for, recently, some of them have not published regular statistical data in this respect while in other cases different methods have been used to compute the overall social product in fixed prices. Additional comparison difficulties were created by the sharp petroleum price and income increases in some countries since 1973.

Approximate estimates for 1970-1975 indicate that the average growth rate of the overall social product of countries following a noncapitalist development almost equals the average Third World rate as a whole. However, the pace of the countries gravitating toward a noncapitalist way has been far lower (3.4% compared with 6%).

The fact that the noncapitalist way of development has not as yet categorically proved its superiority in the Third World in terms of development rates as well is mainly due to the fact that, all in all, this orientation won or is trying to win in more backward and poorer developing countries. The indicator of the overall per capita social product interpreted as a synthetic characteristic of the level of development of the individual countries may be questioned. However, using it as a basis for the classification of developing countries, the following picture emerges, based on 1974 data:

Group of Countries	Number of Countries with Per Capita Public Product (in dollars)		
	under 200	200-500	over 500
With a noncapitalist way of development and gravitating toward it	12	8	7
Remaining developing countries	19	30	35

The results clearly indicate that countries with a lower per capita income predominate within the group of countries with noncapitalist orientation, whereas the opposite prevails in the case of the other developing countries (including 11 of the 13 OPEC members). Under such circumstances, it is logical for the countries following a noncapitalist way to encounter greater difficulties compared with the remaining developing countries. The results for the 1970-1975 period were also influenced by the fact that the economies of Syria, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and others was disturbed by the armed struggle against colonialism or Israeli aggression.

This hesitation shows that the trend toward broadening the scope and proving the effectiveness of the noncapitalist way of development is being asserted as one of the characteristic features of our epoch. The example and aid of the world socialist system are having an evergreater impact on this progressive trend in the development of Third World countries. Without such aid the imperialist forces, headed by the United States, would have abolished the national independence of such countries and blocked all possibilities for a noncapitalist way of development.

A sharp ideological and political struggle is underway. Under specific circumstances the peoples of these countries may have to wage an armed struggle as well to defend their rights to social progress and a new social system. The peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America may rely on the permanent support of existing socialism in this historical battle for a new life.

FOOTNOTES

1. The term "Third World" is the practical equivalent of "developing countries" even though the latter emphasizes backwardness in socio-economic development whereas the former describes them as countries which are neither socialist nor capitalist. It would be mistaken to link this term to the movement of the so-called nonaligned countries or to illusions that this group of countries have developed a kind of characteristic "middle" way of development between capitalism and socialism.
2. PROBLEMI NA MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 1, 1978, p 98.
3. Currently, the Arab Socialist Union does not exist as a unified political organization. It was essentially disbanded by A. Sadat.
4. The decision for the merger of Cape Verde with Guinea-Bissau was adopted in 1977. However, it has not been definitively implemented as yet.

5003

CSO: 2200

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

DELEGATION TO BULGARIA--The delegation of the CSSR people's control committee, led by Minister-Committee Chairman Frantisek Ondrej, arrived in Bulgaria on 7 August for a working visit at the invitation of the state and people's control committee of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Aug 78 p 2 AU]

UKRAINE MINISTER IN SLOVAKIA--In the course of his visit to the CSSR S. Besklubenko, minister of culture of the Ukrainian SSR, came for a visit of several days to Slovakia at the invitation of M. Valek, minister of culture of the Slovak Socialist Republic. On 7 August he was received by G. Slapka, leading secretary of the Bratislava CPSL city committee. R. Jurik, head of a CPSL Central Committee department, P. Koys, deputy minister of culture of the Slovak Socialist Republic, and N. Goncharov, consul general of the USSR in Bratislava, attended the meeting. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Aug 78 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2400

ISAI DISCUSSES TRAINING OF PARTY CADRES

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Apr 78 pp 5-16

[Article by Hekuran Isai, Politburo member, secretary of CC of AWP: "Let Us Continually Rear and Educate New, Promising Cadres"]

[Text] As a result of the measures taken and the work which has been and is being done by the party ever since its creation, we now have an incomparable situation with regard to cadres, both in numbers and quality. This attests--the high growth dynamic of our country in all fields, including the training of cadres. These results are a sound base, which should serve to stimulate us to improve all the educational work with the cadres and place the work with the reserve cadres on a better organized basis.

Our party is not proposing the choice, recording and education of new cadres for the first time. Viewing this as a vital problem demanding constant work, it has again and again given important orientations. In particular, the guidance on the execution of the party's policy toward cadres, approved by the Politburo in 1967, sets very clear tasks as to how the base organizations, the party and cadre apparatuses and each and every cadre are to operate in choosing, educating and training the reserve cadres. That guidance, among other things, expressly states that: "The broadest aktiv possible of reserve cadres shall be insured in every sector. Talents are being born and are growing up every day in the workers' ranks, so it is the duty of all cadres, all party organizations and the party and cadre apparatuses to discover those elements and get well acquainted with them, activate them, test their qualities and skills, nurture them continually with the party's teachings, carefully follow their progress and help them move forward."

The Seventh Party Congress and the Third Plenum of the CC of the AWP also set important tasks for the allround education of communists and cadres so as to promote their ideological, political and technical-vocational training.

The renovation and replacement of cadres is a vital necessity, and therefore it must be a continuing concern, and serious thought must be given to it in due time, as the party teaches us. To put these teachings into

practice, profiting also from the seminar organized in Kruje, where experience was exchanged as to how to operate with the new cadres, the district party committees are conducting better organized work on the reserve cadres, for their selection and allaround education. It is a fact that the necessary renovation of cadres has constantly been done well and in a normal way; that the needs of all the sectors in the districts have been filled ever better; that the central organs and institutions have also been given trained comrades of both sexes; and that it has been possible to replace these with similar ones without lowering the level of the work and the cadres.

The care which must be shown for the reserve cadres is dictated by a whole complex of requirements, but above everything are the ever growing requirements of the allaround development of the country and the defense of the fatherland.

In world outlook, our cadres are always young and revolutionary, since their Marxist-Leninist ideology and the teachings of our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha keep them that way. However, the life of a cadre is very short in comparison with the immortality of the people, socialism and the revolution, with the life of the party. Our cadres are generally young. But time is having its effect, and now another factor is being added more and more, namely that of replacing the men and women comrades who are going on pension, who are in the thousands: the dedicated cadres who have wide experience in struggle and work, experience with life, and who have conscientiously directed and are directing important sectors entrusted to them by the party.

Moreover, the problem of work with the reserve cadres also arises because in the process of labor and struggle there are also cadres, though rare, who do not march along, who in waging the class struggle do not in the least resist the pressure and influences of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology and must be replaced by other cadres with a sound moral-political stature.

Our party has striven and continues, as always, to strive, in its work with the cadres, to have the relay staff passed on in an organized manner from one trained generation to another trained generation, and this is being constantly done in the process of daily work and struggle, not just in jumps and campaigns. The thing is to have this continually understood and applied ever better by every district, government department, party base organization, by every cadre sector. The party, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "...must forge a sound unity between the old and the young cadres; must stimulate the old cadres, who will hand the staff to the young, this grand staff of the fighting generation, to do their utmost, to continue to fight and, if need be, to make new sacrifices for the future of the young generation, for the coming generations." (Enver Hoxha, "Where Today Stands on a Steel Foundation, the Future Is Assured." Brochure, p. 48).

As there are thousands of workers in industry, it would not be normal, when a responsible official or director is sought, to take him from the commercial sector, agriculture or education. If this happens very often, it does not indicate any continuity in the training of cadres in this or that government department. The party has long since posed the task of preparing cadres for every sector, for today and the prospective future. This is also because, when a cadre is promoted in responsibility by the sector itself, he will take the management of affairs in hand more quickly, since he knows the troubles and the affairs of the sector. But this general stand of the party should not be understood in a narrow way, in an absolute manner. Such a mistaken understanding causes one, as has happened in some cases, to slip into "sectorialistic" positions or a relationship of sickly friendship and narrow clannish interest, as may be seen in such notions as that "we have our own director, secretary, or brigade," "we agree with one another," and so forth.

The requirements of the matter make it necessary also to take measures toward a cadre who has not worked well, who has had liberal and bureaucratic manifestations, has not kept abreast of affairs, has made concessions, has not controlled the work or has been sectarian; and he is replaced by a capable cadre who moves things forward. In this case, we must not show any sentimentality over one who errs and digs in his feet, saying "We like this cadre; he hasn't done anything serious," for by doing so we pass from defense of the individual to defense of liberalism and bureaucratism. Likewise, the requirements dictate movement for capable cadres who have worked well, in order to strengthen another sector, another district, where things are not going as they should. This requires a correct understanding and execution of the party line and policy regarding the cadres, and not, as happens in some cases, action whereby, when a cadre is sought, another is given than the one who should have been or, when a cadre is assigned to a task in a district or work center, he is received coldly, and does not meet with a treatment that would encourage him to take the job in hand and do his best. When the payroll organs (organets and nomenklatures) send or look for cadres, it does not mean that they do not bear the above teachings in mind, but they have judged that if this or that cadre goes to this or that place, things will go better with the party there, when he finds a warm environment, since the party has noted that that cadre has certain better organizational qualities.

Being a cadre means being not only a technologist, chemist, economist, a good soldier, and so forth, in the narrow sense of the trade, but also a person well prepared politically and ideologically, having a good understanding of the party line. And this is not all. Every cadre, wherever he works, even in a nondirecting position, must be the best organizer in his trade. The party has always advised us to devote special attention to organizing and directing work, for one may have a high education and yet a directive will go awry unless one organizes

the directing work properly. Thus, an agronomist may have a good knowledge of agrotechnology, but if he goes three times to the Donofrose cooperative and does not organize the work while there, he will not get high sunflower yields. The more skilled our cadres are as organizers too, the more successes we will have, but for this too experience as an organizer needs to be gained with passionate enthusiasm and transmitted normally from one cadre to another.

It is not normal, as occurs in some cases, to elevate dozens of cadres in responsibility and make directors, party secretaries, and so forth, out of comrades who work outside of the sector, or within it, but do not belong to the provided reserve cadres. There are cases where these kinds of "reserves" are passed over several times and become permanent. Here, the party forums and the respective payroll people (nomenklatura) must bear in mind that those who are designated as reserve cadres should also have certain qualities, so that they may progress and become qualified by being in a position of responsibility and having enthusiasm for their work. The general rule should be that a reserve cadre replaces a responsible official when the need arises. But a substitute who does not have the proper qualifications never replaces a responsible official even temporarily for current work when the responsible official is absent for various reasons.

By having the largest possible contingent of reserve cadres, the circulation of cadres is also effected more normally, and there will be fewer vacancies in the force on the alleged grounds that "we can't find suitable people." There will likewise be fewer expressions and wrong ideas such as we hear also in some forums, to the effect that "we don't have anyone to put in his place," "his removal will weaken the work," nor will there be any eulogies to the effect that "he raised the value of a day's work," "he got the sector out of its backwardness," and so forth. Such notions, which result in hesitation to furnish cadres and raise young cadres to positions of responsibility must be resolutely combated. But the payroll forums must also take care to see to it that when they take cadres, they take them in such a way that they do not interfere with work, that the sector is not hurt, and that the enterprise, cooperative or institution from which they take the cadres is not weakened, as there have also been cases where we have strengthened the one side, the one sector, by taking cadres indiscriminently, but have weakened the other side. Both of them are ours. We must train cadres for both, must send to both and take from both, from above and below. In these cases there is no room for the statement that "you can't correct without spoiling something," for the party gives its guidance and strives to have all sectors run well.

If we have a larger army of skilled reserve cadres, we will do a better job of combating certain bourgeois-revisionist manifestations which appear in some cadres, such as careerism, intellectualism, conceit, egoism, and so forth; and we will fight such ideas as that "they can't do anything without me," "if I go, things will break down," it is to my credit that

these successes have been achieved," "I got it out of its backwardness," and so forth.

The problem of choosing and training the reserve cadres, capable replacements, must be seen not only in and for those places and categories of cadres which go on a pension or must be withdrawn for some fault. This great task is posed for all categories of cadres, regardless of age or work record. Even a director or chief who has just been appointed and is new on the job must be mindful and keep near at hand some persons who are capable of replacing him when the party has to take him away and send him to some other place where he is needed. But even a cadre who is directing today has a practical need to have and train a capable substitute, since from time to time he has to leave his job to perform work in production, or military service, or goes on ordinary leave, to courses or to a school without separation from the job. It sometimes occurs that various cadres, for these reasons, are not in charge of their job for as much as four months. In these cases too it is wrong to say that "the work has suffered because the responsible official, the director or commander, was away for so long," and so on. If the party's directive on reserve cadre training is rightly understood and enforced, the work will not suffer, since there are party organizations everywhere, there are all those workers or cooperativists, cadres and specialist who are working and achieving, and among them there must certainly be some who can properly perform the duties of the responsible official who is absent temporarily. The use of the reserve cadres in these cases too would put them to a concrete test.

The self-criticism is often uttered in practice that "we do not know the people." You hear this from secretaries of party committees and base organizations, from comrades concerned with the cadres, from government comrades who sit daily among people. Such an attitude indicates mere routine work, and routine, in the work with cadres, as in every other sector, is quite harmful. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that "when one goes to control an object, the eyes should be directed primarily toward people, and their work, not just toward the machines, the funds, the figures, and so forth."

The party teaches people to assume responsibility to it for cadre work as for everything else. It may happen in some cases that the candidatures proposed or the opinions given about a cadre do not come out as anticipated by an organ or responsible person. Here it is important to make an analysis and draw lessons as to what things have been overrated and which have been underrated or not seen. It is a different matter when opinions result from a sickly relationship with a comrade, a friend or a clan. In these cases, when such manifestations and attitudes are confirmed, the base organization must dwell upon them and treat the matter in its political-ideological aspect. But the base organization should also demand an accounting from the communists and cadres who go and come but

do not bring any opinion about people, about the work, and about their concepts and attitudes.

Some directors or organs display uneasiness about where reserve cadres are to be found. They are found wherever efforts are made to carry out the party line, in every sector, in the field and in the army. We have now created the possibilities for us to have several possible candidatures for reserve cadres for every work sector and every degree of responsibility. To exploit these possibilities, the party organization in every enterprise, cooperative, government department, committee, every organ must think about its own payroll (nomenklature). If good work is done in this respect, the party base organization will at all times be in a position to tell the payroll organ "order and choose, take and place anyone you wish, since we have several such trained persons." A great school for rearing, annealing and training a considerable number of cadres are the elected organs and forums of all the agencies. In our country there are three times more elected than appointed cadres. Many cadres have been taken from these elected organs and forums and placed in directing positions in the districts or the center. But the fact is that no systematic work is done with many of these elected cadres to heighten their organizing, guiding and directing skills, to activate them. There are not a few cases where the chief cadres, down to members of the district forum, remain unactivated perhaps for the whole period between two elections, and do not work and are not helped as they should be. Hence it also happens that when some cadre elected in one forum is transferred, no one is found among the members of the forum to replace him, even though there are, for example, 70 elected members; and, as a result, cadres have to be taken from outside the elected forum. This does not indicate very careful or ever promising work.

Youth is an important source of cadres. One cannot conceive of work on the selection and training of reserve cadres without counting the youth. Young people are the future of our country, and therefore the party makes a thorough judgment of them and observes them with the greatest care, so that talented, revolutionary, loyal and cultured young men and women may come into directing positions, into the key jobs in every sector. "In Albania whole generations of young people are being reared," stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha in the speech delivered to the cadres of the Gjirokaster district, "who have been born under socialism, are themselves building socialism, and have been educated in the school of our party and their parents." (Enver Hoxha, "When Today Stands on a Steel Foundation, the Future is Assured," brochure, p. 28). These stand out everywhere, at work, in management, in organization, but especially as social activists; and many of them begin this activation right while they are "young heroes" (fatoso) and pioneers, and continue when they are members of the Youth Organization, as directors and propagandists of it, as directors of the youth drives in the national and local volunteer brigades. But what becomes of all these cadres, all these commanders, commissars, and members of the staffs of the volunteer brigades? Does the party

committee, the executive committee, the youth committee or the cadre sector bear in mind where they have been placed at work and watch how they work? Is care shown about their political, ideological and vocational education? Is a careful study made of what the prospects are for the one or the other?

When we speak of social activists, we mean not only those who have been chosen in various forums, not only the activists and agitators of the organization of Trade Unions, Youth, Women or the Front, but also others, from physicians or engineers, who work with enthusiasm to elevate the hygienic-sanitary or technical-vocational level of the workers, down to the farm specialists, who work untiringly to have the working masses assimilate and apply agrotechnology and the new in agrotechnology; down to the teacher who studies the history of the people in the village where he works and explains history concretely; who passionately gathers folklore and toponyms in the countryside or cooperative and explains their origins to the masses; down to the physicist or chemist, who explain physical, astronomical and chemical phenomena in relation to their work and who, in general, open up a horizon for the masses to apply the party line. But all these cadres must be helped to learn also the art of the director, to be qualified also as organizers and to go on further as socialist activists, and so forth.

Our country's vigorous development on the path of socialism demands ever more promising cadres in all fields, sectors and branches. Thought must be given to these in due time, for experience is not transmitted in a day or hour. For this reason it is well to have the most talented and zealous workers go to work alongside of cadres with experience. It is not right to hear that "only X or Y is suited for this or that specialty." The party has now created opportunities for the qualification of hundreds and thousands of cadres. But the recording, selection and activation of those who have ability requires greater concern and better organization on the part of the responsible organs. When a person without enthusiasm is placed alongside an illustrious professor, historian, or scientist, regardless of whether he has graduated from the university, that cadre will not interest himself in assimilating the fund of rich experience to which he has been assigned.

It is a prime necessity to have a thorough ideological understanding of the work to be done with the reserve cadres as a serious matter having to do with the continuation of the revolution, with handing on the relay staff from generation to generation, ever with a red hue, and with seeing to it that our country never finds itself in difficulties with regard to cadres loyal to the revolution and socialist construction. Selecting reserve cadres and training them well mean thinking about the future. By rightly understanding and consistently carrying out this important orientation of the party one combats every erroneous concept that appears in individual persons, who are "chair warmers" and see only their own narrow interests. Such people cannot but be intriguing and servile

at the same time. There are also types that do not rightly understand the terms "activation" and "holding on." Holding on to you, activating you, helping you is something else, while appointment to this or that position is judged and decided upon by the organ that has one on the rolls, and which has at its disposal not just one or two, but several candidates. The forums choose from among them the one who is most suitable and decide according to the important principle of "collegiality." This principle, on the one hand, puts a stop to manifestations of subjectivism, arrogance and imperiousness, fear and servility; and, on the other hand, strengthens the conviction in everyone that everyone's position is in the hands of the party; that, as always, it judges fairly regarding cadres and that it is the party and not any particular individual that evaluates them.

It is necessary to bear well in mind that the reserve cadres are not only those who are once designated as such. Their number is constantly being increased and enriched. New elements that are still more outstanding are constantly emerging in struggle and work. We cannot shut our eyes to this fact and say that "those which we have designated are the best." On the contrary, if we observe people who work, for example, in the metallurgical combine, in the Fierze hydro-plant, on the railroad or elsewhere, in national and local drives, who are included in various revolutionary movements, and so forth, we will find simple workers who have not been chosen in forums, and are neither responsible officials, nor substitutes nor "reserves," and who show organizational and technical talent, have a clean moral-political stature and a good ideological and cultural level, who enjoy the respect and love of the masses, and so forth. Therefore, the mere fact that this whole mass of capable and loyal workers is not included in the lists of "promising reserve" cadres does not mean that they are not such and that we do not need to concern ourselves with them and train them as cadres. The important thing here is that every forum and organ should use them to increase the numbers of the aktiv for every sector and "profile" as much as possible, since a good many of them will distinguish themselves in this way and will be activated as cadres.

The choice and education of the reserve cadres should not be conceived in a mechanical way as a purely numerical matter or as one of percentages, as is observed in some cases, but should be understood as a problem and task of ideological importance, as otherwise we would be doing a hasty and purely formal job.

