

Note for file



10 DOWNING STREET

Extracted from undated submission files -
Background on Chernenko.

Contains -

- (i) undated press cutting.
- (ii) CPSU central committee plenum 16/6/83
- (iii) 'Soviet News' extract 8/9/82.
- (iv) Chernenko's speech in Tbilisi 1/11/82.

CST
21/2/84.

① ATC speaking note
on Chernenko

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② FCB



LEAVING WITH THE JOB UNFINISHED

# Soviet soliloquy

IN BRITAIN today the Soviet stance on various issues is often presented to the public in a distorted light, to put it mildly. The Soviet people and the Soviet Communist party harbour no secret intentions or malicious designs. We are open to the world.

Naturally, we are mainly concerned with our home affairs. We are concentrating on constructive tasks, such as advancing socialist democracy, developing industry, science and technology, agriculture and culture. Our progress in these fields is truly spectacular. Contrary to our ill-wishers' talk about a "decline of communism", we take a long stride forward every year. As far as its economic and intellectual potential is concerned the Soviet Union of the 1980 differs strikingly, not only from the young revolutionary Russia of the 1920s, but even from what it was 20 to 30 years ago.

This is not to say that we have no difficulties. They do exist, and the Communist party frankly admits them. This, incidentally, is what helps the Soviet Union to cope with them successfully and to scale one summit after another in its progress.

My country is getting richer and more advanced culturally, and its people have a higher standard of living than ever before. These are the fruits of the Soviet people's work for themselves and for society in conditions of freedom. In its foreign policy, the Soviet Union attaches top priority to safeguarding and strengthening peace and is determined to end the arms race.

We are in favour of an active and fruitful dialogue with nations living under a different social system to ours, the United States and Great Britain in



● KONSTANTIN CHERNENKO, now for the second time a leading contender for the most powerful job in the Soviet Union, wrote this article as an introduction to his collected speeches\*

particular. To work patiently so as to create a climate of trust and accord on earth is what my country is calling on other nations to do.

The bitter experience of wartime ideals has caused us to be vigilant. The Soviet Union has great military might. We are capable of meeting any challenge effectively. We hope, however, that nobody will be tempted to test the Soviet Union's strength again. We are not seeking military superiority, of course, but we will not concede to any nation gaining such superiority over us.

The USSR and the USA have much to divide them. They adhere to opposite ideological views. In the trying years of the Second World War, however, this fact did not prevent the Soviet, American and British peoples becoming staunch allies in the fight against the Axis powers. The Soviet-American dialogue in the 1970s was a major component of the process of détente. Whether the coming years will see co-operation or stiff confrontation between the two great powers is now up to the United States.

Our implicit faith in communist ideals is rooted in social reality. Of course, every Soviet citizen has a life path unmistakably his or her own. In one common area, however, the experience of millions of individuals

is identical: socialism, a dynamic and strong social system, is also a fair system, which brings education and culture within reach of all, offers everyone a job of his choice and excellent opportunities for advancement.

My own life story is an example in point. I was born into a large and poor peasant family in the Krasnoyarsk region of Siberia in 1911. I left my mother when I was a young boy. At 12 I went to work for a wealthy master to earn my living. New Soviet life was just coming into its own and I felt its fresh winds when I had joined the Young Communist League. That was back in 1926. We studied and held down our jobs at the same time. We were underfed and poorly clothed, but the dreams of a radiant future for all fascinated us and made us feel happy.

That was a time of tension. Now and then there were press reports about conflicts with foreign intruders raiding Soviet borders. So I volunteered to join the border guards. After some delay my request was granted. I joined the Communist party in 1931 during my term of service with border troops and was soon elected a party secretary. Nazi Germany's attack on my country found me in the post of secretary of the Krasnoyarsk territorial party committee.

Siberia became one of the nation's arsenals in wartime. Industrial plant evacuated from areas threatened by Nazi invasion had to be promptly brought back into production and geared to the war effort. Thousands of refugee families arrived in Siberia. All had to be accommodated, given jobs and encouragement. We made every effort to relieve their plight.

The year 1943 turned the tide of hostilities in the Soviet theatre of war. After the battle of Stalingrad, victory came into clearer view on the far horizon. It was time the party gave attention to peace-time problems, which were bound to be quite formidable in a country devastated by war. I was sent to advanced training courses for party functionaries under the CPSU central committee. Later I served as secretary of the Penza regional party committee and as chief of the propaganda department at the central committee of the Communist party of Moldavia.