It is not enough to think that we have this or that person as a reserve cadre. It is a matter of working with those replacements and reserve cadres in an organized and systematic manner in qualifying them and elevating them in responsibility. For this purpose many diverse forms may be used, beginning with the entrustment of simple tasks and extending to the direction of important political, ideological and other drives. The activation of these cadres in disseminating advanced experience is a field

in which they must be encouraged to work. The reserve cadres are sufficiently qualified when they take part in solving important problems and in the various activities which are organized; when they are summoned to party, government, economic and other forums to give their opinion and to hear that of others; when they are engaged in control and assistance teams; when they are commissioned as propagandists and prepare subjects and lectures that are not only ideopolitical but also in line with their vocation and experience; when they make studies and write articles; and so forth. It would be well to hold seminars, discussions and lectures with the reserve cadres from time to time. The party committees and the government and economic organs are working in this direction, but it is well for them to think in a differentiated manner about what is needed, for instance, by our economists, chemists, brigadiers, and technicians whom we have thought to be promising. To fill the gaps that they may have, various courses are organized to teach the party's principles, norms and directives and the laws and rules having to do with the place of work where they are employed; conversations, work groups, lectures and seminars are organized, in which the most capable cadres that the district possesses report on this problem and discuss with them for several hours the questions that concern the district or sector in which they work. This is only one of the forms that may be used by the forums to educate the reserve cadres. But especially important in addition to this and other forms that should be used is the direct work done by the chief cadres themselves, those responsible for qualifying their replacements, the reserve cadres, as well as their work with the young cadres in general.

In qualifying the reserve cadre, a cadre with a partisan mind does a job with a specific viewpoint, as the party bids us. When he goes away for a few days, he calls the reserve cadre and says to them: "I will be busy for a few days, so you will be the directors here." On the other hand, he also tells the workers of the enterprise or cooperative: "Look: I will not be here for a few days. However, here is Hasani for anything that you may need: he will give you guidance." In this manner, this chief cadre works, on the other hand, to anneal and train his reserve cadre; but, on the other hand, on the basis of the work done by this cadre, the director also works with the other cadres to inspire them with confidence in that reserve cadre not only for the work he is doing today, but also for that which he may do tomorrow. The party teaches us that the responsible official can also do this with the reserve cadre when he heads the work. For example, he purposely and gradually allows his replacement or reserve cadre to do some of his jobs, give guidance and carry them out to the end. Then he asks him how he resolved this or that task and, having judged how he has acted, he adds some remarks if necessary, also points out ways in which the problem could have been solved better and more easily, and orders him to correct the inaccuracies. In some case the ideas of the one who has been left as a substitute may also be superficial, as he does not have the experience of the responsible official, but the responsible official, the party organizations and the collective are there, so let them help

him. This is also the reason why we designate him in due time as a reserve cadre or replacement, so that he may be assisted, qualified and tested. It would not be right to seize on some one instance of superficiality on his part and say immediately: "He won't do." On the contrary, the young cadres should be helped and supported several times in order that good directors may be produced not only through training in the field of theory but also in direct practice. This is accomplished when the transmission of experience is not effected in a craftsmanlike manner, as a master does with an apprentice, but with a deep political and ideological understanding of this important problem. In this regard, Comrade Enver Hoxha admonishes us that it is not enough to summon a young element that is being taught to become a director from time to time just to pass muster and to tell him of some problem of the fifth order; but, whether in an individual or a collective manner, he should be summoned with the greatest seriousness, the problems preoccupying the party should be explained to him in all their depth, and his opinion should be taken seriously, he should not be called in just to be given orders.

It is especially important that the directors should have more and more confidence in the reserve cadre, especially in those who are being trained as substitutes. We say this because there are cases, though rare, in which they not only do not give their subordinates a part of their work to qualify and anneal them, but, since they themselves mobilize the operations, they also constrict the authority of the subordinates, which fact has led to the notion that "everything is decided by the chief responsible official," and so, fellows, we pass the problems, complaints, requests and letters on to the president, the secretary, or the chief and less to the other cadres who in fact have the authority to resolve them. But life, work and the facing of numerous problems demand that everyone shall be annealed and have responsibility for his own work; only that this must be concretized in the collegial method of work on the part of the responsible official, and not in his "ego." When a responsible official does his subordinate's work, the two do not do their own job.

Our needs require that a greater effort be constantly made to the end that the work with the reserve cadre, with substitutes, may become an expression of the activity of the party organizations. Such work with the reserve cadre during the performance of the tasks set us has helped and will help the party better not only to have a still larger army of cadres and to effect a most normal renovation of them, but will, as ever, also preserve the most correct proportion between the young cadres and the old.

Many young cadres who need to be helped and given experience by the older ones have been elevated in responsibility according to the tasks set by the party. "Appointments are quickly made," as Comrade Enver Hoxha admonishes us, "but the transmission of experience cannot be effected by waving a wand. This is a continuing process carefully guided by the

party. In the common work of the old and young cadres good experience is passed on an enriched, the young are reared and the old refreshed, and a complete harmonization is effected among the cadres and the various kinds of experience" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Sixth Party Congress, p. 197).

Our party has constantly succeeded in intermeshing the old experienced cadres with the young ones on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and our revolutionary practice. Among the total number of cadres on all the rolls, as reported at the Seventh Party Congress, 40 percent were up to 30 years in age; 31 percent were aged 31-40; 21 percent have been 41-50 years old and 8 percent over 51. Since the Seventh Party Congress these figures have developed positively, as the party since the Congress has also elevated to responsibility a good many cadres from the working class, the cooperative peasantry and our revolutionary intelligentsia. These figures attest the normal path followed by our party in this intermeshing.

The old cadres possess very valuable experience in the struggle waged by the party heading the working masses in the sector which they direct or have directed. The transmission of this experience to the coming generation is of vital importance to the party, for the construction of socialism and the defense of the fatherland.

In general, our old cadres have rightly understood this party order. They have made and are making their valuable contribution to training and rearing the young cadres elevated to positions of responsibility, who are performing their duties well. This is a result of the education which the party has given to our cadres for years. The facts show that there is great eagerness on the part of the young cadres to learn and assimilate the positive experience, and a strong feeling of responsibility for performing the tasks assigned to them.

The young cadres educated by the party have respect for the old cadres. This respect stems primarily from the great effort of the party, from the respect for the generations with which the party made the revolution and is marching ever victoriously forward. But this respect also exists for the practical reason that the young cadres cannot march forward and cannot perform their tasks without making their own precisely that experience of those cadres with long experience who have waged a hard class struggle and overcome many difficulties.

It is true that the young generation begins its work in a different stage of cultural and technical-vocational development, often at a higher level than the preceding generation. This is a great victory for the party. It is the result of the advantages created by our social system. This fact does not give anyone the right to be conceited. This or that old cadre may not have a university diploma, although many have gotten one by working; but he has the university of life, which the young ones are

just now beginning. The genius of the young cadres lies in passing as quickly as possible through the "classes" of the university of life. Only thus can they make up for the years not gained on the school bench.

The fact that a young cadre is appointed or elected to this or that directing job does not mean at all that he has become fully competent right from the first month, or even after the first years. Neither appointment, nor election, nor a chair makes a director competent. When the party designates one for a responsibility it has borne in mind certain necessary characteristics and requirements for becoming competent for that duty in the future. But this requires struggle; it demands passionate enthusiasm for work and study; it demands efforts to learn from the most experienced comrades, from the working masses; it requires one to increase his feeling of responsibility to the party and the people up to the degree of the task assigned to him; and, above all, it demands that one assimilate the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the party's directives.

In addition to everyone's efforts, the transmission of experience must be organized ever better by the party organs and organizations. For this purpose, the experienced cadres must be charged with standing alonside the young cadres and give them their experience according to the physical and mental aptitudes of each one, but also speak to these young cadres in groups according to their "profile," in interviews, meetings and seminars, written articles, reports, and so forth, since by describing their experience they do a great service in disseminating it to the whole country, not just for today, but also for tomorrow.

There are now thousands of cadres and pensioners who are giving life to the city wards (lagje) by their work; other thousands are not neglecting assistance in production; many others are becoming active in commissions, staffs, councils, and so on. But there are also some who kill time in the clubs because they have a narrow understanding of going on a pension, but also because sometimes they are not encouraged to give their assistance in the sector in which they are qualified and on which they have a whole bag full of experience.

It is necessary for the young, as always, to absorb advanced experience from the old, to be modest toward the experience which life has tested, and to value it. We say this because, though rarely, one finds young cadres that do not understand this matter correctly; who do not appreciate that experience as they should; who do not understand the matter of old age as Marxists do, so that some even express the idea that because this or that person is old, "he is conservative too," "is behind the times," when in fact the times may leave a young person behind too. These concepts are anti-party and lead to the bourgeois-revisionist theory of a struggle between the generations which enemies of the party Fadil Pacrami and Todi Lubonja sought to disseminate for their hostile purposes. From these positions, these enemies tried to strike at the party's correct line,

smash the unity forged by the party with blood and sweat from generation to generation between the generations. These hostile views of theirs are old and are a direct influence of the counterrevolutionary work of degeneration done by the revisionists and social-democrats. Our party has mercilessly unmasked these anti-Marxist theories.

Whether you are a revolutionary or a conservative is no basis, and does not depend upon age, but upon the ideological and political class attitude toward this or that problem and, in particular, upon the attitude held in general toward the party line, toward revolutionary innovation, toward the progressive. As the party has constantly stressed, our old people are creative too. Their objective and their happiness in life has been and is to serve the fatherland, the people, with all their strength and to help, stimulate and encourage the young generation to affirm itself, to take the relay staff, to continue to develop more brilliantly the revolutionary tradition of our party and people. This must be deeply appreciated by our young cadres, by our young generation, who must be inspired by the revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm, by the experience of the old, by the devotion and loyalty with which they have served and are serving the party, the people, socialism and the revolution.

The differentiated work with the reserve cadres must not be diverted for a moment from observation of activities and from educational work with the masses, as otherwise we would be distorting the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, who teach us that the party's job of training and annealing the cadres, the job of educating them in the Marxist world outlook and philosophy must not be conceived as a training of an elite, but in close conjunction with the education and training of the class, the whole people.

Life marches on, and our people are developing along with it. A person who was not distinguished yesterday becomes distinguished and outstanding today. Indeed he sometimes passes those who were outstanding. So too when the reserve cadres are concerned, we will seize upon the outstanding and not stick with this or that person who was advanced yesterday, but has now lagged behind for one reason or another.

To do so, we have to follow step by step the real life of the cadre wherever he works. His documents should represent him as a live, moving person, not as one who is frozen fast to the data from the very first phase. There are cases where documents on a cadre indicate "secondary schooling" when he has now graduated from the university; he is said to be "unmarried" whereas he has two or three children; he is said to "work well" whereas he has not performed his duties for several years; it is stated that "he has faults, errors, shortcomings" in this or that respect whereas he has worked well for ten years and has atoned for those faults and errors.

We have the party's teachings, every district has experience, we have cadres, and so we lack nothing. The forums and party base organizations, immersing themselves in those teachings and that experience, are becoming more and more conscientious regarding more careful and better organized work with cadres. But in this respect too, more organization and control are needed, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has once again admonished us in his speech to the cadres of the Gjirokaster district.

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ALBANIA

FOREIGN SUPPORT FOR ALBANIA IN CONFLICT WITH CHINESE

[Editorial Report] After the publication in the Tirana daily ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian of 30 July 1978 of the Albanian response to the Chinese note on the cessation of all technical assistance, aid, and credits to Albania, the party daily [ZERI I POPULLIT] and the Democratic Front organ [BASHKIMI,] began printing excerpts of letters, telegrams, messages, and statements addressed to AWP first secretary Enver Hoxha and the party Central Committee and of press articles supporting Albania. According to ZERI I POPULLIT of 1 August, these statements of support come from "Marxist-Leninist communist and workers parties, friendship societies, progressive political, cultural, and public figures, and friends and admirers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania".

During the period from 1 to 10 August, the following expressions of support were published: [in ZERI I POPULLIT of 1 August] the Communiqué of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist), which appeared in NUOVA UNITA; the editorial appearing in ROTER MORGEN, central organ of the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist); the telegram from Ole Nielsen, president of the Danish-Albanian Friendship Association; a telegram from "friends of Albania from France and Belgium who are visiting Albania"; a telegram from Luis Borgez, secretary general of the Portuguese-Albanian Friendship Association; a telegram from the Federation of Black African Students in France; a telegram from a group of Swedish friends who are representatives of the Swedish-Albanian Friendship Association and "true friends of Albania". In ZERI I POPULLIT of 2 August, two-thirds of page 4 was devoted to the following: a telegram of support from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil; a letter from Robert Escarpit, French journalist and writer, university president and professor from Bordeaux; a letter from Erland Hofsten, deputy chairman of the Union of Writers and Artists in Sweden; a letter from a Tanzanian journalist sent to the Albanian Embassy in Dar es Salaam; a press statement issued by the Portuguese-Albanian Friendship Association.

ZERI I POPULLIT of 3 August publishes the following: a telegram from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist); signed by Raul Marco; a report on an article appearing in PROLETARIKI SIMEA, central organ of the Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist); a statement from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Workers and Peasants in Iran;

a telegram from the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist); a communique from the secretary general of the French-Albanian Friendship Association, Abraham Behar; a letter from French bricklayer, "Grandmugin"; a telegram from the president of the Mauritian-Albanian Friendship Association; a telegram from K.G.A., a friend of Albania in Ethiopia; a report from the Vietnamese News Agency, VNA. On 4 August, ZERI I POPULLIT publishes: a telegram from the Marxist-Leninist Communist Union in Denmark, written by Jan Mortensen; a statement of the delegation of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, which is visiting Albania; a letter from the foreign relations committee of the Communist Workers Union of Norway; a telegram from the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Organizational Committee (Marxist-Leninist) of Chicago; excerpts from an article published in the Turkish newspaper HALLKIN KURTULUSU YOLUNDA GENCLIK a telegram from the president of the Australian-Albanian Friendship Association; a telegram from the FRG-Albanian Friendship Association.

ZERI I POPULLIT of 5 August publishes on the front page a telegram from Haxhi Dervishi, vice president of the Skenderbeg Patriotic Association of Albanians in Argentina. Two-thirds of page 4 of the paper is devoted to the following: a report on an article published in BANDEIRA VERMELHA, the central organ of the Portuguese Communist Party (Restructured); a telegram from the second assembly of cadres preparing the first party congress of the Organization for the Restructuring of the Communist Party of France; a letter from Ove Astron, a friend of Albania in Sweden; a telegram from Hans Dieter Hunscher, a friend of Albania in the FRG; a telegram from the Dutch-Albanian Friendship Association; reports on articles in the Mexican newspaper EL NACIONAL and the Tanzania paper MFANYAKAZI.

The 6 August issue of ZERI I POPULLIT devotes the entire fourth page to foreign statements of support--a letter from the delegation of the Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist); a message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist); a telegram from PARTI BAYRAGI and HALLKIN KURTULUSU of Turkey; a statement from Ruy Gomez, first secretary of the Council of the Union of Revolutionary Communist Youth of Portugal, head of the delegation visiting Albania; a report on an article appearing the Canadian paper PEOPLE'S CANADA DAILY; a message to Enver Hoxha from French carpenter Jacques Delarue and a letter from Greek poet Yannis Manikas and his wife, Yota Manikas.

The next issue of ZERI I POPULLIT, 8 August, devotes only one-half of page 4 to international support--a report that NUOVA UNITA published the complete text of the Albanian response to the Chinese, with comment; a statement by the agitprop group of the German Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) from Hamburg visiting Albania; a letter from some students from the National University of Mexico; a telegram from "Vanderlinden", a friend of Albania in Belgium. Less space is given to such expressions in the 9 August issue of ZERI I POPULLIT with the publication of only three messages--a message from a group of Albanians living in Ankara, Turkey, a letter from some Albanians living in Bulgaria, and a letter from some Albanians living in Egypt.

In the 10 August issue of ZERI I POPULLIT, there is a report on an interview given by Eduardo Pirez, member of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party (Restructured), and a recent visitor to Albania, to BANDEIRA VERMELHA. Also, the paper published a telegram from the Marxist-Leninist Communist Youth of the Organization for the Restructuring of the Communist Party of France, a letter from the Italian-Albanian Friendship Association, a letter from the director of the review of the Italian-Albanian Friendship Association, Giuseppe Basile, a report on an article appearing in the Turkish paper GYNDEM, a letter from a Greek student, Manolis Manusakis, and a report on telegrams and letters from Albanian organizations in the US which have been received by the Albanian mission to the UN.

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ALBANIA

NORWEGIAN MAOIST PARTY LEADER DEFENDS BREAK WITH TIRANA

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 17 Jul 78 p 6

/Text/ Albania--the "beacon" for socialism in Europe--will no longer be allowed to burn in the hearts of the AKP /Workers' communist Party/ members. This is what Chairman Pal Steigan has decided after the Albanians allowed themselves the outrageousness of criticizing China. In an interview in KLASSEKAMPEN Steigan lashes out against the Albanian leaders and explains the breach. "The criticism against China's Communist Party is indirect criticism against AKP (m-1) for one thing," says Steigan, in his explanation.

The breach cannot have been easy. As far as we know, Chairman Steigan is still a member of the Norway-Albania Friendship Association. Thus, a breach is not always a breach, but neither is it easy to know what is to be done when "the Albanian people are a brave people." Too bad they have such poor leaders.

We have not heard anything about any counterrevolution in Albania. Since there has once been a revolution in the country, it is well known that it takes a counterrevolution for the country to change its character completely. But as in the Soviet Union in the difficult year 1956, it may have come quietly, as a thief in the night.

Apparently the breach is on the ideological level and was not unexpected. As early as 9 months ago, AKP sent letters to its friends in the Albanian Communist Party with "friendly critique." The Albanians have not replied to this critique.

On the other hand, the Albanians have not spared the powder in their critique of China. China's Communist Party is a class collaboration party, a defector, and a war agitator. This critique is also an indirect critique of AKP, according to Steigan.

"It is ludicrous in view of the role AKP (m-1) plays in strikes and actions in Norway," says the indignant Chairman Steigan.

"Many probably believe that the Albanians did not start to attack China before Hua Kuo-feng became chairman, but the attack was already planned while Mao was alive," continues a clearly well-informed Steigan. He adds that the Albanians have never accepted Mao as a classic Marxist-Leninist.

When Steigan was elected chairman in the working class' self-appointed vanguard, he was considered to be an exponent for some kind of Albania line. AKP has in all years nurtured good relations with Albania.

It may not be easy to take a position on the conflict between Vietnam and Cambodia either after the break with Albania. Albania supports Vietnam, while China stands on Cambodia's line. AKP participated, as is well known, actively in the solidarity work for the NLF in Vietnam in its time. It is certainly not easy to administer the only true faith.

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CSO: 3108

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV EXAMINES YOUTH UNION WEAKNESSES, FUTURE TASKS

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 20 Jul 78 pp 1-3

[Letter of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to Central Committee of Dimitrov Communist Youth Union: "Learning and Labor, Joy of Living and Daring"]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

I did not have an opportunity to respond at once to your request and give you my comments regarding the materials for the impending plenum of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union entitled "Tasks of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union and Youth for Fulfillment of the Decisions of the National Party Conference." Besides, the materials provided me the occasion and prompted me to express some thoughts and observations regarding urgent problems in the life, activity and role of youth and the Komsomol, and this likewise required time.

Permit me now to share these observations of mine with you.

First of all, I must make it a point to emphasize at the very beginning that we in the Bulgarian Communist Party and in the party and state leadership have no grounds for dissatisfaction with the overall situation in the development of our youth and with the work of the Komsomol. The ten years that have elapsed since the approval of the Theses of the BCP CC regarding work with youth and the Komsomol have conclusively shown that the Theses represent an effective program for the education and development of youth during the period of the building of a healthy socialist society. The ideas and concepts, the planks of the Theses, have filled with new content and enriched the life of youth and the work of the Komsomol. Speaking very generally, we had a good, tried and true program for working with youth, and this program is being implemented.

Perhaps some will wonder why, if this is so, is Comrade Todor Zhivkov reverting to these questions.

Why, indeed?

The Bulgarian Communist Party is a party with a great tradition in the creative application of Marxist-Leninist dialectic and with rich experience both in revolutionary struggles and in the building of socialism. It knows well that problems arise not only when matters are not going well in some sector, but also when they are going well, and especially when favorable development is characterized by great dynamism and is leading to rapid and profound changes. It is precisely such dynamism and such changes in all aspects of the country's life that have characterized the past 10 years. As Engels and Lenin put it, the obligation of the governing party is to discover emerging problems in good time, to find ways and means of solving them, and thus to give new perspective and scope for the unfolding of the masses' practical energies. And this is precisely how our party has acted: the past 10 years have been years of great ideas and historic decisions dictated by profound transformations and leading to new transformations, years of decisions and deeds, in which the special strength of socialism and of our April policy manifested itself in all its creative power.

Ten years ago we completed basically the quantitative, mainly extensive construction of the country's industrial base, we finished establishing the collective principle in agriculture, and we made sometimes one, sometimes another sector of the national economic complex the agenda of the day. Our strategic course now is a campaign for high efficiency and quality through reconstruction, modernization, concentration and specialization on the basis of the latest and most promising achievements of scientific and technical progress. The intensive factor determines the development both of production and of the entire system of public life. The goal is to improve the organization of labor and planning comprehensively, within the system of the economy as a whole. The practical world sharply and uncompromisingly raises the problem of increased responsibilities and the increased role of the subjective factor in realizing our vast (by our scale) economic potential.

In the past 10 years the processes in social relations have developed rapidly and moved far ahead. In the working class the nucleus of people with high educational training and skill increased rapidly. The introduction of industrial methods and techniques into agriculture and a new social organization (agroindustrial and industrial-agrarian complexes) led to substantial changes in the toil, way of life and mentality of agricultural workers. An increasingly greater proportion of socialist intellectuals are finding their vocation in material production. New relations were created between workers under socialism; the processes of overcoming the significant differences between town and country, between mental and physical labor, were stepped up. The socialist way of life was established as a new type and new forms of human practical activity. The socialist personality became the predominant type of personality in our country. The people's material and cultural level rose significantly.

When we talk about these characteristically socialist changes that affect the entire nation, we cannot help but see that they are manifested

especially tellingly among the youth. In the past 10 years a new generation of Bulgarian youth has grown up and been molded with its own social image and with a specific place and role in social life. Young people are 36.6 percent of the workers employed in industry and 19.8 percent of the laborers and farm workers employed in agriculture and forestry. And, what is especially important, they are the most highly educated portion of them. Young people with a higher, post-secondary and secondary special education are 52.4 percent of the country's specialists -- what a force in the nation's intellectual potential! There is today no longer any significant difference in the educational level of the young generation between either laboring and rural young people or between young men and young women. The young generation has high socialist consciousness; it is convinced of communist justice and of the rightness of party policy; it is widely informed about events and has the ability to assess them from class and party viewpoints. The young generation of today differs from previous generations physically, too: 15- and 16-year-old boys and girls as a rule are taller than their mothers and fathers.

In the past 10 years the party has regularly raised for consideration urgent problems in our development. It has done considerable theoretical work and adopted party documents that have enriched our visions of the ways, forms and means of socialist construction and has moved forward the development of society. For example:

-- The 10th Congress (1971) approved the Bulgarian Communist Party program which established the immediate historic purpose of the party -- the building of a mature socialist society and preparing the conditions for a gradual transition to communism;

-- The December plenum of the Central Committee (1972) adopted the social program which mapped out ways for the comprehensive and ever fuller satisfaction of the people's growing material and cultural needs;

-- The 11th Congress (1976) concretized and finished developing the party program, and substantiated and approved the strategic motto, "Efficiency and Quality;"

-- The July plenum of the Central Committee (1976) mapped out practical ways of implementing a strict regime of economy and high efficiency of the country's labor, material, financial and foreign-currency resources and created an atmosphere for merciless criticism and self-criticism of shortcomings and for the fullest utilization of the opportunities and advantages of socialism;

-- The recently held National Party Conference was devoted to the problem of improving the socialist organization of labor and the planned management of the national economy as a decisive factor for intensification of the economy and for high efficiency and high quality.

As you see, even a brief enumeration of the most basic party forums during the past decade reflects quite clearly the changes in the economy and in society, the problems that arose as a result of these changes, the solutions that the party offered for the emergent problems, and the unavoidable difficulties, the weaknesses and the shortcomings we have overcome -- in general, the objective logic of a pronounced upward development in the building of a mature socialist society.

In the light of the changes in the multifaceted life of the country and in the tasks we are performing now as party and people, youth problems and problems in Komsomol work emerge, too.

Bulgarian youth, together with all the people, has traveled a remarkable path of development. We are glad of every gain of ours along this path. But we are especially fortunate that it is our young generation, the tomorrow of the Bulgarian people, that is the element of the people in whom the characteristic features of socialist education are most clearly manifested and that it is they who call themselves the April generation and link their destiny and the destiny of Bulgaria with the destiny of the party's April policy.

The unquestionable achievements in the education of the young generation, however, must not prevent us from seeing the weaknesses and shortcomings, the unsolved old problems and the new ones that have arisen in youth work and Komsomol activity. Just the opposite.

For a time the Theses called upon us for frank talk, in which the party, the Komsomol and youth took part, and we made great progress. But this talk was not a one-time act; it isn't over. There are still negative phenomena in the life of individual groups of young people. The projected change in Komsomol work has still not been carried out completely.

In recent years the needs and interests of youth have grown. The demands they make on the Komsomol, the party, the family, the school have risen. Likewise the responsibilities of young people themselves for their training and education and for their participation in the country's sociopolitical and economic development have increased.

All this makes it imperative to resume frank talk about youth questions with new vigor.

What, in my opinion, are the new crucial and basic questions that are now coming to the fore in youth work and Komsomol activity?

Something New in the Approach to Young People in Komsomol Work

Our party has always had the right approach to young people and the Komsomol: confidence, respect, constant and proportionate concern for the development and manifestation of the strengths and capabilities of the young generations -- this is what has always been characteristic of the party's attitude towards youth. What are the new aspects with which our approach must now be enriched in order to meet present conditions and demands?

1. Higher criteria for the development of young people, for work with them and in Komsomol activity. The development of the country necessitates new and higher criteria in the evaluation of all our activities. Qualitative, rather than quantitative, indicators are becoming the yardstick. Ten years ago the party raised the question of expanding the opportunities for young people to make a contribution. The question that is taking on paramount importance now is the quality of this contribution (the quality of young people's development, the quality of Komsomol work in general) and high social effect from training and realization of the potential of the young generation.

No complacency, no self-satisfaction. What satisfied us yesterday is no longer enough today and will be backwardness tomorrow. The new criteria must represent demands for achievements that are higher both than ours and the world's. They must reflect the last word in science, technology and modern human culture. Quality indicators must be devised both for education and instruction, for vocational training, and for the results of youth and Komsomol work, i.e., quality indicators must be incorporated in the very organization of work with young people.

The new, higher criteria make higher demands not only on young people themselves, but also on trade unions, the Fatherland Front, all agencies, organizations and institutions, on all spheres of work with young people. Each of us individually and all of us together must understand concretely and exactly what new something has to be put into the content, into the very basis of our work, into the approach to the young generation. The main thing is to encourage and respond to young people's natural striving to move ever forward, higher and upward.

The new criteria and indicators apply to all stages of youth work. We must be guided by them in planning goals and tasks, in providing resources for these goals and tasks, in the very organization of the work, and in evaluating the work. A guide for action and simultaneously a yardstick for correctly assessing what is accomplished -- this is the purpose of the new, higher criteria.

The application of these criteria must result in creating an atmosphere of greater exactions and self-exactions in the Komsomol, among all young people and among the general public.

2. Comprehensive and full realization of potential -- this is what is new and, to a great extent, the main think in the approach to the young generation under present conditions. Any approach that is not focused on assuring the realization of the young generation's potential (and not just any realization of the young generation's potential either, but one that is complete and highly effective) must be rejected.

Training and realization of the young person's potential as a good laborer, farm worker, specialist -- this is the crossroads where the needs and interests of society must meet the needs and interests of youth, the efforts and concerns of the general public -- the efforts and aspirations of youth itself. The main thing, namely what is decisive in evaluating the work of the Komsomol and the work of the entire society with young people, and the correctness of their approach, should depend on the effectiveness and high quality of the processes of youth training and the realization of youth's potential. That is why this question has to be looked at in a new way and its significance evaluated with new yardsticks and gages.

3. Fuller and more comprehensive weighing and consideration of the specific character of youth's needs and interests. Our party has thus far made it a point to take into account and to satisfy the interests and needs of the young generation and this is one of the soundest bases for the success of our youth policy. But there are acute unsolved questions here that require new solutions in view of the new demands and criteria.

What are these questions?

-- The needs and interests of youth are not studied constantly and systematically either by the Komsomol or by the other agencies working with young people.

-- It is not a rare phenomenon for the present interests and needs of youth to be judged from the standpoint of one's recollections of youth long past or according to the conduct of one's own sons and daughters.

-- It is no secret that some leaders meet actual young people from holiday to holiday or are satisfied with talks with Komsomol leaders and activists.

-- There are also not a few cases of disregard of youth's interests or of a narrow approach to them.

-- The most acute problem is that there is no effectively operating social mechanism to let us know the needs and interests of young people and lead to decisions that will meet them promptly and comprehensively. In this regard the Komsomol is not adequately performing its role of young people's representative to the party and state.

Youth's needs and interests differ in dynamics and mobility. At this age, new needs and interests appear, as it were, out of nowhere and rapidly

take possession of all young people or significant strata of them. Qualitatively new demands and claims are formed which cannot always be adequately justified, but have their say in the life of young people. We must take all this into account. And we must not forget that the process of the formation of needs and interests is one of the main mechanisms for the education and development of modern youth's socialist personality. The breadth and coloring of the personality depend on the wealth and multifaceted character of needs and interests; their depth determines the mobilization and activism of the personality; the conformity of personal needs and interests with social needs and interests produces a happy human destiny and the progress of society, while the very realization of a person's potential is nothing other than the realization of his basic interests and needs.

The task now is to enrich the approach to youth on the basis of ever fuller consideration of the needs, interests and demands of the young generation:

- by studying these in all aspects, thoroughly and constantly;
- by improving the mechanism for putting them on the agenda of the party, state agencies, public organizations and, above all, the Komsomol;
- by reorganizing the entire educational work and focusing it on the formation and proper regulation thereof in fullest conformity with the needs and interests of our society as a whole.

4. Comprehensive approach to the formation of the young personality. The very task that our socialist society has set itself of creating a personality developed in many aspects explains the comprehensive character of the approach to this process.

We can, with a sense of responsibility, say that socialist Bulgaria has created and is strengthening more and more a young personality that is excellent in its qualities and virtues. Both as a party and as a people, we have been and will in future be ready for any sacrifice for the growth of a young generation of this kind, which will embody the ideal of revolutionaries as the image of the young person.

Our approach must be improved now. Educational work with the young generation as a whole must, in the future as well, be focused on the formation of a young socialist personality that will set high goals for itself, that will fight for their achievement with labor and science, a personality that is honest, bold, frank and strong, that takes joy in life, in good fortune, in being young. At the same time, within the limits of the comprehensive approach itself, we must take a differentiated attitude towards individual groups of young people, taking better account of differences in occupation, education, age, sex etc. The results of youth work depend considerably on this.

We must recall Engels' thought: "Whoever fears the thickets of the forest where the palace of ideas is located, who does not break a path through

them with the help of his sword and fails to wake the sleeping princess with a kiss is unworthy of her and her kingdom." Isn't it time, comrades, to amplify our motto, "Learning and Labor," and make it more precise in this sense? "Learning and Labor, Joy of Living and Daring" -- this is what we must strive to achieve in youth work, this is what youth itself must strive to achieve.

Life unquestionably sets other requirements as well for the approach to youth at the present-day stage.

The main thing is that the approach to work with the young generation must be so reorganized, enriched and improved as to meet the new, higher demands of our social development and the greater and more complex tasks that our party and our people are performing and will perform in the future.

Multifaceted and Effective Social Realization of Youth

1. I consider it necessary to dwell in more detail on the question of the realization of the young generation's potential. This is a basic problem in the work with young people, in their development and in their participation in our socioeconomic life. It is, if I may so put it, the crux of the basic problems of youth now.

Why?

First, because realization of potential means the unfolding of strengths and capacities, and the establishment and enrichment of essential social traits of young people under conditions of their training and their active participation in the socioeconomic development of the country.

Second, because at the present stage there is a critical objective need for a significant rise in the quality of human resources and of our national intellectual potential and for bringing these into line with the requirements of the building of socialism and of the scientific and technical revolution. This objective need corresponds to the natural aspiration of youth.

Third, because the conflict between the objective possibilities created in the economy and other spheres of our society and the present stage of the realization of young people's potential, as well as the content and goals of that realization, is becoming more and more acute. Actually, in recent years a great deal has been done. We have developed mass movements in educational institutions, in the Komsomol and in the barracks for technical and scientific creativity etc. However, the inertia, the narrow-mindedness and the limited conceptions that create a kind of disproportion between party planks and decisions and the real state of things are still far from being overcome.

-- Do we have grounds for believing that we are indeed up to present-day demands when formalism and slavish note-taking are rife in the educational system, when efforts are aimed primarily at mechanical memorization, when academic programs in some areas are unnecessarily overloaded and in others suffer from substantial gaps, when a clear idea of the very nature of political education is still lacking?

-- Don't we know that in a number of cases practical production activity is conducted lackadaisically and irresponsibly, that in this way we are building up in young people neither labor skills nor habits of organization, that we are doing moral damage to their consciousness?

-- Can we be satisfied when in some cases specialists are being trained for whom no work corresponding to their training and qualification can then be provided due to shortcomings and subjectivism in planning?

-- Are we providing everything possible so that young people will commit themselves as they should to the solution of the production and social problems of labor collectives?

-- Are we creating real needs and serious internal incentives within them to participate in mastering the scientific and technical revolution and in elevating the organization and discipline of production?

-- Do we realize that the social security that society offers the young person opens up varying opportunities to him -- for labor, but also for idleness, for an active social contribution, but also for a "gimme" attitude towards life?

-- Does parental concern always help to shape the right attitude towards labor and life?

What we tolerate today, what we put off till tomorrow to solve can become an incurable defect, a source of conflicts and tension, and can lead to perversion in the realization of youth's potential.

The necessary turning point is now. The social efforts and the organizational and political work of the Komsomol must be aimed at the new crucial problems of realization and at the quality and results of that realization. The realization of youth's potential must be brought into line with the great material and cultural opportunities built up during our social development.

2. What realization of potential is meant? What is the new thing and the main thing about it?

-- The new thing and the main thing is the creation of all the necessary conditions for the multifaceted realization of young people's potential -- labor realization, intellectual realization, sociopolitical realization, physical realization etc.

-- The new thing and the main thing is achieving not just any, but a highly efficient realization not only in young people's behavior, but also in achieved results.

Multifaceted and efficient realization of potential under present conditions is that realization which is in accord with the new demands and criteria, the injunction for high efficiency and high quality, and the functions that our society is performing. It must, to the maximum extent, take the following forms:

-- full mastery of the occupation, and achievement of a high degree of professionalism in all activities and areas in which the young person works;

-- active participation of youth in mastery and adoption of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and in the burgeoning of the scientific and technical creativity of youth;

-- direct contribution by youth to improvement of the socialist organization of labor, to the strengthening of labor discipline, to the formation of job know-how and skills, and to the next higher phase of our social development;

-- expansion of youth participation in the forms of social control and social administration.

3. We have entered upon a decisive period in the building of a developed socialist society. In recent years we have profoundly reorganized our entire national economic front. We are effecting a fundamentally new type of concentration and specialization of production on a nationwide scale; we are bringing about an echeloning of the production process. We have set ourselves the task of assuring the accelerated development of those areas in science and technology that account for the level of scientific and technical progress in the most developed countries, and of achieving the peaks at the present stage of the scientific and technical revolution.

Development of the basic areas of scientific and technical progress will improve the "man-production" system and intensify the role of man as the main subject of the production process, performing in the future mostly creative functions (programming, observation, monitoring, organization and control). The high degree of mechanization and automation will help change the ratio between mental and physical labor and imbue physical labor with intellectual content. Many more favorable conditions will be created for the development of socialist man's versatile capacities. Spare time will increase, and the importance of making full use of it will grow. All this will directly affect people's consciousness, their morality and culture.

The task of tasks in our further socioeconomic development now is to make a change in the establishment of the socialist organization of labor at

all levels of the economy and in all spheres and activities. High socialist organization of labor must be achieved comprehensively -- as a dialectical unity of the three elements of the labor process: purposeful activity of man, subjects of labor, and means of labor. The task is to mobilize all potential reserves in the struggle for the most rational utilization of live labor and productive capital in order to save resources and materials.

Improvement of the socialist organization of labor and conquest of the peaks of the modern scientific and technical revolution involving electronization, chemization, biologization etc., the development of lasers and other strategic achievements of science and technology will enable us to perform successfully the strategic task of high efficiency and high quality in everything everywhere.

What requirements does all this set for the realization of the young generation's potential at the present stage?

In the first place, a new view of this question is necessary that will correspond to the task of the multifaceted and highly efficient realization of youth's potential.

-- The proposition of educational influence through labor needs radical change. The significance of labor education is growing constantly. It is necessary, however, to overcome decisively the prevailing erroneous conviction that labor in and of itself educates. A young person is not educated solely by being present in school or at the workplace, or solely by his participation in the technological process, no matter how modern this process may be. He grows as a socialist worker, and his socialist attitude towards labor, his striving for high-quality and efficient labor are strengthened, not only in labor, but also in the social relationships of the labor collective (worker, pupil, student etc.). It is precisely this aspect of the question that is now assuming paramount importance.

-- The present thesis of the quality of labor needs radical change. In the era of the scientific and technical revolution it is truly an anachronism to make general appeals for industriousness without regard for the quality of labor and its social effect. The more complex production becomes and the more the intellectual components of labor grow, the greater the significance of labor's content and of man's job know-how becomes. This holds true not only for industry and agriculture, but also for services, science and education.

-- The thesis of the qualities that the labor process requires needs radical change. Modern production is not possible without such qualities of labor as diligence and accuracy, operational efficiency and a businesslike attitude, preciseness and creative imagination. Young people themselves strive for them, and to a certain degree possess them. Their feats of labor show this. Our task is to strengthen these characteristics and to create conditions for their development and application.

-- In the process of the realization of youth's potential, the most suitable forms and mechanisms must be found in order to make full use of their capacity to respond rapidly to the new and to master and create it. And this is quite natural when we are striving for new levels of production and for application of the latest achievements of science and technology. In the development of our economy the decisive factor is coming to be no longer speed, but acceleration of the unfolding of scientific and technical progress. Youth activism finds wide expression in the largest-scale building projects of every five-year plan (hydroengineering complexes, plants, combines). Youth's place now, however, must be determined in a different way. The main center of young people's creativity must come to be the forefront of science and technology, the mastery and adoption of world scientific, technical and organizational achievements, and the strengthening of the socialist organization of labor.

The realization of youth's potential is not one-way and univalent. It is a complex, contradictory process. Account must be carefully taken of all the objective and subjective obstacles, all the difficulties that inevitably arise in its path. Let me use a few examples.

-- Developed socialism is inconceivable without the unfolding of the scientific and technical revolution. But are we forgetting that we must train young people to take part not in the concluding phase of the scientific and technical revolution, but in a number of its antecedent stages? We have modern industrial production, but we also have primitive production with a great deal of noise, filth, heavy physical labor, poor organization. We must see these things in their entire depth; we must draw the social, political, organizational and ideological conclusions that flow from this, and we must train young people for versatile realization of their potential in labor.

And what is most important, we must make use of their participation everywhere to raise the technical, technological and organizational level of production.

-- At the present stage of our development, the incentives made necessary by labor as a vital necessity are of decisive significance. There is nothing bad about striving for higher pay. Pay in accordance with one's labor is social recognition of a person's exertions, a yardstick of the degree of application of his physical and intellectual powers. What is bad is that there are not a few cases where the basic principle of remuneration under socialism (from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor) is violated.