For over two decades now I have served in top party and government jobs in Moscow.

What I wish to say in conclusion is an expression of not only my view, but the view of the Communist party and the entire Soviet people. Today it is more important than ever before to multiply our efforts towards mutual understanding. The imperative need to preserve peace and to guarantee every nation the right to free and independent development has priority over anything else.

I would like the people of the Soviet Union and Great Britain to be partners in making progress towards these goals.

\* To be published in Britain by Pergamon Press on March 5, price £5.

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16 Jun 83

*Chernenko Speeches*

### C. CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

#### Communique on First Day's Proceedings of June 1983 Plenum

Tass in Russian for abroad 1445 (and in English 1442) gmt 14 Jun 83

Text of "Communique on the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee":

A regular plenum of the CPSU Central Committee began its work on 14th June, 1983. The meeting was opened by Yuriy Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

A report "Topical questions of the Party's ideological and mass-political work" was made at the plenum by Konstantin Chernenko, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The speakers in the discussion of the report were Comrades Viktor Grishin, First Secretary of Moscow City CPSU Committee; Dinmukhamed Kunayev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Kazakhstan; Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of the Ukraine; Eduard Shevardnadze, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Georgia; Petr Demichev, USSR Minister of Culture; Vladimir Chicherov, leader of a team of assembly workers of the "Leningradskiy metallicheskiy zavod" turbine-building production association; Midkhat Shakirov, First Secretary of Bashkir Oblast CPSU Committee; Aleksandr Filatov, First Secretary of Novosibirsk Oblast CPSU Committee; Georgiy Markov, First Secretary of the board of the USSR Writers' Union; Aleksey Yepishev, head of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy; and Avgust Voss, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Latvia.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee continues its work.

#### Report by Chernenko

Tass in Russian for abroad and in English 1522 gmt 14 Jun (also Moscow home service 0100, 0300 and 0500 gmt 15 Jun and summaries in various foreign languages) 83

"Full text" of report, "Topical questions of the Party's ideological and mass-political work", delivered to the CPSU Central Committee on 14th June by Konstantin Chernenko (passages in bold type as indicated in Tass Russian version):

[Note: Tass announced on 15th June (in English 0801 gmt): "Tass apologizes to its subscribers for the delay in the transmission of Konstantin Chernenko's report on 14th June, 1983. The delay was due to faults in the computer system."]

The revolutionary transformation of society is impossible without changing man himself. And our Party proceeds from the premise that **the moulding of the new man is not only the most important aim but also an imperative condition of communist construction.**

Great October destroyed the social and spiritual fetters that shackled for centuries the creative energies of people of labour. The revolution placed the working class in the centre of the modern epoch and freed the gigantic creative energy of the working people. And it is here that the best features of the Soviet character are rooted.

Soviet man, a fiery patriot and internationalist convinced of the correctness of the ideals of communism, matured, hardened and grew in the course of revolutionary struggle and revolutionary creativity. He is distinguished by vigorous civic attitude, vital

interest in all state and public matters and imaginative, creative attitude to work. In short, comrades, we have every reason to believe that the new man is not just a remote ideal but also a reality of our time.

In this we see a result of the most profound social-economic and political changes effected under the guidance of the Party of Lenin and of its constant concern for the development of socialist democracy and for the growth of the consciousness, well-being and culture of working people.

We see in this a vivid testimony of the constantly growing influence of the Party among the masses and its strengthening ties with the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, and of the inviolable unity of the Party and the people.

The decisions of the November (1982) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, which continued the line of the 26th Party Congress and confirmed the continuity of its home and foreign policies, are supported by the entire people. The working people of the Soviet Union ardently approve the activity of the CPSU Central Committee and of its Politburo headed by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee. It is directed at consistently improving the work of the entire state and economic mechanism, at raising the responsibility of cadres, organization and discipline, further building up the economic and defence might of our homeland and advancing the well-being of the Soviet people.

The Party possesses a powerful and most diverse arsenal of means of ideological influence, numerous well-trained cadres and everything necessary to ensure the high effectiveness and quality of propaganda and education. It should not be forgotten, however, that the process of the forming of the new man is just as continuous and complex as life itself is continuous and complex. The social and economic conditions of work and daily life are changing, and more and more new generations are entering the period of maturity. And this sets quite a number of new tasks which the Party is keeping at the centre of its attention. The main directions of improving ideological, political and educational work in present-day conditions are outlined in the 26th April 1979, resolution of the Central Committee, in the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress and other Party documents. The purpose of our plenum is to discuss the progress of implementation of these resolutions and to exchange views on how to carry on the work.