At the same time, without underestimating financial incentives we must think seriously about sharply raising the significance of moral incentives for labor and the overall conduct of the socialist person, especially of the rising generations. The young person must be personally convinced that his position, his prestige and the prospects of his development

depend on his labor, his participation in and his contribution to social life, and not on something else. All barriers in the way of the realization of young people's potential must be carefully, and at the same time resolutely, removed. All conditions must be created for young people to prove themselves in noble competition with the romanticism and vitality characteristic of youth, in keeping with the basic principles of our socialist society.

In the second place, new organizational practices of the young generation must be established.

It would be profoundly erroneous to transfer the principles formulated at the National Party Conference mechanically to the Komsomol and to young people. Now more than ever a creative attitude towards these problems is needed; specific tasks, forms and mechanisms must be found for young people and the Komsomol to participate in the nationwide campaign for high socialist organization of labor.

-- What do I mean when I speak of the necessity of establishing new organizational practices of the young generation?

-- I mean forming in every young man and every young woman an internal sense of organization as an inseparable part of their general culture, which will become a vital necessity for them.

-- I mean that we must radically change our attitude towards time, both socially and personally. By reason of a number of historical circumstances our people have not so far succeeded in thoroughly developing one of the necessary qualities of the modern labor culture -- the organization of time, the effective utilization of every day and hour. The high efficiency for which we are striving means time-saving. As Marx points out, in final analysis every saving is a saving of time.

-- I mean creating in young people the need for purposeful planning of personal efforts, for skillful tying-in of everyday routine with long-term goals, for concentration of efforts on the decisive sector, for showing high discipline. The point is that everyone should know how to organize his own thoughts, efforts and actions so as not to fritter away either the opportunities that our socialist society affords him or the talents and capacities with which nature has endowed him.

The inculcation of a businesslike attitude and operational efficiency, the inculcation of a sense of organization -- this is what must now imbue the movement for the scientific and technical creative activity of young people, as well as the initiatives taken by young people for the mastery of progressive experience, and the very worthy tutorial movement.

In the third place, we must realize that questions regarding the realization of young people's potential in life and regarding the growing role

and responsibility of the Komsomol cannot be solved completely and logically without the educational system.

Experience shows that in this sphere, too, radical changes are needed.

Our gains in the sphere of education are beyond question. We have created a socialist educational system in which hundreds of thousands of highly qualified personnel have been trained for the national economy and other spheres of social life. But, at the same time, we have substantial reason to believe that the educational system is lagging behind requirements at this stage. Moreover, in recent years the discrepancy between the level achieved in the development of the economy and young people's social attitudes and training for life has become intensified and exacerbated.

Why has this happened? Because the educational system cannot continue to develop in the old traditional way. For several reasons:

-- The socioeconomic functions of education are changing; along with science and with the organization of labor, it is becoming one of the fundamental factors of dynamic economic and cultural growth;

-- The social demands made on education are changing; it has to train the rising generations for labor and creative activity in a constantly changing world;

-- The purposes of training people through education are changing; the mastery of skills is subordinated to the task of developing creative capacities and of acquiring vocational training;

-- The methods of instruction are changing; the goal is becoming decisive; education should provide not just skills, but informational and vocational standards which will enable the individual to respond promptly to all changes and requirements in the process of his active labor career.

The task now is to go all out in implementing the basic concept of our educational policy, namely, that every young person should acquire certain scientific knowledge, general culture and ideological and political outlook, certain production and technical skills, readiness for effective, socially useful labor, and the capacity for creativity.

This thesis requires :

-- that every young person must be developed to be an ideologically highly knowledgeable and politically educated and inculcated citizen and, at the same time, vocationally trained for a definite sphere in which to apply his skills;

-- that we must guard against all kinds of primitivism in the realization of this goal because we cannot set any other goal for our educational

system except the ideal of socialist society -- the versatily developed personality.

Adoption of this approach will make it possible to solve the questions of polytechnical education and to get away from a limited notion of polytechnical education. Polytechnical education does not assume that the realization of young people's potential in production just about has to begin as early as kindergarten or primary school. We are not repudiating the task of vocational training. To the contrary. It is precisely on behalf of this task that we must now improve the educational system further and make possible the growth of young people with solid general-educational, ideological, cultural and vocational training.

That is why the structure of the educational system must be changed.

First, training of the young generation must be regarded as a continuous process beginning as early as kindergarten and preschool institutions.

We have had huge success in our quantitative coverage of children. But have we solved well enough the question of the content of the work with them? The task of kindergarten continues to be not only to develop the necessary physical characteristics in children, but to give them specified knowledge about the life and nature around them, to develop their powers of observation and their curiosity, and to prepare them for systematic academic work.

Second, it is advisable to begin the organized process of school instruction at the age of six years, demarcating a relatively independent stage of training that will continue for 10 years. The period from 0 to 16 years of age is what we might call the first block of the new polytechnical school.

During this period the foundations for the versatile development of children and adolescents must be laid. Any professionalization here will be premature and will divert pupils from the immediate task of assuring development of the young person's talents and qualities. Academic activity and extracurricular exercises must guarantee wide educational, ideological, political, cultural, physical etc. training.

Third, a second block in the educational process must be demarcated when vocational guidance takes place. Pupils will be guided towards occupations with a broad polytechnical specialty which will make possible mobility and versatile qualification. The broadening of fundamental and general cultural training during this period will involve both mastery of solid knowledge in various fields of science, intensification of polytechnical, moral and esthetic education, and also student participation in the sphere of material production, services, scientific and technical creativity etc.

Fourth, the training of students will be completed in the next (third) block. There, depending on the character of the activity in question, direct realization of labor potential will take place in production, in plants, in agroindustrial complexes, in the servicing sphere etc. By this time the main thing here is concrete specialization, the education of the student to be a specialist in a given field.

Organized in this manner, education will enable the young person, upon entering his vocational field, to be in a position to do his job in a qualified manner.

An analogous thesis must also be offered for higher education where the problem of realization of potential is no less important or urgent. Obviously, the proposed approach can find a place here, too.

-- The first block should provide fundamental general theoretical training. It is known that this function is not performed satisfactorily now.

-- The second block should guide the future specialist towards a broad-category profession with the possibility of mobility and versatile realization of potential. That is why substantial changes must be made in the list of specialties in our country.

-- The third block should provide specialized training in the actual production process or science and educate the young university student to be a specialist in the field in question.

-- Along with structural changes, thoroughgoing changes must be made in the content and organization of the academic process. Its center of gravity must be shifted away from the memorization of knowledge to the formation of independent, critically creative thinking. Now is the time for us to rid the academic process of information ballast and cease to offer knowledge that becomes obsolete or vanishes from the consciousness before the young person has completed his education.

-- It is time to understand that the academic process of the secondary-school pupil and student, its organization and its results are a historically necessitated variety of social labor. Labor and learning must not be pitted against each other. The young person labors when he learns, and learns when he labors.

In the fourth place, the question of the vocational guidance of young people must be formulated in a new way, as an exceptionally important factor in the realization of their potential.

The time in which we live offers us a new dynamics in the development of occupations. The Theses of the National Party Conference have emphasized the necessity of combining several vocations rather than mastering one. But everything in this area still boils down to giving advice. A substantial scientific foundation and well-grounded program are lacking.

Above all, a new formulation of the question of the criteria for vocational guidance is needed. At present, consideration is given mostly to the individual's frame of mind and desires. This is important, of course. However, it must not be forgotten that the choice of a vocation with agreement of individual and social interests and the urge of young people to master a certain vocation must be squared with the objective needs of society itself.

Or let us take another important question of the realization of potential. At present the scientific literature and propaganda in our country, as well as practice and the current principles of personnel promotion constantly emphasize so-called vertical vocational and official mobility as the sole criterion of the full potential realization and social development of the individual. But can't a person have moral satisfaction, a sense of worth, and social prestige even when he works at the selfsame place and does not move up the hierarchical official ladder? However, we have to change both the formulation of this question and public opinion. We must provide effective moral and material incentives for such social development.

The choice of vocation is a choice of social position, one's walk of life, and the social environment for the multifaceted realization of one's potential. Appropriate mechanisms are needed in order for it to be decided in conformity with the present and future needs of the individual and society.

Can we reduce the versatile realization of young people's potential to instruction alone, to the choice of vocation and vocational training alone? By no means! It also depends directly on the forms, ways and means by which young people are enlisted and participate immediately in active social life.

All this obliges us to remove all barriers, both objective and subjective, in this area and to create an effective social system to stimulate and strengthen youth's participation in national labor. All aspects of this process must be taken into consideration -- the planning of workplaces, procedure for getting a job, prospects offered to a young person in the vocation, the financial support that he gets when he begins his work, when he creates a family, the working and living conditions that are offered to young specialists, questions regarding the ways and forms of realizing the potential of the different strata of young people, of young women and young men. Nobody will forgive us if, due to errors and oversights, we squander with a free hand what we have created with so much effort and labor and if we fail to provide full scope for manifestation of the skills, abilities and qualities of the young generations.

Consequently, the intervention of all involved public and state agencies is urgent, the support of economic leaders is needed, and an active stance of the Komsomol is necessary if we are to solve comprehensively and completely the problems in the realization of potential -- both as training and as participation of young people in national labor.

Solving the questions in the realization of potential, and putting them on a new social basis means opening up wide scope for the unfolding of youth's social creativity. Young people's participation in the building of socialism has never been purely economic; it has always had a wider social character and has led to significant social results. Let us recall the first youth brigades, the young people who drove through Khainboas, who established new social attitudes. With their picks and shovels they did pioneer work in creating a socialist attitude towards labor and a socialist attitude towards man. Therefore, work with youth cannot be subordinated solely to economic considerations; it cannot be approached technocratically. The profound purpose of the realization of youth's potential is the establishment of the young individual in labor as a full-fledged toiler of socialism and as a representative of a new type of social attitudes.

Some Problems in Strengthening and Improving the Socialist Way of Life among Young People

I note with satisfaction that the socialist way of life has struck root among our youth, who for their part actively participate in its further development and improvement and find therein scope for proving themselves and for social creativity. While affirming this, I want very briefly to direct your attention to a few urgent problems.

First, young people's physical living conditions.

The 11th Party Congress raised critically the question of youth houses and clubs, sports centers -- in general, opportunities for young people to gather together, to socialize, enjoy themselves and engage in sports. Something has been done in this regard, but it will soon be three years since then, and I am not aware that anybody has drawn up a balance sheet of what has been achieved, what hasn't been, and why it hasn't.

There was talk, for example, that some plant and institutional canteens should be made available to young people in the evenings. It seems to me that there is no city, district or settlement where the premises of canteens, and still less restaurants, have not been used at least once for such purpose. You will say: They aren't given to young people, Comrade Zhivkov! That is certainly so. But tell me: Are there cases where a Komsomol society has asked, been refused, and the question raised with the party committee? Have the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union okrug committees applied to the party okrug committees? Has the Komsomol Central Committee asked for support from the Party Central Committee?

The building of youth houses and clubs involves planning, the earmarking of funds and materials, and construction organizations. Here we must take into consideration the country's capabilities. Nobody can exceed his own stature. Despite the difficulties, however, what has been done since the

11th Congress for young people's recreation and diversions has been done precisely along this line. What is the outcome? The outcome is that it is easier for us to solve hard problems than easy ones. It turns out that young people and the Komsomol leadership don't display persistence and firmness -- and that after the 11th Party Congress had given them a green light!

A real campaign must be organized now to solve the problems of utilizing increased leisure time to its full value. I think it is realistic to set the goal of creating youth clubs and providing a sports center for mass use in all settlement microregions.

In this connection I want to touch upon the problem of housing for young families. You understand that this problem is part of the overall housing problem. Even a blind man can see the construction that has been done in our country since 9 September, since the April plenum, and especially during the past 10 years or so. All Bulgaria is new. It is new and not renovated because there was almost nothing to be renovated. We had to tear down and start from the excavations and foundations. The problem was aggravated also by the migration processes caused by the rapid development of industry and the saturation of agriculture with machinery. You see how our cities have grown -- two-, three-, fivefold! If the reorganization of our economy had proceeded along the capitalist path, former urban centers would now be closed in by shacks, sheds, shantivilles. The socialist regime solved the housing question in the interest of the laboring people and if there are poor buildings here and there in our country, they are structures in old urban districts not yet cleared for new construction.

Why am I saying all this? To appeal for the patience of those who do not have individual housing -- young families? Of course, not. You know that there are decisions granting preferential housing to young families. Unfortunately, for various reasons they are not being implemented. The Committee for State and People's Control must check where and why there are not being implemented and take the necessary measures.

But obviously, comrades, the way out of the housing crisis is to expand housing construction on a statewide scale. The task is not easy, but we have taken it upon ourselves and are performing it. As regards housing for young families especially, perhaps the Komsomol and young people should help the people's councils and construction organizations. How? To begin with, by volunteer youth labor. Building houses for young families by young people themselves is not only a contribution to the solution of the housing problem, it is a striking demonstration of comradely mutual assistance and strong union and friendship for every youth collective. I would suggest to the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union that it concern itself with this question, take counsel with appropriate competent authorities and raise it for wider discussion; and that after it has studied the possibilities locally, it adopt a concrete program, a realistic program, provided with funds and materials and coordinated with

the people's councils. I am convinced that young people will support such an initiative. All the more so if it is not a crash mission or a one-shot act, but an actual program worked out for years ahead, and if in solving the housing question of the young families of tomorrow, account is taken of their participation.

Second, the status and development of the socialist family.

The great role which the Bulgarian family has always played in shaping the young person's character compels us to turn serious attention to some negative phenomena observed in recent years.

Before 9 September 1944 the family in our country was the basic production unit; concern for its existence was the concern of all family members. The education of children in labor activity took place quite naturally in the midst of the family itself. In the course of socialist reorganization, significant changes in the family's social role ensued. The emphasis now falls no longer on the performance of joint economic activity, but on the formation of the young person's spiritual and moral character.

We must emphasize that the modern Bulgarian socialist family is fundamentally equal to its responsibilities to the young generation. At the same time, we cannot help seeing that deep parental love and concern for children under modern conditions not infrequently becomes a negative factor in the latter's upbringing.

The present-day Bulgarian family does not need child labor in order to exist. Every person needs to work, however, and must be brought up to love work and build up work habits from his earliest years.

Today parents do not agonize about bread and clothing for their child, about educating him, about physicians and medicines etc. Freed of these concerns and remembering still their own difficult childhood years, many fathers and mothers strive to save their children any exertion whatsoever; they indulge their every desire and whim, and they themselves build up in them unwholesome needs and inspire morbid ambitions in them. Nor is the opposite phenomenon uncommon: ambitious parents keep their children under tutelage and prevent them from growing up to be individuals capable of making evaluations and decisions independently. Some "modern" conceptions convert education from a means of development into the terminal point, rather than the initial point of a young person's social contribution. And what is still less acceptable, they look on education as a means of avoiding labor or, at least, of not working in factories or in the field.

Here I want to touch also on the question of the preparation young people should receive for married life. The number of divorces is growing alarmingly. The data show that 25 percent of the marriages that take place break up in the very first year. What does this indicate -- intolerable flippancy or a very great discrepancy between expectations and reality? Most likely both. And in both cases there is something to think about. Questions of

the sex standards and sex education of the young generations continue to be almost suppressed by public opinion. Ignorance in this area often exposes the physical and moral health of young people to excessive risk. Obviously it is imperative to set up a comprehensive system of sex, family and marriage education for the rising generations.

Third, a few crucial questions about the formation of the young socialist personality.

The growth of our society's material assets creates realistic conditions for the harmonious development of the personality. But this doesn't happen by itself. On the basis of material security, undesirable phenomena can show up in a socialist society, too. It is not bad, for example, for a young person to strive to own a tape recorder, a color TV or an automobile. What is bad is when the possession of things becomes a goal in itself, the motive for feeling good, the reason for living. What is bad is a consumer's attitude, a "gimme" attitude towards the world and a reduction of interests and needs to the accumulation of material assets. This impoverishes and cripples the young person.

Growing material resources put the young personality to the test in another respect. I refer to the lack of taste that often occurs in the lives of some young people. The chief blame here is not that of the young people, but of our society which, on the one hand, still permits the production of merchandise and consumer goods that are not up to the level of elementary esthetic requirements and, on the other hand, do not do the necessary work of instilling high esthetic taste in young people.

A similar phenomenon is observed in the field of music as well. Quite a few young people listen to foreign radio stations because of their musical broadcasts. Let us leave aside the question of the ideological, political and moral influence that these radio stations exert apart from the music. Let us take the "purely" esthetic aspect of the question. Obviously, young people listen to these stations because they like the music and can't hear it on Bulgarian radio broadcasts. What does this signify? It may signify that Bulgarian radio does not adequately meet the needs of young people for good modern music and it should draw the appropriate conclusion. But it may mean something else. It may mean that some young people are under the influence of decadent bourgeois vogues and in such event cannot ask to have such taste and "needs" satisfied because that would run counter not only to the interests and needs of the majority of young people, but also to radio's educational functions and tasks.

We happened to ask the responsible comrades involved why, for example, they permit banal foreign-import or Bulgarian-made popular songs on radio and television or why they produce antiesthetic "kitsch" and the answer we got was, "Young folks like them, young folks demand them!" What young folks, if you please. They had received 10, 20, 100 request letters and already

they generalize: "This is the will of Bulgarian young people!" Such "justifications" for the production of esthetic and spiritual trash must no longer be accepted. The responsible comrades concerned must answer for the ideological and esthetic quality of production, especially when this production, the product of their material and spiritual activity, is intended for young people!

The esthetic education of the young generation is of tremendous importance for producing a young personality of full worth. Communing with great art must become an internal need of every young person, a characteristic trait of the socialist young person. The Komsomol, the unions of creative artists and the agencies and centers of culture must take the fullest advantage of youth's natural attraction to beauty and turn it into a lifetime alliance.

Fourth, frank dialogue with young people.

Our rising generation possesses traits which can be rather "inconvenient" sometimes and for some people, but which are exceptionally important for our development and for the country's future: an acute flair for the moral aspect of human interrelationships, respect for moral values, heightened impatience with social ills, with "underjustice" and everything that disfigures our social life. I want especially to emphasize the sensitivity of youth to instances of discrepancy between ideology and social practice.

These qualities are not always manifested in appropriate form; they are often accompanied by sharp outbursts and strained generalizations. This must not prevent us, however, from seeing the main thing. And the main thing is that these are our young people, educated by us in honesty and frankness, in implacability towards deviations from communist ideals. That is why we must strive for frank dialogue with youth everywhere and on all questions, and why we must create conditions for an all-out and effective intervention of the young generation in solving the great and small problems of our social development, in order for us to attack what is obsolete and dead, wrestle with red tape and formalism, apathy and irresponsibility.

Frank dialogue is necessary for the proper education of young people. Only thus will they grow up alien to the hypocrisy and idealization of our complex reality and insusceptible to the whitewashing of weaknesses, but also not inclined to exaggerate them or regard them as absolutes, and capable of viewing them realistically and overcoming them successfully, as well as mastering the ability to discover and solve unsolved problems.

Carrying Out Completely the Change in Komsomol Activity; Raising Party and State Work on Youth Questions to a New Level

In the Theses on work with youth and the Komsomol, the Central Committee of the Party pointed out, along with the successes, a number of weaknesses and unsolved problems in the development of the youth union and in the work of

party and government agencies with young people. The ideas incorporated therein and the decisions made on the basis thereof have created objective conditions for overcoming existing shortcomings to a great extent. What is most important is that Komsomol work should be enriched with new resources and activities such as the fine movement for the scientific and technical creativity of young people, for example, and that the role of the Komsomol within the whole system of social life should be elevated.

Actually, Komsomol work has been enriched, but this has been done in breadth rather than in depth. Qualitatively, it continues to suffer from important weaknesses and shortcomings. The main reason for this is that the Komsomol still has not succeeded to a sufficient degree in becoming a genuine and vigorous interpreter of the needs and interests of youth, a center for their formation and satisfaction, a center where the most important and vital problems and questions of youth as a whole, as well as individual youth strata and groups and every Komsomol member, boy and girl, are discussed and decided or presented for discussion and decision; nor has it succeeded in becoming an organization that works most actively for the communist education and the overall building of the young socialist personality, and that supervises and directs the participation of youth in building mature socialism.

That is why there is still no change in the attitude of the Komsomol member towards his society; that is why the activity of many societies and organizations is actually abstract activity, which either does not touch or only grazes the emotions, aspirations and difficulties of youth and the young personality. That is why in many respects Komsomol activity remains colorless and lackadaisical, has less influence than it should among young people who are not members of the Komsomol and even among some Dimitrov Communist Youth Union members, and has little public prestige. Many societies and organizations still lead an anemic life and there are not a few Komsomol committees that have become dispatcher stations for active members and are out of touch with the actual life of young people. Komsomol activity in training young people for labor and life, in mastering Marxist-Leninist ideology, in combating negative behavior and phenomena among young people etc. is inadequate and superficial.

These shortcomings are becoming urgent problems whose solution brooks no postponement. Komsomol activity must be reorganized completely, and party and state youth work must be raised to a new level.

What questions do I have in mind and what directions are to be taken for their solution?

1. Our society has its own plans, forms and means for the vocational and social training of the young generations and for their enlistment in social work. What is lacking? What is lacking is a uniting link by means of which to connect into one whole the tasks, responsibilities and efforts of all departments, agencies and organizations working with youth.

Considering the character of youth work, perhaps it will be advisable to create a party-state commission, headed by the secretary of the Party Central Committee, on which all agencies and organizations working with youth will be represented. The commission should see to harmonization and coordination in the solution of youth questions. In its work a fundamental role must be played by the Komsomol.

In the light of the requirements of the 11th Congress, the July plenum and the National Party Conference, and of the needs that stem from the party's strategic course of high efficiency and quality, a comprehensive program must be formulated for the basic goals, tasks and directions to be taken in youth work in the sectors of material production and the whole of social life. It must provide the necessary means and resources and allot responsibilities and forms for the harmonization and coordination of the activities of various agencies and organizations.

This program must be constructed in conformity with the party's new planning requirements and must be an inseparable part of the yearly and five-year plans. It must be drawn up, at the same time, on scientifically grounded forecasts of the development of the national economic complex and its subdivisions and on the initiative of labor collectives, of Komsomol organizations and societies, and of young people themselves.

Throughout the creation, application and implementation of this program, the Komsomol must be the general plenipotentiary simultaneously of party and youth that has the right actively to influence its content, see to updating it, exercise social control over its fulfillment, and itself perform a significant portion of the targeted tasks.

It is right that this program should be legally regularized. The moment is ripe for drafting and adopting a Youth Law which will reflect the achieved gains of our youth and our party and state youth policy and which will outline the opportunities, prospects and responsibilities of the young generation and of the various factors in the creation and fulfillment of the entire youth work program. It is precisely here, I think, that the Komsomol must make fullest use of the constitutional right of legislative initiative granted to it, by organizing widescale studies and discussions among all young people and the general public, by generalizing Bulgarian and foreign experience, and by introducing the bill in question into the National Assembly.

2. The discrepancy or disproportion between the agenda in the life of young people and the agenda in the activity of Komsomol societies and organizations is a problem that requires urgent solution. What do we observe in Komsomol practice?

-- The Komsomol shows an inability to explain the great tasks and problems which the party and people are solving, to concretize them creatively in the

specifics of the young generation, to connect the great problems with the young generation's special characteristics, or to raise them as real, living problems of young people themselves and of their own development. Making a mechanical carryover under the slogan, "This applies to youth, too," does not make it possible to discover real ways, forms and means for youth to participate in the process of solving them. That is why Komsomol decisions and measures often sound like something very general and extraneous to the young personality, like something that doesn't vitally concern it, and there are organizations and societies that don't get them at all.

-- It is not a rare phenomenon for these problems to be raised timidly, shyly, without boldness or sweep, without the sharpness with which they exist in real life. Oftentimes such questions are raised and discussed with bland and suave expressions. The illusory mentality is created that due to society's great concern for young people, they face no serious problems and have no hard tasks, that no serious and constant efforts or mobilization of the personality are demanded of them. No passion or noble ambition can be aroused, no mind or heart set aflame unless the tasks set for youth are of a realistic large scale, unless it is clear that what is at issue is the solution of major problems and innovation in our history, demanding of young people the concentration of their entire strength and might; that what is at issue are great deeds which will be crowned with the recognition and respect of the people and the party.

-- Problems, conflicts and difficulties arise in the life of young people that are not sufficiently discussed in the Komsomol. No specific decisions are made about them; they are not brought up actively and urgently for decision by party and state agencies and organizations.

What should be changed?

In the first place, the approach itself to the drawing up of the agenda for Komsomol work should be decisively improved. Realistic problems and questions of the young personality and the whole body of youth must constitute and dominate the agenda; what is most timely and most important -- the today and tomorrow of youth -- must be discussed and decided. Every Komsomol leadership must continuously ask itself the question, "What is most important in the life of young people and what disturbs them most intensely?", must answer it truly and accurately, and only then plan and organize its activity.

In the second place, the very style in which youth questions are discussed and decided in Komsomol organizations and societies must be improved. In the formulation of questions there must be frankness, straightforwardness, clarity and a realistic scale; in decision there must be a businesslike attitude and specificity, a precise determination of what will be done, who will do it and when; in execution there must be persistent work and effort, mobilization of forces, constant search for the assistance of party agencies and organization, completion of the job.

In the third place, the role of the political approach in all Komsomol work must be elevated. The Komsomol has no other interests except the interests of young people; the Komsomol works and creates for youth, for their inculcation with communism, for the worthy realization of their potential in the life of society. Young people, every young man and woman, must realize and feel this in their heart of hearts. That is why the center of Komsomol activity must be constant ideological-political and organizational work among young people in their everyday life and socialization, support of young people's initiatives and activities, and implacable reaction to negative phenomena and behavior. A scientific, effective political approach to youth is one which takes into account the development of every young man and woman and of the dynamics and mobility of their needs and interests; one which makes personal problems a concern of the Komsomol and the party, and the whole country a personal problem of every young person.

3. The discrepancy between rights and duties; democracy and discipline in the Komsomol. At the 11th Congress the party raised with great sharpness the question of the rights and duties of the socialist citizen. This was dictated by the very development of society, by the unfolding of socialist democracy, and by the rise of the responsibilities of the subjective factor. This question must be taken up once more in the Komsomol. The policy of the expansion of the rights of the Komsomol and of the Komsomol member is a correct policy and will be developed and enriched in the overall life of the youth union. In keeping with the trends in the development of society, new impetus must be given to the expansion of intraunion democracy.

The main thing here is to overcome and eradicate formalism during report and election campaigns in the Komsomol. In most societies and organizations no honest and frank report is made on what has been done and elections take place in an atmosphere of unconcern on the part of many young people. Unfortunately, uncalled-for acts of many Komsomol leaderships, as well as of some party and administrative leaders, create the impression in some societies that everything is decided in advance and is out of the power of the Komsomol members themselves. At the same time, many Komsomol members crudely and provocatively violate their duties and responsibilities to the Komsomol.

Several questions have to be solved significantly better.

In the first place, a democratic spirit must be developed and intensified in the Komsomol at all levels; Komsomol leaders must be freely nominated and discussed. The party has only one requirement: to elect to Komsomol leadership the most capable persons with the most to contribute to labor and learning and to social activity. There is no place in youth work for anyone who does not understand that Komsomol elections are not conducted "from the top down" but "from the bottom up" and that the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union is an organization of young people themselves.

In the second place, discipline in the Komsomol must be brought up to the mark. An atmosphere of stringency and self-stringency, of control and self-control must be created.

In the third place, the personnel policy must be decisively improved. It is time to do away with the erroneous notion that to be elected to a leading position in the Komsomol, it is enough for you to be a good organizer, that you don't have to be among the strongest in labor and learning. Such a notion opens the way for the elevation of unsuitable and mediocre people in the Komsomol, and hence to careerism is but a single step.

It must be an unshakable law in communist democracy to have on the electoral list people who are the best in labor and learning, who have high ideological and political training. Forms and methods must be found to increase the proportion of specialists on the regular staff of the Komsomol. The most outstanding representatives of youth, the first names of worker and rural youth, the most esteemed figures among the young scientific and creative intellectuals must be drawn into the work because they are the people who, by their example and experience and by their competence, can lead young people best and most naturally.

In the fourth place, a radical change must be made in the use of scientific methods in Komsomol work and in the scientific servicing of youth work. At present in the activity of Komsomol leaders there is apparently no real endeavor or ability to employ modern scientific methods and achievements; there is apparently no scientific base of data, facts, information, conceptions, theoretical and applied research on which to found well-grounded decisions.

-- Systematic scientific research work is needed to study the social-democratic characteristics of young people, of the public opinion of youth, of the problems involving the training, and realization of the potential, of the young generation, involving Komsomol organizational life and the techniques of Komsomol leadership.

-- A wide path must be given to scientific literature studying the problems of youth and the questions of youth work. It will be worthwhile for the "Narodna Mladezh" [People's Youth] Publishing House to set up a special series for this purpose.

-- It is time for the subject of youth to become part of the plans of the scientific research institutes of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and of the higher educational institutions as a problem of great scientific and socially practical significance.

-- There must be a decision on the question of establishing, on the basis of the present youth center, a Youth Scientific Research Institute with the

mission of studying processes and problems in the development of the young generation, of formulating forecasts and conceptions, of making suggestions for the introduction of scientific methods in Komsomol work etc.

4. Higher effectiveness of the Komsomol's ideological work. The party and the people have every reason to be proud of the ideological and political character of our youth. The ideological work of the Komsomol has a great share in this gain. But in this area too, the new situation and the new requirements have their say, and neither the weaknesses nor the shortcomings indicated in the Theses have yet been finally overcome.

I think that for the further development of ideological work and a rise in its successfulness it will be useful if efforts are concentrated in a few directions.

In the first place, in its youth work the Komsomol must take into account more fully the principle that the formation of socialist consciousness is not a one-time act, but a complex and contradictory process. As in all other areas, so also in the sphere of consciousness the developed socialist society is the stage when socialism reaches the highest degree of maturity, when it discloses to the fullest extent its capabilities and its advantages as the first phase of the communist social formation. Therefore, an immediate task of ideological work is the formation of a socialist consciousness with a high degree of maturity, inevitably containing traits characteristic of the future communist personality. It goes without saying that at this point not only lagging behind, but also the premature raising of problems that apply to the second phase of the new society, to communism, are equally inadmissible.

The main thing is that henceforth ideological work among young people should be conducted in close connection and unity with the solution of the practical problems of socialist construction at the present stage. Under our conditions, the strengthening and expansion of socialist consciousness are not and cannot be a matter solely of propaganda work. The more skillfully we are able to transform everyday labor activity and the performance of individual tasks into a factor for the formation and education of the new person and for the development and strengthening of the characteristic traits of the socialist personality, the better we will respond to the necessity of an indivisible unity between economics and ideology, between ideology and economy.

Our party long ago formulated the thesis of the determining role of social environment in educational work. We must now proceed in depth in implementing this thesis. The decisive thing here is to model and put into practice effective mechanisms and functioning of the labor collectives and of all the links and cells of the manysided social organism, which will lead to the development of socialist consciousness.

Of especially important, lasting significance is work to give the young generation a class-party, patriotic and internationalist education. One of our party's precious traditions is constant attention and concern for the right solution of this problem at all stages of the development of socialist society.

We say with good grounds that our patriotism is socialist patriotism, and this is patriotism which contains a tremendous and inestimable charge for exerting an overall influence on young people. The task is to bring gradually to the consciousness of young men and women the incomparable advantages of real socialism, to kindle still more love for the socialist homeland, pride in the gains that the people have made, pride in the governing party.

In recent years, as is known, significant changes have emerged and developed in the consciousness of the people and of youth that have to be studied, supported from every point of view, and improved. In this connection, in youth work we have to take into account the important principle brought to light by the 11th Party Congress -- the gradual interpenetration and growing together of socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism, a process which is most strikingly manifested in the attitude towards the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in our sacred Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, in the fraternal friendship between the BCP and the CPSU, between the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union and the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Union. The aim is to form in all young men and women a highly developed class-party, patriotic and internationalist consciousness as one of the most characteristic traits of the socialist personality. Our youth must be brought up in this spirit from now on, and qualitatively new phenomena in the development of world socialism, of the international communist and workers' movement and of the struggle for peace and social progress must be taken into account thoroughly and from every point of view.

In the second place, the focus should be versatile education and development of the young person's personality. At present this job is done somehow separately: a young person is taught to be a good worker or specialist separately from being a great sportsman, separately from having a high political consciousness. The very structure of the organizational forms and means in ideological activity and of the various initiatives is like this. There is, so to speak, sectorial limitation.

The axis of educational work among youth now can be expressed by the classical slogan, "A sound mind in a sound body." It is time to think up and suggest to young people initiatives and programs which simultaneously incorporate the goal of vocational, intellectual and physical education. The whole system of ideological work of the Komsomol, of all ideological agencies and institutes, and of the entire society vis-a-vis youth is being reorganized on this basis.

In the third place, the principles of predictive education are being developed and put into practice. Young people are trained mostly for the future.

Among the young people there are contingents which will enter upon life in five and in 10 years. The question is: to what extent is our educational work adapted to the conditions 5-10 years from now under which these young people will develop? Are they taken sufficiently into consideration in the process of their training? To say that nothing is being done in this area would not be true. But it is likewise true that the Komsomol and the educational system have no developed visions. It is a matter, no doubt, of an important scientific and sociopolitical task which we have to undertake as soon as possible.

In the fourth place, political education in the Komsomol and political information work with youth need serious improvement. It is no secret that there is much formalism in this sphere and that in many places the work is not systematic or thoroughgoing. At the present stage the Komsomol must have a system of political education that will not duplicate, but augment, enrich and deepen the political and ideological knowledge that young people acquire in educational institutions. This can be accomplished in keeping with the interests and educational training of young people by means of suitable problem-subject cycles, during the presentation of which discussion, debate, argument and clash of opinions should be extensively included.

The role of the Komsomol as source of political and ideological information must be elevated, too. At present there is an intolerable division: young people discuss events in their friendly circles and groups, but at Komsomol meetings and other events there is either no mention of them, or if there is, young people often hold their tongue. But here precisely is the place for Komsomol activists' commentary on and analysis of events, for passionate disputes and competent evaluation.

The Komsomol should be at pains to raise the prestige of the youth press substantially among young people. Its present status does not satisfy the most educated and keenest portion of youth. The current criteria in the youth press are too low; the intellectual stature and the rich spiritual character of present-day youth are underrated. We are still far away from the thought of our party publicist, Dimitur Naydenov, that a newspaper should burn the hands of the readers. Many of the most important youth problems find no place on the pages of youth publications or in radio and television broadcasts. Youth publishers intolerably underrate sociopolitical and scientific literature about youth work.

The youth press must keep its hand on the pulse of youthful public opinion, must respond rapidly, raise the timeliest and most important youth problems, seek public intervention for their solution, defend youth interests with the weapon of criticism, popularize the life and deeds of the best representatives and heroes of the young generation, set the tone of the ideological and political life of youth in the Komsomol, and fight unflinchingly against negative phenomena among young people and against the weaknesses and shortcomings of the youth union.

5. For the Bulgarian Communist Party, concern for the communist education of youth, for the development and realization of their creative strengths and capacities and for ever fuller satisfaction of their material and spiritual needs and of their interests has always been an expression of the highest class duty to the cause and destiny of socialism. The party has always assigned a place closest to itself for the Komsomol as its first assistant and reserve.

An important stage in this principled and consistent party policy was the Theses and the versatile work of party agencies and organizations for their implementation. This was actually a new organization of party work with youth and the Komsomol, which created conditions for raising the role of the party as leader and inspirer of all social activity and concern for the young generations and as leader and inspirer of young people themselves. The party created a situation in which youth questions would occupy a new position in the activity of state, economic and social agencies and institutes and in which significantly greater resources and efforts would be allotted for the solution of young people's material and spiritual problems.

This is why the Theses will serve us in our future activity as well as a source of ideas and as a stimulus to practical actions. The party will in the future as well improve its work with youth and the Komsomol, will heighten its attention and increase its concern for the young generation.

What is the main thing under present conditions?

The main thing is that party activity should contribute maximally and from every point of view to substantial and qualitative improvement of Komsomol work, to mastery of the new element in the approach to youth, and to the transformation of the new quality criteria and requirements for the versatile and effective realization of youth's potential into a practical everyday guide for action of party agencies and organizations, of the state, the general public and the Komsomol.

We will do everything necessary to develop and enrich the Bulgarian Communist Party's policy of elevating the role of youth and the Komsomol in public life, to protect and defend young people's interests, and to carry out completely the change that has been initiated in Komsomol activity.

Bulgarian young people and the Komsomol can be sure that in the future our party and all communists will have the problems and aspirations of the young generation close to their heart and will consistently do their part in the struggle for new and wonderful progress in the life and activity of young people and the youth union.

We have complete confidence in our ardent and patriotic young people. We are convinced that they, in the future just as in the past, will, with creative work and daring, devote their skills and energy to the good and prosperity of our people, to the cause of communism, and to the progress of our beloved fatherland, the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Yours with communist greetings,

6474
CSO: 2200

TODOR ZHIVKOV

BULGARIA

DECISION OF YOUTH UNION PLENUM

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 20 Jul 78 p 3

[Decision of Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of Dimitrov Communist Youth Union, Sofia, 19 July 1978]

[Text] The plenum of the Central Committee of the DKMS [Dimitrov Communist Youth Union], with joy and enthusiasm and with a sense of duty and responsibility to the party and people, has discussed Comrade T. Zhivkov's Letter on certain urgent problems in the life, activity and role of youth and the Komsomol.

The plenum welcomes, appreciates and adopts the Letter as a new, extremely important and forceful expression of the concern of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of Comrade Todor Zhivkov for Bulgarian youth and the Dimitrov Komsomol and as a document of permanent historical significance. The plenum of the DKMS Central Committee sees in Comrade T. Zhivkov's Letter a direct continuation and further creative development of the April line and BCP policy towards youth and the Komsomol. The letter and the Theses of the BCP Central Committee, taken together, are an inspired and scientifically grounded guide for the action and work of the Komsomol and all Bulgarian youth. The Komsomol regards the Theses and Comrade Todor Zhivkov's Letter as a charter for its development during the stage of the building of a mature socialist society in our country.

For this concern and for the new display of high confidence the DKMS Central Committee, on behalf of all Bulgarian youth, expresses the deepest, heartfelt and sincere gratitude to Comrade T. Zhivkov, to the Central Committee and to the entire party.

Expressing its complete support of the evaluations, statements and elaborations contained in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's Letter, the plenum believes that it represents an unusually rich and effective program for the development of youth and for the work of the Komsomol that opens up a new stage in the life of our union. The DKMS Central Committee recommends the launching of a widescale and all-out effort throughout the union, among all young people,

for the study and thorough mastery of the ideological, theoretical and practical riches of the Letter by every Komsomol member, by every young man and woman. The main thing now is not just to be aware of new problems, criteria and requirements, but to proceed to put them into practice in the life of young people and achieve new qualitative changes in Komsomol activity and in the all-round and effective realization of the potential of the young generation. Komsomol committees, organizations and societies must develop programs for their work in carrying out the tasks and recommendations contained in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's Letter.

The plenum assures Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the entire party that the youth of Bulgaria will accept this outstanding document as their life's commitment and will put all the talent and daring of their youth into its fulfillment.

"Learning and labor, joy of living and boldness!"

6474

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

YOUTH UNION FIRST SECRETARY SHTERYANOV SPEAKS AT PLENUM

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 20 Jul 78 p 4

[Speech of Boycho Shteryanov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union]

[Text] Comrades, this is a noteworthy day for the Dimitrov Komsomol, for all the youth of socialist Bulgaria. We are all deeply moved, our minds are gripped by intense and happy excitement. Comrade Todor Zhivkov's Letter to the Central Committee of the DKMS [Dimitrov Communist Youth Union] has carried us away and gripped us with its ideological force and insight, its massive scale and boldness of thought, its human warmth and frankness. This document is historic and this day belongs to the history of the Komsomol and the history of our Communist Party.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's Letter is of lasting and landmark significance. Its roots are in the Blagoev-Dimitrov tradition of the party of devoting the strength and talent of its foremost leaders and foremost minds to solving the questions of youth. Its essence is the continuation, creative development and rich embodiment of the April party line. The Letter is a new and splendid expression of concern for and confidence in youth, a new and brilliant proof that our party has no other interests than the interests of the people and youth, that it works and creates for the people and youth. In Comrade T. Zhivkov's Letter the problems of youth at the current stage of our social development find far-sighted theoretical, political, social and practical solutions.