The socialist state, Lenin stressed, derives its strength from the consciousness of the masses. And the Party tirelessly sees to the perfection of the ideological, political, labour and moral upbringing of Soviet people. It constantly links this work with the concrete historical situation and with the internal and external conditions in which our development takes place.

Today the Party and the people are solving tasks of unprecedented scope. We are carrying out huge comprehensive socio-economic programmes, including the Food and Energy Programmes, we are pressing for the intensification of production and the acceleration of scientific and technological progress and we are changing the appearance of vast regions. We are persistently striving for the tremendous possibilities of our economy, science and culture and natural resources to be used as fully and as effectively as possible. And it stands to reason that ideological work must accord with all these tasks. The fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan, and pace of our advance and, of course, the strengthening of the country's defence capability depend in many ways on how we shall be able to mobilize the spiritual energy of the people and promote their labour and social activity.

You understand well, comrades, that in the present conditions the international situation exerts a noticeable influence on the nature of propaganda and educational work. The international situation has seriously deteriorated lately. The USA and its NATO allies are following an extremely dangerous course. Its class meaning is clear: to try to put the brake on progressive changes in the life of mankind and regain lost positions. Having suffered a number of major defeats in the world arena in the 1960s and 1970s, imperialism, above all American imperialism, is mounting ever more massive attacks of

precedented scope on our social system and on Marxist-Leninist ideology, trying to poison the minds of Soviet people, distort the aims of our foreign policy and block the growing influence of real socialism - the main bulwark of the cause of peace and the freedom of peoples. A tense and truly global struggle of two ideologies is taking place.

All this requires the renewing, enriching and making more relevant of the content of ideological and educational work and its forms and methods, and increasing the vigorous nature of our entire propaganda. Such phenomena as evading the acute issues of life, formalism and ostentatiousness must be resolutely overcome. Realism, truthfulness and efficiency, skilful presentation of our accomplishments and thoughtful analysis of questions causing people concern freshness of thought and clarity of presentation - it is towards this that the Central Committee orients ideological workers.

All ideological activity must facilitate the assertion everywhere of the Leninist style of work - a style that is businesslike, creative, innovative, imbued with lofty devotion to ideology and with implacability to everything that is inert and contradicts the norms of socialist morality and the collectivist way of life.

A special colouring is given to our plenum by the fact that it is taking place in a year that has been rightly called the year of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism and proletarian ideology. This ideology is scientific and democratic, revolutionary and humane, and this radically distinguishes it from bourgeois ideology which justifies and blesses the exploiter system and the aggressive policy of imperialism and preaches nationalism and chauvinism. Contrary to bourgeois ideology, communist ideology wins the minds and hearts of millions by its truthfulness and honesty, wholeness and optimism. This is the ideology of a class that is in the ascendancy, the ideology of a new society, the ideology of peace and friendship among peoples.

Comrades, the effectiveness of ideological work directly depends on how accurately the specific features of the period through which the country is living are taken into account. In general form this question is clear. **Soviet society has entered a historically lengthy stage of developed (Russian: razvitoy) socialism; to perfect it in every way is our strategic task.**

The dialectics of the present stage of our development are already patently expressed in these propositions. This is the stage of mature (Russian: zrelyy) socialism. But this is only the beginning of the stage. On the one hand, we are faced with major tasks of today and tomorrow while, on the other hand, there exist problems that remain, so to say, from yesterday.

Big successes have been achieved in solving many economic, social-political and cultural tasks of the first phase of communism. The shoots of the communist future are visibly growing stronger. At the same time our advance is being held up by shortcomings in the economic mechanism, by a labour productivity, especially in agriculture, that does not satisfy us and by the insufficient civic maturity and discipline of some people.

It is understandable that the views and sentiments of working people are formed under the influence not only of our achievements but also of shortcomings and difficulties. One must not fail to take this into consideration. We must strictly proceed from Lenin's instruction that it is a prime duty of the Party to "soberly follow the actual state of the class-consciousness and preparedness of the entire class (not only of its communist vanguard), and of the whole mass of the working people (not only of their advanced elements)". It is only on this condition that one can count on success in mass-political work and in the cause of communist construction.

All this sets before us a number of theoretical and practical tasks. Let us take the theoretical tasks.

We rightly regard the propositions and conclusions contained in the materials of the 24th-26th Congresses in the CPSU and the plenums of the Central Committee, and in the statements by Yu.V. Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central

committee, as real achievements of Marxist-Leninist thought of recent times. The elaboration of the concept of developed socialism, of ways of raising the efficiency of production in conditions of the scientific-technological revolution, the posing of the question of the establishment of the classless structure of society within the historical framework of the first phase of communism, the deepening of our nations of the content of the nationalities question at the present stage, of the most important tendencies of international life, the development of Lenin's teaching on war and peace and on defence of the socialist homeland - these and other theoretical generalizations arm the Party with new ideas and with a scientifically substantiated and balanced approach to the pressing problems of our time.

It goes without saying that in its theoretical activity the CPSU relies on the best works of Soviet philosophers, economists, historians, sociologists, jurists and psychologists. All the same, assistance to the Party from scientific institutions could have been more substantive.

Let me give you a specific example. We expected much from the Institute of Sociological Studies and the Central Economic-Mathematical Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences which were set up way back in the 1960s. But to this day we are still waiting for thorough specific studies of social phenomena and pressing economic problems. The activities of these institutes patently demonstrate shortcomings that are also typical, to one extent or another, of some other scientific institutions: isolation within their own "academic" (Russian: dissertatsionnyy) and group interests, triviality of subject matter and weakness of Party influence. The Department of Science and Educational Institutions of the Central Committee, the Presidium and the Department of Social Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Party organizations should devote more attention to questions of planning and organizing research and to the style and methods of work of scientific collectives.

The study of problems of mature socialism must be on the main route of development of the social sciences. It is a matter of setting out from already achieved truths and of advancing, expanding our theoretical horizon, deepening our notions of the most important patterns of the country's economic, social, political and spiritual progress. The point is also not to interpret the developed and mature nature of Soviet society as its full perfection and not to idealize what has been accomplished. The efforts of all social sciences must be concentrated on the constructive elaboration of methods and means of attaining our immediate and long-term aims.

The study of foreign policy factors and international relations is no less important. Obviously, the optimistic view of mankind's future which is inherent in communists cannot be based on a simplified and narrowly focused (Russian: pryamolineynyy) understanding of the historical process. This calls for a constant search into the correlation of class forces in the international arena and for taking into account and foreseeing their influence on the solution of the main questions of our time - that of war and peace. It is necessary to make a deeper analysis of the social-political processes in the countries of socialism, the ways of all-round strengthening of the world socialist community, the latest specific features of state-monopoly capitalism and the class struggle of the proletariat, the world communist and workers' movement, the development of countries of socialist orientation, and global issues of our time.

I believe there is no need to enumerate here all the specific problems that demand the attention of scholars. Let us put the question in a more generalized form: If we want a look at the principles involved, what should we want the studies in the field of social sciences to be like?

First, they must proceed from the existing reality, with all its pluses and minuses, and show more fully the objective laws of social development.

As is known, the question of contradictions as the motive force of social development is of substantial importance for theory and practice. It has been elaborated quite well as applied to the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. What is

needed today is an all-round study of the non-antagonistic contradictions inherent in mature socialism and of the specific features of their resolution in conditions of the strengthening social-political and ideological unity of Soviet society. Here, just as in any social organism, a struggle between the new and the old is taking place, and not only creative but also negative tendencies exist. These include, for example, parochialism and the narrow departmental approach, bureaucratism and conservatism. The causes of these and other such phenomena must be revealed and means of overcoming them found.

Second, the scientific institutions must work more purposefully (Russian: *operativno*) and flexibly. Life does not develop according to a once set pattern. Unexpected turns of events take place. Questions arise which are just as unexpected. And one must be able to concentrate scientific forces on them in good time.

Third, despite their importance, discussions about the laws and categories of science should not be of a self-sufficing, scholastic nature. The Party hopes that scientific research will result in the more frequent appearance of solid practical recommendations.

Fourth, scientific workers must act with greater orientation towards the future and must "detect" the ripening tendencies in good time. I am referring to reliable forecasting that would make it possible to see the future better and take well-founded decisions.

And the most important thing is that the social sciences are obliged to be guided undeviatingly by revolutionary theory and to make skilful use of the tested Marxist-Leninist methodology of scientific quest. Of course, new facts can lead to the need to supplement and refine existing views. But there are truths that are not subject to revision, problems that had been solved long ago and unequivocally. One should not, while remaining on the soil of science, "forget" about the fundamental principles of materialist dialectics.