That is why the first word of the Komsomol is a word of thanks to the party and to Comrade T. Zhivkov personally -- youth's sincerest, deepest and heartiest thanks.

Today is an extremely important and crucial day for the Komsomol. Comrade T. Zhivkov's Letter is a historic event, but it faces the future rather than the past.

The Letter is an unusually rich, effective and scientifically grounded program for the development of youth and for Komsomol work. In it the

problems are formulated with clarity and a long-range outlook, and the tasks facing our union under the conditions of a nationwide campaign for fulfillment of the decisions of the 11th Congress, the July plenum and the National Party Conference and for the full and comprehensive implementation of the strategic slogan, "High Quality and High Efficiency," are rightly defined from contemporaneous standpoints and in a contemporaneous manner. These are questions of general significance for the future of our union and for the elevation of its role in the life of young people and the entire society.

Comrade Zhivkov's Letter is a continuation of the National Party Conference, which elevated to a higher stage the responsibility of everybody -- of leader personnel and of doers in the ranks. It shows us the way to high criteria and constant exactions, to dissatisfaction with what has been achieved, to strict discipline and responsibility on the part of each Komsomol member to his union. It speaks of the deep conscious responsibility of today's young generation for Bulgaria's tomorrow and for the future of socialism and communism in our country, and of every young person to see himself and his place in this epoch-making historic cause of our party.

We realize that new approaches and solutions, a new scale and depth of efforts, and a qualitatively new level of Komsomol work are required of us.

At the same time, Comrade T. Zhivkov's Letter makes a principled communist criticism of us that goes to the root and source of our weaknesses and shortcomings and forthrightly demands that we carry out to the letter the reorganization of our union's activity. I want to say sincerely, this criticism is entirely just, it is the unvarnished truth and we accept it as fatherly assistance on the part of Comrade T. Zhivkov and the party.

That is why the second word of the Komsomol of today is a pledge of responsibility, of acknowledgment of high responsibility to the party and people and personally to Comrade T. Zhivkov, a pledge of gratitude by young communists that will be kept.

Just as today the participants in the plenum welcomed Comrade Zhivkov's letter, so tomorrow will all Bulgarian youth welcome it with excitement and enthusiasm and will take it to their heart; it will become their credo, their confession of faith. Dimitrov Komsomol members and youth will not just support the letter; they will pledge themselves to implement it. This is so because Comrade Todor Zhivkov in a truly remarkable way defends the needs and interests of youth and reveals fine prospects for the young generation to make their contribution to the historic exploit of the party and people -- the building of a developed socialist society in our country. There is and can be no Komsomol member, no young man or woman who does not sense and realize that this Letter is personally their destiny and cause, that it lays the foundation for the development and strengthening of their personality in a socially useful calling, that it was them Comrade Zhivkov was thinking about when he wrote the letter.

That is why the third word of the Komsomol today is confidence for confidence; the party loves youth and works and creates for youth; youth loves the party filially and works and creates for the party's cause.

Naturally, the chief thing is how we Komsomol members and all Bulgarian youth will work for implementation of the concepts and ideas in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's Letter. This work will be complicated and difficult and take a long time. That is why our first task is to realize fully and comprehensively, thoroughly and effectively, what the Letter represents for the Komsomol and youth, for our immediate and more distant future. True awareness of the task will bring about correct organization of the work, mobilization energy, and high organization of efforts.

Comrade T. Zhivkov's letter is a natural continuation and development of the Theses of the Party Central Committee regarding work with youth and the Komsomol. The Theses and Letter are indivisible, they are one whole. The two party documents are the charter of Komsomol work during the stage of the building of a developed socialist society. They define the scale of operation of the Letter as a document that will inspire and guide us for a long period. They demand that we begin work as of today, but that we work with a long-term view, with a long-range goal, and that we seek, in depth and on a large scale the solution of the problems that the present and future development of youth and society demands.

At the same time, Comrade T. Zhivkov's Letter outlines a new stage in the development of the Komsomol, a stage of qualitative changes in Komsomol work, of high efficiency of Komsomol activity. This stage is no doubt higher and more complex than the development of Komsomol activity in breadth. The main thing now is depth and quality in the content of our work. To begin with, on the basis of Comrade T. Zhivkov's ideas and reasoning set forth in the Letter, we shall have to master the new criteria and demands, what is new in the very approach to Komsomol work, to youth work. Therefore, changes are needed in the very organization of Komsomol activity. It is extremely important now that the needs and interests of youth as a whole and of every individual young man and woman, as well as the problems in the training, and realization of the potential of, the young generation and every young person in keeping, first and foremost, with social needs and personal capacities and talents have a central place in this activity of ours. We are an organization which conveys the party's ideas to youth, but also an organization which represents youth to the party and society and this must now begin to be reflected with new force in all the activity of all Komsomol organizations and all Komsomol agencies. At the same time, we shall now have to provide ourselves with new yardsticks for the successes and weaknesses in our work, with new criteria for the effectiveness of our activity. Above all, we shall have to put an end to busy work, to events for their own sake in many societies and organizations and do away with this parasitic phenomenon which repels some young people. At the same time, an end will have to be put to the sweet slumber that has crept over some of our members and activists, and

anemic, do-nothing societies and organizations. Neither the elimination of busy work nor the overcoming of the problem of weak societies can be solved unless we offer youth as a whole and every young person individually a program with content, a package of measures and initiatives which affect them vitally and acutely and which are an expression of concern for them, for their development and establishment in life.

Comrade Zhivkov's Letter is of programmatic significance for the entire system of Komsomol activity, for all levels from top to bottom and from bottom to top. From it flow new problems and new tasks for every Komsomol member, for every society and organization, for every Komsomol committee. This explains the universality of its significance and effect. It is as a direct program for the work of all youth, for the entire Komsomol, that we must understand the Letter.

It is an indispensable guide to action because it formulates and solves the new problems of youth which are of key significance for all Komsomol activity.

The first sphere of problems involves what is new in the approach to youth work itself. The present-day development of our society and of youth itself necessitates new and higher criteria for, and demands on youth and the Komsomol; their sphere of operation takes in all stages of youth work, they are simultaneously a guide for action and a yardstick for our work. The evaluation of Komsomol activity will be determined to a decisive extent now and in the future by the complete and effective realization of the potential of youth. Our task, therefore, at present in our approach to youth is to take their needs, interests and demands more and more fully into consideration and to make our work for the formation of the young socialist personality more comprehensive and all-round.

The second sphere of problems involves the multifaceted realization of youth's potential, realization of labor potential, realization of mental potential, realization of social potential, realization of physical potential, as Comrade T. Zhivkov puts it. Outlined for us here are new questions and tasks involving vocational guidance and placement of the young person, his sociopolitical activism, the education of youth, standards of discipline of the young generations, the social creativity of youth -- all of which demand a new vision in our work.

The third sphere of problems involves the establishment of the socialist way of life among youth. In this area Comrade Zhivkov pointedly raises problems regarding the role of the Komsomol in meeting the material and spiritual needs of youth, young people's own responsibility for and participation in the satisfaction of these needs and interests, and the campaign against negative phenomena and for the education and training of young people for family life. He sketches clearly the not-very-well solved questions of esthetic education, as well as the question, vital for the Komsomol, of frank dialogue with youth.

The fourth sphere of problems involves the internal state of our union. The task has been formulated of carrying out to the letter the change in Komsomol activity. Solutions are indicated to problems in planning and coordinating comprehensive youth work by all agencies and organizations, and party and state measures are suggested that will lead to an elevation of the role of the Komsomol and youth in our social development.

It is precisely for this reason that we call Comrade T. Zhivkov's Letter, in inseparable unity with the Theses, our charter in our work with youth during the decade ahead.

Comrades, I want to state frankly once more that we face an important and big job. Comrade T. Zhivkov's letter is a party document of exceptional riches. The Bureau of the Central Committee does not think it right to come before the plenum with a hastily drawn-up program of action. Time is needed to think out such a program comprehensively and thoroughly. Therefore, we shall propose to the plenum a political decision in principle. But work on the fulfillment of the tasks and recommendations embodied in the Letter begins with effect from today. What has to be done?

To begin with, let us make a few demands of ourselves which will determine the character of our work right from the first steps.

In the first place, the contents of Comrade T. Zhivkov's letter must be mastered comprehensively and thoroughly by every member of our union, by every young man and woman. The entire Komsomol and all young people must realize that what we are talking about is an exceptional event, a document of lasting significance, which will define the character of our union's work and the very development of youth during the period of the building of mature socialism.

In the second place, the problems must be thoroughly studied. We must provide ourselves with the approach and criteria formulated in Comrade Zhivkov's letter. It is a question of new phenomena and processes in the life of the Komsomol and of young people. What is needed in order to master and direct them are new factors in our approach, new centers of work, new mechanisms and means, new organizational standards. The problem is one of new points of departure throughout our work, a new formulation that must be mastered in full at all levels of the Komsomol organization.

In the third place, it must be fully understood by all that the new stage which we are entering upon requires that our work be elevated to a qualitatively higher level -- to the level of Comrade T. Zhivkov's Letter, to the level of modern youth, to the level of the present-day stage in the development of our society. This task also determines the character of the demands made on every Komsomol member, on activists and all Komsomol leaders. It must become clear to us that progress cannot be made with the ways of looking at the quality of our work, that what is needed is the making of much higher exactions and self-exactions, a new level of per-

sonnel training, new requirements set for the organization and direction of the work, and a keen and implacable campaign against weaknesses and shortcomings.

In the fourth place, we must grasp the thought that the new stage which our work is entering upon requires a comprehensive and everyday alliance with the achievements of modern science, with the scientific research of young people and with scientific methods and approaches in public work. This task demands a new type of effort from every Komsomol activist and member, but to all it must become clear that without prompt mastery of the latest achievements of science, and more especially of science for youth, and without the ability to apply these achievements purposefully and constantly in the work, the goals and tasks set in Comrade T. Zhivkov's Letter will not be attainable.

In his letter Comrade Zhivkov recommends to us that we enlarge our lofty motto, "Learning and Labor -- Labor and Learning," and make it more precise; it should become, "Learning and Labor, Joy of Living and Daring." I think there will be no Komsomol member or young person who will not greet this suggestion with joy because it expresses the party's deepest concern not only for the important role of youth, but also for the happiness of the years of youth. What our young people have in the way of living conditions and way of life is a whole epoch ahead of what young people in the countries of the capitalist world have.

To this new manifestation of concern for, and confidence in young people and the Dimitrov Komsomol, our entire union and the young generation will respond with new enthusiasm and with new boldness in the work and struggle for the party's cause -- the triumph of communism in the Bulgarian land. We assure the Central Committee of our party and Comrade T. Zhivkov personally that young people and the Komsomol will spare neither strength, nor time, nor energy in order to carry out completely the ideas and concepts embodied in the letter. The cause represented by this remarkable document will become for us our personal destiny, the cause of the years of our youth.

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CSO: 2200

EMIGRES SAID TO BE IN SERVICE OF CIA, BRITISH CIC

Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 4 Aug 78 p 9

[Article by Dusan Harustiak: "They Miscalculated"]

[Text] They were positive and they were too conceited. They did not learn from history. Their conceit was based on endless hatred for socialism, the working class, everything progressive, reasonable. They brandished slogans and phrases about freedom and democracy. Simultaneously, of course, they did not forget to emphasize "patriotic feelings," "personal honor," "incorruptibility."

They were or they still are paid agents of international monopolies and zionism, currently the most reactionary and most influential branch of imperialism. They never had anything in common with the interests of our working people. They betrayed our people for Judas' salary to imperialist spy centers, such as the American CIA or the British CIC and a whole number of other specialized organizations.

Naturally, not only international, but also Israeli Zionism, the Vatican and many other anti-communist centers had an iron "in the fire" here. For years, yes, even decades, they lived off the financial means paid them by their benefactors as "the salary of betrayal." The latter also worked out a "strategy for a liberation policy," which counted on the defeat of socialism, not any longer by a direct frontal attack as during the time of Dulles' cold war, but by the disintegration of socialism, the "building of bridges" on which the anti-communist ideology could flow into the socialist states even welcomed by banners of zionism and revisionism.

International reaction and namely zionism counted on a "regeneration process" in this game, in which, of course, they saw the liquidation of socialism in Czechoslovakia, the removal of the CSSR from the framework of the Warsaw Pact, the crushing of the world socialist system under the leadership of such "cadres" as Jiri Pelikan, Ludek Pachman, the "ideologist" Zdenek Mlynar, "professors" Oto Sik and Jiri Hajek, "great writers" Eduard Goldstucker and Arnost Lustig and many others. They willingly accepted and entertained even Zbigniew Brzezinski, who visited Czechoslovakia two times in 1968. It was precisely he and the well known old CIA agent

Pavel Tigrid who worked out the methods of liquidation of socialism in Czechoslovakia and they still continue in this task.

True, they are not the only ones. Involved is a large machine placed in all possible "scientific institutes" in the whole Western world, especially in the United States and West Germany. Involved are also other institutes and institutions, but exactly like them, which closely collaborate with the centers of coordination of the anti-communist propaganda, ideological subversion against socialism. They never lack the participation of Zionism and its capital as the "decisive share-holder."

It is typical that, for example, already in 1967 the Tel Aviv newspaper HA-A'REZ wrote that Zionism has tremendous possibilities for affecting socialism in East European countries. Involved was mainly Czechoslovakia. The London correspondent of this paper, hiding behind the pseudonym A. Sh., suggested causing problems in the socialist countries so that extreme nationalist and chauvinistic passions would be stirred up with the help of mass media. Primarily radio, television and the daily press. When they spoke of Zionism, they meant the empire of international monopolies. They were sending to us their most experienced agents, masked as tourists carrying passports of all possible European countries and working for high "salaries." Evidence is at our disposal that in a number of cases people recruited by the Israeli spy organization Shin Bet worked as diversionaries with knowledge of the CIA or directly upon its order.

It came to light almost officially that expenditures for the prepared operation for liquidation of socialism in Czechoslovakia represented an approximate amount of \$400 million. It is evident that in addition to American and West German "companies" mainly Zionist organizations took part in financing of this operation. It is known, for example, that the Austrian press magnate Molden supplied E. Goldstucker, Antonin Liehm, Oto Sik, Ludvik Vaculik, etc with large sums of money this way. It was one of the channels through which financial support flowed to the counter-revolutionary forces. The Zionist, however, was, above all, interested in the destruction for money of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and in setting the members of the working class and the class of cooperative farmers against each other. They invested great hope in the youth, particularly the students. They misused the political immaturity of the young people, by means of demagogical slogans they attacked the state and social system of the CSSR.

The neopopulists, zionists, neofascists and revanchists--who even nowadays form as emigre organizations paid for and ideologically directed by the espionage centers of imperialism and zionism, one of the main "hopes" of the White House--found a common ideological base.

The current foreign political line of Washington and the campaign of the whole governmental and propaganda machine for the "defense of human" rights in the socialist countries whose "spiritual father" is Zbigniew Brzezinski,

is not meeting with success. To the contrary, the strengthening unity of the socialist countries is the most dynamic element of current international relations. Socialism has become a powerful factor in world development, having a huge and steadily growing influence on fate of the world, as wrote Moscow PRAVDA not long ago.

Imperialist strategists and agents who counted on the liquidation of socialism in Czechoslovakia, removal of the CSSR from the Warsaw Pact, have miscalculated. Also all those miscalculated who thought that behind the guise of "defense of human rights" in socialist states they will be able to openly interfere in the internal affairs of these countries, even under the "protection" of the Helsinki agreements.

Official American representatives used to declare in the past and they do it even today that they are trying various "levers of pressure" against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in order "to influence their behavior." But they have perhaps forgotten that they have used many of these "levers" since the October revolution's victory, and what were the results? Socialism grew stronger, it became a world system and daily grows more attractive. To count on the contrary is absolutely hopeless.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM IN PRESENT STRUGGLE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jul 78 p 4

[Article by Dalibor Hanes, CPCZ Central Committee member and chairman of the Chamber of Nations]

[Text] The past 130 years, since publication of the third joint work of Marx and Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," one of the book's leading ideas, the slogan "Proletarian of All Countries, Unite" has been verified many times in social practice.

The most up-to-date modification of this idea, transformed into a powerful material force in numerous class conflicts between the working class and the bourgeoisie, is the credo of the international meeting of communists of 1969: "Nations of the socialist countries, proletarians, all democratic forces in the capitalist countries, liberated and oppressed nations--let your forces be joined in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism."

In Firm Solidarity to Solve the Main Problems of Mankind

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels considered solidarity of all forms of the revolutionary movement as the basic ingredient of internationalism. Marx wrote: "Only if we put this basic principle among all workers in all countries on firm foundations can we achieve the great goal we are striving for." The relevance of this idea is growing enormously at present because the world communist movement, the working class and all working people of the world today face great tasks in the struggle against imperialism and for world peace, democracy and socialism.

The first of these tasks of a really strategic nature is solution of the main contradiction of this epoch, the contradiction between the higher stage of civilization, i.e., socialism and the historically outdated system of class supremacy by the bourgeoisie: imperialism. This solution has no other alternative than peaceful coexistence of and competition between opposing socioeconomic systems and a transformation of peace from an interwar period into the permanent form of the life of nations.

This is closely linked to the demand for an end to the uncontrolled arms race and for disarmament.

The need to supply mankind with food, energy and raw materials, the overcoming of economic backwardness of those areas of our globe which for centuries were exploited by colonialism, the protection of the environment, the elimination of the most serious diseases, and space research in the interest of all mankind certainly are the most acute and important problems faced by mankind. The solution of these and other problems is inseparably linked to the revolutionary struggle for social progress.

In spite of all national differences which require attention to particular conditions and differences, an international and common stand in this struggle and the firm solidarity of all forms of the revolutionary movement are the most important prerequisites for success. Millions and hundreds of millions, the overwhelming majority of mankind, act today as an active and revolutionary force. The concern of the masses in drastic changes in the political and economic structures in capitalist countries is on the rise because of a realization that existing liberal, Christian democratic and social democratic concepts have failed to protect mankind from the negative consequences of a capitalist economy. This results in the continuous growth of dissatisfaction on the part of the masses.

The present period has witnessed the growth of favorable objective conditions for a successful anti-imperialist struggle waged by the working people. A special mission in this struggle belongs to the most numerous social class of today: the vanguard of mankind--the working class. The depth and scope of the present class struggle prove more and more that success of the revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist movement depends today to a large extent on the ability of the working class of individual countries to realize its real power and on the ability of its revolutionary vanguard--the communist and revolutionary parties--to link themselves with all other strata of the working people and to act as a recognized leader of the masses, indeed, of an all-people movement.

All processes of the internationalization of the means of production and exchange which Marx explained in his ingenious scientific prognosis--and this at a time when the capitalist forces of production were still able to develop themselves within individual countries--are a law for the development of contemporary society and lead to expansion of the objectively necessary economic, political and cultural relations among all countries. Imperialism tries to use this process for its own goals, for strengthening and expanding its supremacy and influence. Though international imperialism decays from within because of internal conflicts, in its struggle with the revolutionary forces it is able to appear united. And it always tries to destroy the international solidarity of the working class and to weaken it by stressing national interests. International imperialism tries to bring about division among individual parts of the workers' movement and especially between the working class of the socialist

countries and the proletariat of the capitalist countries. And as always it uses for this purpose the ideological arsenal of revisionism and so-called Eurocommunism. And at all times it tries to push the international workers' movement behind the barrier of "national communism" or specific models of socialism. Isolationist ideas and the destructive practice of "Eurocommunism" attempt to weaken the workers' movement in the countries of mature capitalism and to deprive them of the most reliable internationalist support, namely, the support and solidarity of the working class which has already won over the bourgeoisie, i.e., the working class of the socialist countries.

Hence, only a consistent struggle for cohesiveness, cooperation and international solidarity of all forces of social and national liberation and their help to one another, that "extending of the hand" across national borders, can confront the internationalization of capital and of exploitation and can use the means of production and exchange for the benefit of all mankind. All this constantly requires, in the spirit of Marx's legacy, that workers from different countries not only feel but also act as brothers and comrades, fighting in the same army for their own liberation. All these are at the same time the problems of the present and the problems determining the future of mankind and the paths of world social development, namely, the problems of war and peace, democracy or reaction, socialism or capitalism.