One can hardly recognize as scientific the concepts that explain such qualities of man as, say, honesty, courage and decency by the presence of "positive" genes and actually deny that these qualities are formed by the social environment. For it has long been known how unproductive are attempts mechanically to transfer the notions and methods of natural and technical sciences to the field of social phenomena, and the simplified interpretation of the inter-relationships of nature and society, and that this, in effect, impedes the strengthening of fruitful co-operation of these sciences with social sciences. Correctly organized scientific criticism plays an important role in overcoming such erroneous views. It is, of course, impermissible to attach ideological "labels" during a theoretical polemic, but this does not at all exclude impartial evaluations of those works that deserve this. Precision of world outlook, if you like, methodological discipline of thought are an imperative condition of the successful development of social sciences.

Tens of thousands of industrious people loyal to the Party and people are working in our science. This is a big force. The Party is confident that Soviet scientists will further devote all their knowledge and all their talent to serving our socialist homeland.

**Comrades, the idea of perfecting developed socialism must be placed at the base not only of theoretical work but also of all propaganda and educational work.**

Why is it necessary to focus attention on this? First of all because during a certain period of time, as you know, there existed a light-weight perception of the ways and duration of transition to the highest phase of communism. In hastening our dream, so to speak, some theoreticians and propagandists tried to smooth out the roughness of the road taken by us and lost contact with the real conditions of life. But without a complete and conscious overcoming of the "flight" of propaganda from reality it is impossible to achieve unity of words and deeds, although this is a crucial source of our strength.

We have achieved much in attaining an aim which has never been set by anyone but communists - forming an ideologically convinced, harmoniously developed and spiritually rich individual building his life according to the laws of social justice and reason,



goodness and beauty. But we have no reason to be complacent. As we advance there is a constant growth not only of the possibilities for the all-round development of the personality but also of demands made on it by society.

Here the Party views as the most important task the education in every person of the requirement to work, of a clear awareness of the need for conscientious work for the common good. Both the social recognition and the material welfare of a person must be determined first of all by how he works. It is not just the economic side that is important here. The ideological and moral side is no less important. For in work man not only creates material values but also develops his best abilities, steels his will, fulfils his creative potential and asserts himself as a citizen, as an active builder of communism.

An honest, conscientious attitude to work is the prime foundation of the socialist way of life. But is this characteristic of all? Unfortunately it is not. The improvement of the organization and strengthening of the discipline of work in all sectors and at all levels - from the worker and collective farmer to the minister, with strict observance of contractual obligations to deliver produce as the Central Committee demands - this is a real reserve for raising the economy. This reserve can and, as we see, does produce without special outlay a weighty material result. The steps taken by the Party to strengthen labour discipline and order have shown that within a comparatively short period of time we have succeeded in making noticeable progress in overcoming in some people slackness and irresponsible attitudes to their work obligations. These efforts were received by the people with satisfaction.

This, for instance, is what Hero of Socialist Labour Vladimir Grigoryevich Komarov, a worker at the Sergo Ordzhonikidze machine-tool building works, wrote to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "It was not on impulse that I sat down to write this letter. Your warm meeting with workers of my plant was the reason for it. A worker of long standing and a war veteran, I have seen a lot in my life. And, honestly, the soul rejoices at how much we have accomplished. The changes for the better are immense indeed. But they could have been still greater.

"Most work honestly as their worker's conscience demands that they do. There are, however, some who work sloppily, who are not above skipping their work, but who on payday are the first in line at the cashier's and even complain about not being paid enough. So a man has lost his conscience. He wants to give less but take more. Take from whom? From the state, which means from us.

"The line of our Party's Central Committee on strengthening discipline and the organization of work is, so to speak, the frame on which the entire machine is mounted: labour productivity, the quality of output and, as the end result, our whole standard of living. I will tell you wholeheartedly that the line of the Party is fully and entirely consonant with our thoughts and feelings. This is our line of work."

I am confident, Comrades, that every honest working man would sign this letter.

The strengthening of discipline is not a short-lived campaign but implies painstaking daily work. Success is ensured when not only the management but all working people are taking direct part in it, when it relies on the experience, consciousness and civic activity of the masses.

Discipline and order are inalienable aspects of socialist democracy which gives our people broad possibilities for administering the state and society. The Party regards the further development and deepening of democracy as a mighty and effective means of the communist education of working people and the moulding of the new man.

The CPSU Central Committee attentively studies everything that is born of the creativity of the people and encourages in every way the development of democracy in the most diverse spheres of social life, including directly in production. For instance, such team work organization as single contract working has proved to be a form of truly

socialist self-management. The experience of enterprises in Moscow, Kaluga, Dnepropetrovsk, Sverdlovsk and other cities and a number of rural areas shows that productivity and labour discipline are usually higher in the collectives that have switched to this form of work, where each worker sees better the connection between his labour contribution and his earnings. Patently manifesting themselves here are the spirit of comradesly mutual assistance and the educational impact of highly organized socialist work.

It is the duty of Party committees to search constantly for ways to develop the initiative of the working man, raise his role in the management of production and educate in every Soviet citizen the feeling of being a full-fledged master of the country. New possibilities here will be opened by the Law on the Work Collective.

Accumulated experience confirms that where the rights and possibilities of work collectives are used in full measure not only do the production indicators rise but the moral atmosphere is also purer and there are fewer violations of law and order.

Comrades, the education of the new man is inseparable from the most vigorous struggle against drunkenness, hooliganism and sponging, speculation and theft of socialist property, bribe-taking and money-grubbing. It would be wrong to see in all these ugly phenomena, which give rise to the concern and rightful indignation of working people, only "vestiges of the past" in the consciousness and behaviour of people. The causes of many of these "sores" should be sought also in present-day practice, in the mistakes of some workers or others, in the real problems and difficulties of our development and in the shortcomings of educational activities. So the removal of negative phenomena requires not only constant propaganda efforts but also measures of an economic, organizational and legal nature.

We must create an atmosphere of intolerance of all violators of the norms of socialist community life, regardless of who they are, and mobilize public opinion against them. Of course, more vigorous and purposeful work to form the reasonable requirements and interests of the individual is also necessary.

Experience proves again and again that success in education is ensured only when it rests on the firm foundation of socio-economic policy. This provision of the 26th Congress is of fundamental importance. Party cadres must know well the socio-economic factors that influence the sentiments and behaviour of people, and link ideological work with the struggle to fulfil key economic and socio-political tasks.

The serious critical analysis that was made lately in the CPSU Central Committee of the activity of the Irkutsk, Tula, Khmel'nitskiy and some other oblast Party committees showed that one of the main causes of the lag of these oblasts in developing the economy was their underestimation of ideological and educational activity in work collectives and mistakes in the selection, placement and education of cadres. There is no doubt that ideological activity by itself cannot solve economic and social problems. The successes that are attained should not be ascribed to it alone, nor should it alone be rebuked for the existing shortcomings. The required effect is produced only by the merging of ideological and educational work with political, organizational and economic work. Both Party and economic leaders should always remember this.

This applies to any section of our activity and any branch of the national economy. Especially obvious is the need for a comprehensive approach to the solution of problems arising in the countryside where the working and living conditions are usually more complicated. It is necessary to switch agricultural work to an industrial basis more vigorously, enrich its content and raise its prestige. The countryside should be modernized everywhere, and housing, living and cultural conditions there should be improved. It is on this that the attention of Party organizations is concentrated by the May 1982 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the April conference at the Central Committee on questions of agriculture and implementation of the Food Programme. Without the solution of these problems it is difficult to achieve the strengthening of collective and state farms with skilled cadres and the creation in each farm of a stable collective.

Comrades, the struggle to raise the efficiency of production and the quality of output is the key element of our work. Socialist emulation, the movement for the communist attitude to work, the efforts of every collective, of scientists and specialists must be directed at this.

What contribution can be made here by the system of propaganda and education? A very substantial one, first of all actively to form the new type of economic thinking directed at initiative and socialist enterprise, at raising responsibility, at the creative search for ways leading to the best economic end result for the least outlay.

We know quite a few examples of a correct solution of these tasks. Take the collective of the Likhachev motor vehicle works in Moscow. Steady growth of labour productivity and improvement of output quality are characteristic of it. How is this achieved? First of all because the Party organization persistently asserts at the works the spirit of creativity and innovation and facilitates the introduction into practice of everything that is advanced. Also serving this end is the streamlined and effective system of personnel training which, incidentally, begins even outside the enterprise - with work in affiliated schools. Much attention is given to the education of young workers and the development of mentorship (Russian: *nastavnichestvo*) for young workers. Publicity, the open discussion of successes and failures and the participation of officials of every rank in political and educational work create the social climate in which people work well.