The Working Class, Vanguard of Revolutionary Development

The global problems of confrontation between socialism and capitalism, between labor and capital, are modified by different national conditions which call into existence differences in forms and methods of the organization of the struggle of the working people. This national aspect is an inseparable part of the international struggle. At the same time, "international" does not mean supranational. It expresses the new, noble and fully equal relations among nations.

Class struggle within a national framework is unthinkable without an international relationship because development of the revolutionary process historically leads to an ever stronger internationalization of this struggle. However, this also leads to increased coordination of imperialist policy on a global scale. The conclusion which revolutionaries and all democratic, anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces must make is simple: to strengthen international cohesiveness of all these forces. From this also stems the hegemonic role of the working class in this worldwide effort, because the working class is basically internationalist.

In connection with the broadening international division of labor, the working class acts as an ever-growing, huge collective on the international scale. Its position in the system of social production, its numbers, and its international character offer the possibility and the need to struggle in the most decisive way for social progress and, at the same time,

together with its own class needs, to defend the major needs of all working classes and strata.

From the time of Marx until today the working class has won characteristics which have put it in the forefront of all forms of the world revolutionary movement. These brilliant attributes, which are related to the historical activity of the working class of the entire world, are proletarian and socialist internationalism, collectivism, and pure patriotism; they are incompatible with narrow-minded nationalism. Through its direct relationship with the most decisive branches of social production and the highest form of ownership of the means of production, namely socialist social ownership, the working class is the bearer of the priority relationship to all-societal needs.

The working class, developing its revolutionary effort in the forefront of the entire progressive movement in the world, is the decisive subject of social changes, manifesting historical activity on a national and international scale, under the leadership of its communist and workers' parties which--as emphasized by Marx and Engels--"in the struggle of the proletarians of different nations raise and defend the joint interests of the entire proletariat, regardless of nationality." It is from here, from the working class, that all revolutionary, anti-imperialist and progressive forces of the world receive the notion of the invincible force of international cooperation and solidarity.

We are witnessing an ever-growing significance of proletarian internationalism in overcoming the entire spectrum of reactionary and nationalistic ideas, vicissitudes and flipflops which stem from the influence of imperialism and the backwardness of the economic, social and cultural conditions for which it is responsible. Confrontations which exist between the consistently internationalist orientation of the working class and petit bourgeois, reformist and nationalist prejudices require a continuous improvement in the ideological, material and political power of an internationalist policy. The communist parties, the most revolutionary parts of the working class and of all progressive forces in the world, fulfill at the same time a very important task: across the borders of individual countries, across barriers which the system of bourgeois political supremacy has created in order to prevent understanding among nations, to achieve the best possible association of communists, the working class and all working people; to improve cooperation of the working class which in the socialist countries has become the ruling class with the workers' movement in the capitalist countries and to create and continuously strengthen the alliance of all forces willing to undertake a struggle for a peaceful and happy future of mankind. "Life constantly confirms," stated Comrade Husak at the 15th CPCZ Congress, "that unity and class and international solidarity are the most effective weapons of the revolutionary forces in the struggle for social and national liberation. Consequently, we consider proletarian internationalism as one of the basic principles of our party."

Major credit for the overwhelmingly peaceful climate of our planet and for the development of international cooperation must be given to the Leninist international policy of the Soviet Union. The Soviet people offer unselfish and self-sacrificing assistance and solidarity to all who are striving for social progress, regardless of the fact that this is not always an easy task. Each and every word expressed at the 25th Congress of the Soviet communists and each and every concrete deed accompanying these words is permeated with a deep internationalist feeling of Lenin's party and of all Soviet people, who are the most important realizers of Leninist ideas. The CPSU was the first to achieve that internationalism by transforming an idea of a handful of communists into a deep conviction and a norm of behavior of millions of people.

The beneficial significance of Soviet internationalism, an act without which we in the CSSR could not so dynamically develop our socialist work or even build socialism at all and face all the attacks of our enemies--and this is necessary to state openly, without being asked and without and embellishment and as a straight truth--was once again very conclusively verified during a recent visit in our country by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev. This was a meeting of friends, worthy of this noble word, in order to jointly and in mutual understanding discuss concrete measures for the realization of advanced socialist and communist work.

The attractive, inspiring influence of real socialism which functions by the very fact of its existence, strengthens and accelerates by its economic, scientific-technical, social and cultural results, its humanism and democracy, universal national equality, proletarian and socialist internationalism, in the consciousness of the working people of the entire world the knowledge of the power of unity and solidarity in the struggle against international reaction and for revolutionary changes.

The international character of the revolutionary process puts great responsibility on the working class. The question as to the understanding of this responsibility by the communists was answered 2 years ago at a Berlin conference on the European communist and workers parties--the largest communist assembly in the history of the European revolutionary workers' movement. The conference demonstrated a historical initiative of the communist movement and its ability to mobilize the progressive forces of Europe and the entire world in the struggle for social progress. The results of the conference--to implement effective steps for ending the arms race and for disarmament; to consistently realize the principles of peaceful coexistence and of all international obligations and agreement based on these principles; to develop mutually advantageous cooperation among countries independently of their social systems and to improve mutual understanding among nations; to broaden the zone of relaxation of tension to cover the entire world, strengthen peace, security and

national independence on all continents; to secure organizational unity between the struggle for peace and the struggle for social progress--are the telling answers to the decisive tasks Europe and all mankind face.

Socialism and General Democratic Principles

The relations created and those being continuously improved through mutual contacts by the countries of the socialist community--namely, absolute respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests, noninterference in the internal affairs of individual countries, full equality, mutual advantages and mutual comradely help--are a model for future relations among all nations and states. They are a concrete manifestation of socialist internationalism, which is part of proletarian internationalism and a manifestation of its enrichment and development. It is not an accident but a matter of historical law that victorious socialism make full use of proletarian internationalism. In this way the Marx and Engels conclusions, according to which the elimination of the exploitation of one man by another will be followed by the elimination of exploitation of one nation by another, has been verified in social practice in the socialist part of the world.

The relations of the new type introduced by victorious socialism are being applied more and more in international relations and significantly affect the anti-imperialist struggle. After achieving political power, the working class, international to its core, has a great interest in applying the principles of proletarian internationalism to international relations also. The prerequisite for that are democratic principles in relations among all states, regardless of their social systems, namely, equality, the right of self-determination, the prohibition of aggression, and the peaceful solution of all disputes as well as the renunciation of force. The concrete content of these principles and norms is being decided through a struggle with the opposing concepts (and the corresponding practice): either a limited bourgeois democracy or consistent democratism, persistently advocated by the socialist countries and the progressive forces in the capitalist countries, led by the communist and workers parties.

Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, during his recent visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, very realistically pictured the path leading to understanding among all nations of the world when he stated: "The most treacherous swamp is the swamp of prejudices. The most difficult obstacle is the obstacle of lack of confidence. Let us overcome this and mankind will gain unprecedented strength and the means leading to peace which will be reliable as never before."

The results to date in the solution of the crucial question of our time, namely, the question of war and peace, show the influence of socialist, democratic and antiimperialist forces on world politics and also the resistance offered by the forces of imperialism. From this stems the

ever-growing significance of the struggle of the broadest masses of the people for democratization of international relations. From this also stems the task of bringing to international relations the truth concerning the peace offensive, led by world socialism and the need to incessantly pursue the key line of the international workers movement, namely, to realize unity of action on an international scale.

The ideas of international solidarity of the working class and the working people of the entire world and their real political influence are becoming, in spite of all disrupting methods waged by world reaction, a more and more influential and powerful force. The inspiring example of the socialist countries, which in their daily practice apply Lenin's demand that the "interests of the proletarian struggle of each and every individual country must be subordinated to the interests of the proletarian struggle on a world scale," makes international solidarity of all fighters for revolutionary change into a basic idea and a historical force of our century.

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CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPSL DAILY ON AL-SADAT'S EXPULSION OF ISRAELI EXPERTS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Jul 78 p 7 AU

["JUL" commentary in the column "A Foreign Policy Note": "A Melodramatic Gesture"]

[Text] Pathetic "decisions" have become characteristic of Egyptian Government circles during the most recent past; they refer to practically each step as an almost fateful one. If we look at it from the point of view of the consequences of Cairo's capitulatory policy, they are essentially right. All the gestures similar to President Anwar al-Sadat's Jerusalem trip have "fateful" consequences indeed. However, in the worst sense of the word, as far as the fate of a just peace in the region is concerned--these gestures have diverted the solution of the crisis, the restoration of the rights of the Arab people to the territories occupied to date by Israel and the safeguarding the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine to the blind alley of separate negotiations and intrigues.

The day before yesterday the Egyptian leadership again made a gesture that was to demonstrate its "determination" not to give in to the Israeli aggressor--it expelled a group of Israeli military experts who have been in Cairo since January. They represented Israel in the negotiations of the Israeli-Egyptian military committee which, however, only convened a few times in January. The Israeli military mission thus had no work to do in Egypt and its members were quite happy to accept the Egyptian Government's present decision. The mission's chief even declared after his return home that it does not mean an end to the Egyptian-Israeli negotiations but just "the beginning of the negotiation process." In Israel itself they thus cast doubt on the effectiveness of al-Sadat's gesture.

After all, they know very well--just as the United States does--that the present Egyptian leadership several times "demonstrated" its "tough stand" in this way, which, however, was soon dissolved in new concessions. This was also the case in the past weeks when the official circles in Cairo claimed that they would not negotiate with Israel until the Israeli Government was willing to withdraw its troops from the occupied Arab territories. But although the Israeli Government has not even promised such steps, the

the Egyptian Government was very willing to restore the separate talks with Israel under American patronage at the English castle in Leeds last week.

This time it will be no different. After all, in the next few hours Egyptian officials will have talks with the American emissary Alfred Atherton and U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance plans to visit Egypt.

With its melodramatic gestures Cairo wants to cover the fact that it has taken the path of unconditional capitulation before the interests of imperialism, Zionism and the Arab reaction in the Middle East.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

IMPERIALIST ATTEMPTS TO 'BREAK THE UNITY' OF NONALINED CITED

Prague Radio in English to Africa and Asia 1730 GMT 26 Jul 78 LD

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The Sava Congress Center in Belgrade is currently hosting a 5-day meeting of the nonaligned countries' foreign ministers. Representatives of more than 100 countries have been discussing the most topical issues of today and the role of the nonaligned movement in the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism.

It is only natural that such a numerous movement cannot remain unaffected by events in the class-ridden world and that various political and social tendencies of individual countries are imprinting themselves on the movement. It is difficult to understand why some circles of the nonaligned movement oppose (a certain) polarization of the movement's member countries based on the ideology and class character of individual member states. What is more, these very circles see such a polarization as narrowing the democratic basis of the movement. How can one ignore differences between such member states as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and Saudi Arabia or Cuba and Jordan? Still, the features linking these states are much more important than those dividing them. These common features must be further promoted and the unity and action solidarity of the nonaligned movement must be strengthened. At present the nonaligned countries are linked by joint efforts to halt the arms race and to achieve disarmament.

Very often it is the nonaligned countries themselves which get the first-hand experience of war and they realize that the funds earmarked for military purposes could much more sensibly be invested into the economic and social development of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Another feature the nonaligned countries have in common is their joint struggle for promoting the independence of young states and for repelling attacks by imperialist powers to restore the colonialist positions in the developing countries, particularly in Africa. Imperialist forces again resort to interference, intervention, recruitment of mercenaries in incitement of conflict between African countries. It is characteristic that in

an effort to cover up their criminal activities the imperialist forces launch slanderous camapigns against the socialist states, notably Cuba and the Soviet Union.

The attacks against Cuba then must be seen as the tip of an iceberg by means of which the imperialist forces together with the Peking leadership are trying to break the unity of the nonaligned movement, its action capability, and to change it into some kind of yielding, neutralized mass.

Yet the objective reality of the world today shows that in these struggles the socialist countries have much in common with the nonaligned countries and that they will sympathize with the nonaligned movement's anti-imperialist, anticolonialist and antiracialist struggle.

CSO: 2020

BRIEFS

CIVIL DEFENSE TRAINING IN SCHOOLS--[Reader's letter by Mikulas Gojda, principal of the Kropachy High School: "Education Toward the Defense of the Fatherland"] It began when the Ministry of Education issued methodical instructions for insuring civil defense courses in secondary schools. For several years our Kropachy High School has had comradely patronage contacts with the military air force college of the Slovak national uprising in Kosice and we were thus able to insure the civil defense course with the assistance of its representatives. The third grade pupils had topography, political, antichemical and medical training, and finally underwent sharpshooting training at the people's militias' shooting range near Klenov, where the above published photograph was taken. We stressed in the first place discipline, close order drill and military regime. The presence of senior officers, their authority and strictly methodical approach were--from the very beginning--the guarantee of the successful course and conclusion of the civil defense course. The pupils spent 5 days outdoors in the fresh air and had--on the whole--an interesting program. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Aug 78 p 4 AU]

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

AID TO ANTIAPARTHEID STRUGGLE IN AFRICA REVIEWED

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 11 No 30, 1978 signed to press 17 Jul 78 p 3

[Speech by Kurt Seibt, president GDR Solidarity Committee, delivered to the second meeting of the GDR Government Commission on the Antiapartheid Year, 10 July 78, East Berlin: "Increased GDR Solidarity for Peoples in Southern Africa"]

[Text] When we evaluate what has been accomplished in the relatively short time since the opening of International Antiapartheid Year and review the activities planned for the rest of the year, one can in good conscience say that much has been accomplished or will be undertaken by the GDR Solidarity Committee to effectively support the struggle of the peoples in Southern Africa for national and social liberation.

Solidarity Week With Various Activities

Without a doubt the "Week of Solidarity with the African Peoples Struggling for National and Social Liberation as well as Against Racism," coordinated by the Solidarity Committee was also a worthy highpoint of this year.

Solidarity Week, organized by the GDR Solidarity Committee, the Federal Executive Board of the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation], the National Council of the National Front, the Central Council of the FDJ [Free German Youth], the Federal Executive Board of the DFD [Democratic Women's League of Germany], the GDR Peace Council, the GDR League of Friendship among Peoples, the GDR Committee for Human Rights and the GDR Committee for the Decade of Struggle Against Racism and Racial Discrimination, included a series of varied activities.

At the beginning of Solidarity Week the organizers published a joint communique which was circulated by GDR mass media (press, radio, TV).

In the organ of the SED Central Committee, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the country's largest newspaper, appeared a lead article by Kurt Krueger, general secretary

of the GDR Solidarity Committee. GDR mass media reported in great detail about further arrangements as well as about the concerns of Solidarity Week, which this year was a part of the GDR's national program within the framework of Antiapartheid Year 1978 proclaimed by the United Nations.

A high point of Solidarity Week was an important Solidarity Presentation on 23 May 1978 in the culture house of the Ernst Thaelmann Plant at Magdeburg before 700 workers of this large enterprise. The president of the GDR Solidarity Committee, as well as the secretary general of the African Peoples Union of Zimbabwe (Patriotic Front), Joseph Miska spoke before the mission heads of GDR accredited OAU [Organization for African Unity] members.

Before the beginning of this important presentation the exhibit "Freedom for the Peoples of Southern Africa" was opened by the mayor of Magdeburg. Over 50 copies of this exhibit were set up around the country and an English version was made available to foreign partner committees at international organizations, especially the FDGB, the GDR National Council of the National Front and the FDJ, organized a number of solidarity meetings. Thus the FDGB organized public demonstrations in Leipzig, Frankfurt/Oder and Schwerin, in which many thousands of workers participated. Many meetings of members, delegates and functionaries held during this week were used by party and mass organizations to further broaden ideas on anti-imperialist solidarity with the struggle of the African peoples for national and social liberation as well as against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid. Groups and individuals who had distinguished themselves in solidarity work were honored with awards.

Appreciable Upsurge in Solidarity Activities

At events organized by the National Front in the Schwerin, Frankfurt/Oder and Leipzig Bezirks, and in other places the clear commitment of the participants for solidarity was also expressed by broad participation. Hundreds of resolutions were sent to the Solidarity Committee from large as well as small solidarity meetings, resolutions in which all segments of the GDR population expressed their desire to remain steadfastly on the side of the African peoples still fighting for their freedom.

Through numerous presentations and other activities the GDR people made known their sincere sympathy and active support for the struggle for national and social liberation of the African peoples as well as for the defeat of the last bastions of colonialism, racism and apartheid in Southern Africa. In accordance with the announced goals of the International Antiapartheid Year it is clear that in the future the people of the GDR will support the liberation organizations in Southern Africa to a greater degree and emphatically condemn the policy of apartheid as an abominable crime of the racist minority governments against the peoples of Southern Africa and denouncing it as a serious threat to freedom and international security.

Solidarity help would be given to the progressive nations of Africa such as Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia.

Finally the collaboration of imperialist powers such as the United States, the FRG, Israel and others was unmasked, collaboration which has made these states accomplices in the policy of apartheid, the flagrant violations of basic human rights and the permanent threat to free African nations.

An appreciable impetus was thus noted in our solidarity movement. This was demonstrated through additional activities; for example depositing proceeds from special shifts to the solidarity account, increasing regular solidarity contributions or giving additional ones. The solidarity presentations were mostly combined with bazaars at which the workers sold handcrafted articles and then deposited the proceeds in the solidarity account.

Increased Deliveries for Liberation Organizations

In the area of material assistance for the liberation organizations of the ZAPU/Patriotic Front, ANC South Africa and SWAPO in Namibia the following can be reported for 1978: This year support for these organizations was and will be further increased. In doing this it is first a question of our relieving the critical supply situation in the refugee camps. Because of the aid's great urgency four special planes have already been sent to Lusaka and Luanda; further flights will follow during the course of the year.

Other shipments reached their destination by ship. Of these shipments, worth millions of marks, let us mention here as an example the shipments of medical supplies and medical technology worth about 2.6 million marks. Further shipments included above all foodstuffs of various kinds, clothing, textiles, sports equipment and other urgently needed goods.

Only a few days ago the commander of the ZAPU/Patriotic Front's fighting forces, Comrade Mangena, fell victim to a malicious attack by Southern Rhodesian racists and some of his friends were wounded. We would like to announce in connection with this that the Solidarity Committee devotes special attention to medical care for the wounded from Southern Africa. Only a few days ago a transport with 40 wounded fighters of SWAPO arrived in the GDR on a special INTERFLUG flight.

An essential element of our assistance moreover consists in the education of cadres. Thus the GDR Solidarity Committee this year is awaiting 250 friends from liberation organizations in Southern Africa for training in the GDR.

On the occasion of the "International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling Peoples of Southern Africa" on 16 June 1978 our committee, together with the GDR Committee for the 10-Year Struggle Against Racism and Racial Discrimination, published a statement in which we again reiterated our anti-imperialist solidarity with the just struggle of the patriots of Southern Africa.

ZAPU/Patriotic Front Bureau Opened in Berlin

Finally it should be mentioned that in January of this year a bureau of the ZAPU/Patriotic Front was opened in Berlin.

A pictorial wall newspaper on the subject of "Apartheid" was ordered by our committee and this month 10,000 of these will be distributed and displayed, mainly in enterprises, schools, advanced schools and other institutions.

This is all the information we have over the most recent activities of the Solidarity Committee in support of the national and social liberation struggles of the peoples of Southern Africa.

Naturally the other measures named at the first meeting of our committee have been continued.

I would like at this time to once again assure you that the GDR Solidarity Committee in accordance with our assigned tasks will not relax its support for the African peoples' struggle for freedom.

8537

CSO: 2300

POLAND

ANTI-AIRCRAFT FLAWS NOTED DURING COMPETITION

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH in Polish No 3, Mar 78 pp 59-64

[Article by Col Stanislaw Pawlata: "Eighth Central Practical Combat Competitions for Air Defense Forces"]

[Excerpts] Each year central practical combat competitions are held in the air defense forces. The principal aim of these competitions is demonstration of the achievements of the best subunits of the military districts as well as demonstration of their training achievements.

This event is motivated chiefly by the desirability of exchanging training know-how and experience, presentation of employed forms and methods of training, and dissemination of positive, affirmative shock-work labor and competition.

The Eighth Central Practical Combat Competitions of the Air Defense Forces were conducted under the supervision of Lt Gen Tadeusz Obroniecki, Commander of Air Defense Forces of the Ministry of National Defense.

These competitions are extremely popular in the air defense forces. Many subunits have been focusing their activities since the beginning of the training year on improving skills in the areas covered by the competition. The top echelon of command in the Air Defense Forces, seeking to achieve a steady improvement in the level of training in all occupational specialties in the Air Defense Forces, each year analyzes specific competitions and increases the degree of their difficulty.

Winning of the title "Master of Artillery and Missile Fire" or "Master of Radar Identification" is viewed as the highest distinction in practical training activities.

This year the competitions were held on the basis of new procedures. The scope of competition was changed somewhat, and the principles of performance rating were changed entirely. The new procedures abandon point grading, where the performance evaluation figure for a given competition was multiplied by a prior-specified difficulty factor. The present regulations adopt a uniform four-level rating scale.

Possible shortcomings in the regulations have been gradually eliminated and corrected, in order to avoid varying interpretation of the rules.

The competitions take place in an atmosphere of enormous enthusiasm and noble rivalry. The competition for the title of best subunit is overseen by Air Defense Forces command personnel of all echelons as well as unit commanders.

The best subunits from the individual military districts participate in the competitions. They always represent a high level of training and discipline.

In this article we should like to draw the attention of our readers to deficiencies noted during the competition by the members of individual sub-commissions.

Discussion of these errors will unquestionably result in their elimination from future training activities. Consistent implementation of the slogan "We learn from our mistakes" will unquestionably help raise the level of training in our subunits and their preparations for the next competitions.

One can draw the following conclusions from the competitions held in 1977 in individual specialization groups, and general training recommendations can be adopted.

In general one should state that medium-range missile subunits represent a very high level of combat training. As is indicated by the competition results, in these subunits particular emphasis is placed on missile fire training. This is a correct emphasis in training, for maintaining the equipment in suitable operating condition, eliminating the possibility of malfunctions, as well as good preparation of crew members to perform their combat duties constitutes a condition for maintaining a high level of combat readiness.

A high level of performance capability is guaranteed first and foremost by regularly-conducted firing drills, continuous improvement in familiarity with the equipment and proper preparation of the equipment for firing, plus a consummate mastery of all actions performed during combat work. These subunits have not avoided minor deficiencies, correction of which will unquestionably help improve their level of performance.

Basic deficiencies include the following:

poor familiarity with the principles of missile firing, fire control instructions and fire program by alert duty operators as well as missile crews;

inability on the part of control facility alert duty operators and crew members to ready command posts for combat operation;

superficial knowledge of the phenomena taking place in the equipment during performance of adjustment and tuning procedures, both by technical personnel and the operators of individual pieces of equipment;

a relatively poor level of professional knowledge among radar station personnel;

mediocre quality of performance on the part of some crews, due to unwarranted haste;

considerable difficulties in locating and correcting equipment problems, due to unfamiliarity with troubleshooting techniques as well as poor familiarity with equipment design and operation.

Greater attention in training of medium-range missile subunits should also be focused on more intensive utilization of all types of simulators and training equipment.

The competition in the short-range missile groups (self-propelled antiaircraft missile launcher crews and portable launcher squads) displayed correct training process procedures as well as good mastery of the items covered by the competition rules. The antiaircraft missile marksmen showed good performance capabilities both on the post and at the range. Their overall performance level showed good uniformity in spite of considerably tougher evaluation criteria -- just as last year.

However, the following deficiencies are evident in the training of antiaircraft missile personnel:

the personnel training capabilities at training facilities are not being fully utilized;

during tactical exercises insufficient attention is being focused on the mode of employment of missile systems to defend individual combat formation elements, nor is there systematic coordination with the defended subunits;

theoretical and practical knowledge of the principles of missile gunnery and familiarity with aircraft silhouettes are not being increased to a fully adequate degree;

there is a lack of coordination with neighboring subunits as well as flexibility in control of the platoon and squad.

Positive results in training short-range missile squads can be achieved only by conducting regular training on simulators as well as consistent execution of instructions and guidelines specified in training directives.

Noted in the course of competition in the radar companies was good and very good preparation of radar equipment crews for performing their combat duties.

The subunits demonstrated good familiarity with the tactical situation which, among other things, was expressed in correct assignment of combat tasks by subunit commanders as well as fast and efficient deployment of radar stations. We should also emphasize their ability to prepare the radar equipment well for combat utilization, while observing health and safety regulations, concealing and camouflaging the equipment.

In spite of the good training and preparation of radar subunits, it was also noted that in some subunits inadequate attention is focused on utilization of the performance capabilities of radar equipment. This became particularly evident during detection and tracking of low-flying targets. Both commanders and radar operators failed to utilize constant echo suppression systems, as a result of which there frequently occurred "loss" of target, which led to "overproduction" of targets.

Not all radar crews succeeded in continuously tracking air targets with considerable altitude differences. There were considerable delays in passing on detected air targets which -- in view of the low altitude at which the air targets were flying -- makes a prompt engagement decision impossible.

Also requiring greater attention is training of all radar operators under conditions of heavy jamming and interference.

The ability to spot, track and transmit data on air targets to mobile command posts as well as comprehensive performance by personnel in the operator-plotter element requires a continuous, systematic effort at improvement.

Somewhat more than 10 years ago antiaircraft artillery subunits pioneered competition and shock-work labor for other military occupational specialties.

Every year all antiaircraft artillery subunits represent a very high level of performance capability, but the competition is won only by those which have acquired a consummate mastery of all the finer points of practical military knowledge. The subunits participating in the competitions represented a high level of tactical performance capability. Prior to going into competition they had to master and perform difficult firing exercises involving high-speed and maneuvering aircraft as well as aircraft operating with the element of surprise and under conditions of heavy jamming.

The professional cadre of these subunits demonstrated excellent knowledge of tactical problems, the weapon procedures manual, as well as knowledge of the equipment and combat activities. All the above-mentioned items were mastered by the subunits participating in the competitions with a mark of not less than good.

In addition to the many positive results, the following deficiencies were noted in these subunits:

a poor level of knowledge of equipment design, operation and maintenance, particularly by ZSU-23-4 operators;

incomplete mastery of tactical problems, particularly by the "junior" command cadre;

failure to observe safety rules at gun positions, particularly in the ZSU-23-4 subunits;

failure to follow procedure in issuing commands, as well as lack of continuous, flexible control.

In the anti-aircraft artillery subunits, in view of the large number of competing subunits, only systematic work throughout the year can pave the way to victory.

3024

CSO: 2600

POLAND

ASSAULT HELICOPTER COMBAT ROLES OUTLINED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH in Polish No 2, Feb 78 pp 54-58

[Article by Maj Ryszard Konopka and Capt Jerzy Reinert: "The Roles of Assault Helicopter Subunits"]

[Text] Experiences attained in local wars and military exercises show that assault helicopters are formidable weapons. Manifold armament systems enable them to attack repeatedly targets from various directions, altitudes and distances.

The primary advantage of an assault helicopter is its extensive capability to maneuver and to fly at very low altitudes while taking advantage of terrain camouflaging features as well as appropriate armaments. These features make assault helicopters difficult to detect by radar stations. The capability to attack targets at relatively long distances permit them to operate beyond the effective firing range of enemy subunits. This is why assault helicopters should be treated as weapons capable of carrying out selected missions in collaboration with all types of military subunits (units), especially heliborne assault teams.

Since ground forces can profit from helicopter combat operations, their commanders should be aware of the functions and combat capabilities of assault helicopter subunits and their methods of carrying out combat missions.

Assault Helicopter Combat Functions

Assault helicopters are designed to provide fire support for all types of military subunits (units) operating at the front line and executing primary missions in all types of combat actions. In addition they can attack enemy helicopters, protect transport helicopters and support subunits that are cut off from the main forces or that are isolated.*

*By mutual agreement, by "isolated" we mean a combat situation in which a specific subunit or unit (concentration) is cut off from the main forces and must operate within an enemy's combat group. Isolation can occur in all types of combat operations and under various conditions. Methods of conducting combat actions in isolation will be: irregular operations and envelopment combat.

An assault helicopter subunit can carry out the following tactical missions:

In offensive actions:

While breaking through an enemy's defense:

Support concentrations of assault units in the main direction of attack while deploying for an attack and breaking through antitank defenses, attacking tanks and other antiarmor equipment, self-propelled conventional and rocket artillery;

In defensive operations:

In collaboration with combat subunits, attack and delay the advance of an enemy's columns in the cover belt;

Support subunits fighting for forward positions and combat shields;

Secure sectors, gaps in the line or junctions that are not occupied or that are defended by small forces;

Support counterattacks as well as subunits defending important objects, outskirts or battalion defense regions;

In collaboration with all types of subunits (units), attack parachute and assault landings operating within defensive groupings.

During retreats and exits from battles by subunits:

Support the rear guards (security) while the main forces are retreating;

Delay the advance of enemy forces;

Protect exposed flanks, conduct reconnaissance and destruction of enemy operations.

In examining the possibility of assault helicopters providing fire support for ground forces in all basic types of combat operations, one concludes that assault helicopters should be used primarily to:

Attack armored forces, armored antitank systems and other important enemy fire systems;

Provide fire support for all types of military subunits and collaborate closely with them as well as with artillery units and the fighter-assault air force;

Participate in resisting enemy counterattacks.

In meeting engagements:

Provide support for advance combat and at mainforce combat-staging points;

Defend the flank and gaps in the lines of our forces;

Organize antiarmor ambushes.

In pursuit:

Attack retreating tanks, infantry in armored personnel carriers, and self-propelled artillery;

Combat enemy ambushes in the direction(s) of pursuit;

Attack units performing destroying operations (mining) in the direction of pursuit by our own forces;

Impede enemy occupation of important objects and terrain outskirts.

In detached unit [OW] operations:

Create conditions to maintain the rapid rate of advance of OWs to a designated target by providing fire support;

Support OW activities with fire support while capturing the more important roadways and while deploying and fighting for a target;

Support OWs during battles to control a secured object.

During offensive operations an assault helicopter subunit can also support demolition squads that eliminate artificial obstacles and can also provide fire support for the second wave (reserves) when going into combat.

Protect flights and landings, and support tactical raiding parties after landing;

In collaboration with all types of military subunits (units), attack enemy raiding parties operating within groupings of our own forces;

Attack enemy helicopters in the air and on landing fields.

A knowledge of assault helicopter combat capabilities is helpful to a battallion (company) commander in determining the possibilities for our forces in the direction of (in the region) of subunit actions. It appears

that the most important thing for a batallion commander collaborating with assault helicopter subunits to know is the firepower capability of assault helicopters as a main indication of combat effectiveness.

Fire Power Capabilities

The capability to hit an appropriate number of objects (targets) with designated resources is an indication of the firepower capability of an assault helicopter subunit.

This indicator can be expressed by the number of helicopters required to destroy the objects (targets). It depends on the following factors:

The assumed probability of guaranteeing a target hit by helicopters (a group of helicopters);

Type of object (target);

Number and types of weapons;

Conditions and methods for attacking the object (target).

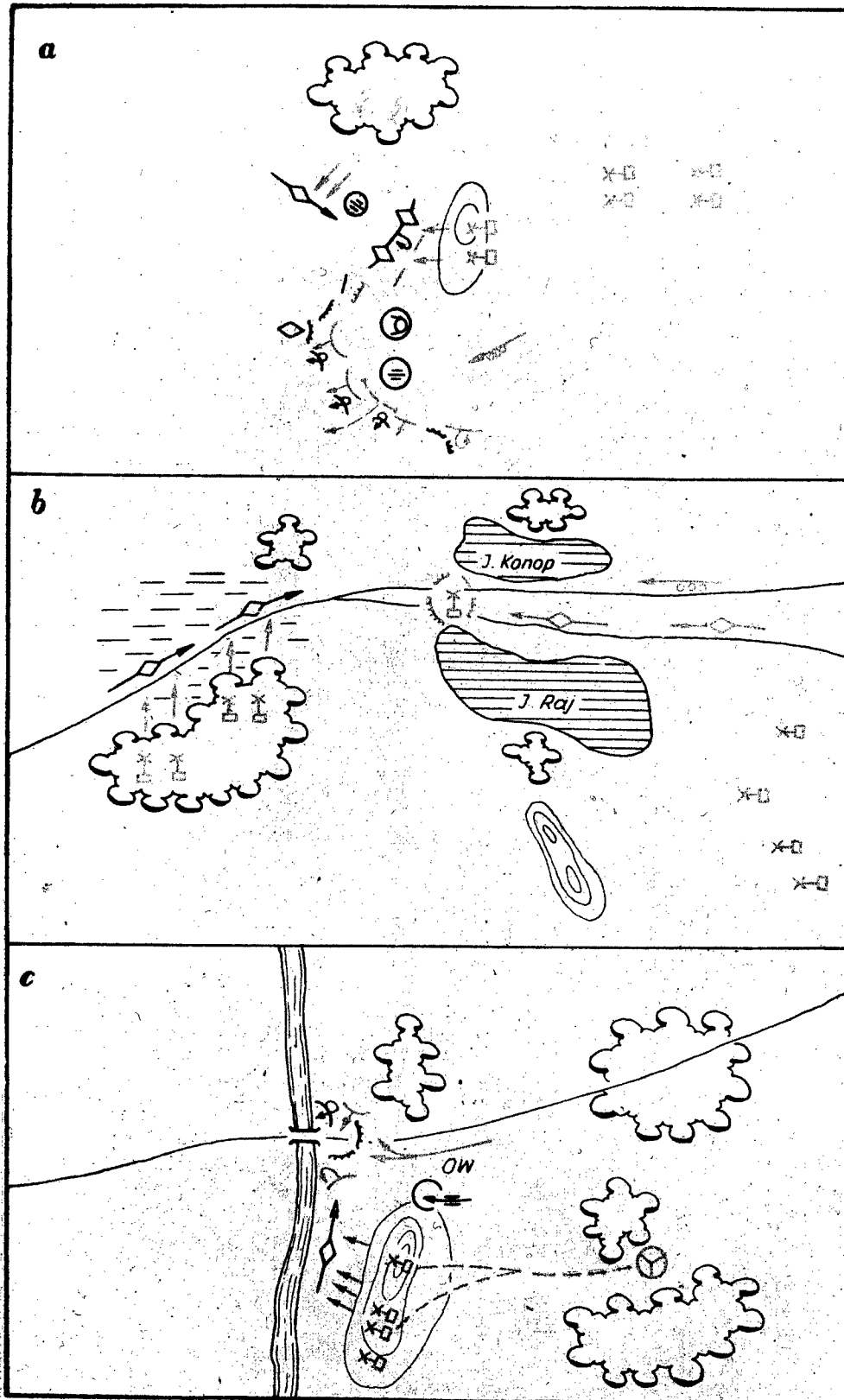


Figure. Methods of attack carried out by assault helicopters:
 a--simultaneous, b--successive, c--with fire ambush

Targets that can be attacked by assault helicopters can be divided into three basic groups:

1. Armored vehicles: tanks, armored artillery;
2. Lightly armored vehicles: armored personnel carriers, self-propelled (armored) artillery;
3. Unarmored vehicles and people: various types of vehicles, groups of enemy soldiers.

Methods of Carrying Out Combat Missions by Assault Helicopter Subunits

Carrying out combat missions by assault helicopter subunits consists of: using separate forces at the time and place needed to attack objects, designating tactical groupings of the separate forces during the time the combat mission is executed, establishing the goal of the mission (destroy, disable, disorganize, harass).

Depending on the combat mission, type of object (target), enemy anti-aircraft defenses and weather conditions, assault helicopters can use the following methods to carry out combat missions:

Simultaneous strikes;

Successive strikes;

Independent search and destroy operations;

Fire ambush (on assembling enemy forces);

Escort operations.

Simultaneous strikes are used when the goal is to destroy or disable an object (or objects) in the shortest time possible. Essential maneuvers over the action object by a preceding group of helicopters can be carried out during this time--or in small-time intervals. Simultaneous strikes can be carried out by helicopters or their groupings and they should approach the target in minimum-time intervals.

When on target, helicopter groups can be grouped in depth as well as breadth (flights over various courses). Operations with small groups enable good maneuvering conditions during the flight to and over the target (figure a).

While carrying out simultaneous strikes by several assault helicopter groups on several objects located close together, in order to avoid mutual interference, the commander of the helicopter subunit determines the

flight course to the target, the directions and types of maneuvers enabling repeated strikes to be executed, as well as joint actions regarding destruction of targets and overcoming enemy antiaircraft defenses in the action region.

Successive strikes are used when the objective is long-term disablement (standstill, disorganization) or to harass enemy forces, or when the number of assault helicopters is limited. It can be carried out against one or several targets depending on their detection during fire support of ground forces (figure b).

The time lapses between successive strikes against the same target depends most of all on the time needed to perform combat preparations (performing repairs, removing obstructions that have arisen, and the like). This method can be used when attacking shifting enemy forces, especially when subduing difficult sectors of terrain.

As is the case for a simultaneous strike, helicopter assault groups can attack targets from one or several directions and fly to the target over one or several routes.

Successive strikes will be carried out most frequently by assault helicopters on requests from the battlefield by authorized general-army commanders (via air force representatives).

Fire ambush can be used when ground conditions permit the mission to be executed by surprise, primarily on regrouping enemy forces under ground conditions unfavorable for the enemy. The place of ambush should be selected on friendly territory, or in a favorable situation on enemy territory, providing the helicopters cannot be detected prior to the attack. In principle, assault helicopters waiting to attack can be airborne beyond ground cover or on hidden landing fields (figure c). The signal to attack can be transmitted from a specially organized observation point or by helicopter crews conducting battlefield search and observation.

Independent search and destroy operations against targets are used under limited visibility conditions and when there is a lack of information about an enemy's exposed flanks and in line gaps, mainly to search out and subsequently destroy targets of great combat significance. Independent searches are conducted in groups and in designated regions. Flight-path selection, grouping and method of attack are determined by the crews.

Escort operations are based on carrying out a simultaneous flight of assault helicopters and other types of helicopters protected by them.

The tactic of their operations is based on their breaking away from the protected group of helicopters in order to attack (disable) antiaircraft defenses [OPL] ground installations or enemy assault helicopters.

During the time the transport helicopters are approaching the landing area, some of the escort helicopters can break away from the main force to examine the landing area, to carry out landing preparations and to secure the landing area. After the raiding party lands, some of the assault helicopters can remain at the disposal of the raid commander to provide direct fire support and reconnaissance for the benefit of fighting forces of the landing party.

An indispensable condition for improving military operations is that commanders of general-type military units should be aware of the combat effectiveness and methods of carrying out combat missions by assault helicopters.

11899

CSO: 2600

11

YUGOSLAVIA

MICUNOVIC'S MEMOIRS OF MOSCOW AMBASSADORSHIP NOTED

Notice in Weekly Newsmagazine

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1428, 21 May 78 p 8

[For a full translation of the copyrighted interview, see JPRS L/7922, 28 July 1978, (FOUO 12/78) of this series pp 1-11.]

[Text] Veljko Micunovic, author of the controversial "Moscow Years [1956/1958]," laments the "rather high" price of his book but does not conceal his satisfaction over the fact that the first edition of 10,000 copies is already sold out. He is evidently pleased that positive comments have been written about the book, but he remarks that it has been discussed "only in certain papers of local significance."

In an interview with KNJIZEVNA REC, Micunovic does not offer any comment on the fact that "Moscow Years" has been discussed only in local newspapers, but he adds that he is receiving letters from comrades and friends, letters that are regularly encouraging and sometimes lengthy and analytical. He is thus assured that readers have received his book.

And the Critics?

"We will just have to wait for that," says Micunovic, word for word.

Excerpts in Popular Magazine

[Editorial Report] Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian on 10 Jun 78, pages 19-21, reprints substantial excerpts from the copyrighted interview with Micunovic in KNJIZEVNA REC. While the latter publication is a biweekly literary paper, which originated with an antiestablishment tone, DUGA is a biweekly mass-circulation magazine.

CSO: 2800

END