But it is far from everywhere that things are so organized. Much work still lies ahead of us to improve the propaganda of model methods of work and intensive methods of management. Delays and red tape in disseminating advanced experience are also economic losses, and quite tangible ones on a countrywide scale.

Economic propaganda, on the whole, is doing little to facilitate the study and utilization of such experience. Party committees are duty bound to ensure that this propaganda should concentrate on problems on which the fulfilment of the Party's economic policy and the performance of work collectives primarily depend. It would be expedient to include special themes, perhaps even courses, in the study programmes of the system of economic education with the purpose of improving the level of scientific and technical knowledge of workers, specialists and economic managers and substantially expanding the study of advanced experience.

Genuine efficiency and a thrifty attitude to the people's property and to the use of material, labour and financial resources are an inalienable feature of modern economic thinking. Numerous propaganda activities are being conducted on matters of economy and thrift. But it is not everywhere that they have the backing of effective practical measures. This is the result: the assignments for 1982 to save electricity and some other material resources were fulfilled in the country as a whole only by 50% or even less. There was particular slowness to save fuel and electricity, for instance, at enterprises of the USSR ministries of Power and Electrification, Heavy and Transport Machine Building and Mineral Fertilizers Production. The struggle for economy and thrift should be based on a well-considered system of material and moral incentives so that it really becomes a cause for the entire state and people.

Comrades, quite a number of tasks are being set ideological workers by life. But invariably among them, now as before, is the task of forming the scientific, Marxist-Leninist world outlook - the foundation of the communist upbringing of people. It is this world outlook that makes communists and working people into conscious political fighters capable of independently assessing social phenomena, seeing the connection of the current tasks with our ultimate aims and conducting a well-argued polemic with any ideological opponent. The Party is paying undiminished attention to instilling in communists essential theory, together with an interest in and a taste for them. Our system of Party education is also intended to achieve this. The bolder we rid ourselves of formalism, dogmatism, inertia and obsolete forms of education that produce little effect, the better will Party education perform its role, and the more accurately will we take into account the specifics of every category of communist. It is necessary consistently and

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persistently to readjust our work here in line with the resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee after the 26th Party Congress.

The CPSU attaches prime importance to studying the ideological heritage of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and V.I. Lenin. A tremendous amount of work has been done to collect and publish their works. The fifth edition of the collected works of Lenin has been completed. The second edition of works by Marx and Engels, including some 1,500 items published for the first time, has been put out. The total printing of Marxist-Leninist classics in the years of Soviet power has exceeded 700,000,000 copies.

I would like, Comrades, to seek your advice on the following matter. We want a scientific world outlook to be an asset of all Soviet people, of every new generation. But do our books and teaching aids on the fundamentals of revolutionary theory, intended for the mass reader, always meet the known Leninist requirement of the propaganda of Marxism: to be as scientific and popularized as possible? There is a current need, it seems, to prepare a book in which an easily comprehensible presentation of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism is organically combined with a striking narrative of the heroic road traversed by our Party and people.

*new  
History  
or  
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You will probably also agree that today the forming of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook has never been more closely connected with convincing and skilful propaganda of our historic accomplishments and the advantages of the new system. It is necessary to show more deeply the meaning of such fundamental values of socialism as the collectivist spirit, comradely mutual assistance, genuine power of the people, humanism, the fraternal friendship of peoples, the moral health of society and the confidence of everyone in the future. "In total," Yu.V. Andropov stresses in the article 'The teaching of Karl Marx and some questions of building socialism in the USSR', "this means a fundamentally new quality of life for the working masses which is by no means reduced to material comfort but absorbs the entire spectrum of full-blooded human existence".

It is important that an understanding of the true value of the historic achievements of Soviet society should not be smoothed over in the consciousness of people, and that the proud feeling of being a citizen of a new world should not be eroded, to quote Vladimir Mayakovskiy, by the most terrible type of depreciation - the depreciation on the heart and the soul. It is necessary to place the great attractive power of communist ideals more actively at the service of our educational aims.

## II

Comrades, Lenin regarded the press as a most mighty instrument of ideological influence and political guidance of society. The correctness of this thesis is confirmed by the entire experience of building socialism. **The mass information and propaganda media are an effective instrument of the communist education and organization of working people, of giving ideological backing to the Party's home and foreign policy, a real rostrum of the whole people.** It is their activity that in our days determines to a considerable extent the effectiveness of Party propaganda and the state of affairs in the other sectors of the ideological front.

Since the 26th CPSU Congress our press has increased the attention given by it to urgent tasks of building communism. The increased effectiveness and maturity of its publications is illustrated by the fact that many of the ideas and proposals outlined in them were taken into consideration during the drafting of important documents of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. I shall mention, for instance, the publications in 'Pravda' concerning matters of improving the management of the rayon echelon of the agro-industrial complex, in 'Izvestiya' concerning the manufacture of consumer goods, and in 'Trud' concerning the participation of workers in the management of production. In such splendid achievements of our time as the construction of the Baykal-Amur Railway, the development of Siberia and the Far East, the construction of the Urengoy - Pomary - Uzhgorod gas pipeline, the improvement of large tracts of land and the development of the non-black earth zone the mass media are manifesting themselves not as impassive chroniclers but as vigorous propagandists and organizers.

The abundant practice of our press shows that its work is effective only when attention is focused on the main directions of the people's creative activity, when pressing issues are raised and the working people are extensively drawn into discussing them. Letters from readers, the TV audience and radio listeners, and dispatches from worker and peasant newspaper contributors are a sensitive barometer of public opinion, a full-flowing source of the thoughts, experience and initiative of the masses. And the editorial offices should use them in full measure. In their turn the Party committees are obliged to see to it that each serious publication finds a live response, becomes an impulse to improve the state of affairs and to achieve new frontiers.

The growth of the educational and cultural standards of Soviet people makes new demands on our press, television and radio. The CPSU Central Committee and the editorial offices are getting letters from working people expressing dissatisfaction with the content, language and style of some publications and programmes. Criticism is directed against cliché dispatches and commentaries and also against leading articles in which you will not find either profound generalizations or original thoughts. The insufficient promptness and the insufficiency of information in television and radio programmes are also criticized with justification.

Editorial boards should work perseveringly to eliminate these shortcomings. Every publication, every article should fascinate and convince the readers by its grasp of life and principledness, keen thought and vivid style.

The structure of periodicals - newspapers and magazines - should be perfected. The demand for a number of publications for children, teenagers and other groups of society is insufficiently met. At the same time, quite a lot of purely departmental publications, especially journals, are put out although some of them, to be frank, are of little value.

I should also like to discuss with you the long-ripe problems of the town and rayon press. They account for almost a half of all newspapers, and do a great amount of work, but many of them often try only to copy the central and oblast newspapers, but do not satisfy the needs of the readers in all respects. At times people are better informed about events in a distant foreign country than about happenings in their town or rayon. It is worth noting the experience of those of them which change the periodicity and size of the issues, taking into consideration the conditions of work and the requests of the readers, certainly, within the limits of the fixed annual budget of the paper. The main efforts of the editorial boards should be aimed at covering local life, and this should be done thoroughly, at a good professional level. There is no doubt that the All-Union Institute for the advancement of the professional Skills of the Workers of the Press, which is being established, will contribute towards the resolution of these and other problems.

A good deal depends in this field also on the leadership of the local press exercised by the Party committees. Unfortunately, sometimes two extremes are observed: either town and rayon committees seem to forget their newspapers altogether or paralyze their initiative by petty tutelage, at times distracting the editors for a long time from their duties by charging them with various economic missions. The rayon and town newspapers have other problems too. They are short of skilled staff and the printing facilities are far from being at the required level. Obviously time has come to examine, specially at the CPSU Central Committee, matters pertaining to the development of the local press.

The effectiveness of propaganda is determined above all by such qualities as its being science-based, truthful and realistic. It goes without saying that these qualities are indispensable both for critical, problem articles and stories and for publications about our successes. "what, precisely, are these successes? Have they been verified? Are they not fables, boasting...? How have the successes been achieved? What must be done to extend them?" This is the way Lenin posed the question.

It is necessary to recall this because there are still plenty of boasters about. Take, for instance, our newspapers early in the year. They publish a profusion of assurances that all plans will be overfulfilled. But when the time comes to sum up the results, it is

impossible to get a word out of some people, while others will make a report, suggesting that they are worthy of an award, although the plan targets and commitments have not been met. In such cases journalists should be, as they say, more biting, and should uphold the interests of the state more boldly.

Criticism in the press is, most certainly, a sharp weapon, and one should be able to use it without departing from positions of principle and objectivity. To us a critical statement is no sensation but a signal whose sole aim is to eliminate shortcomings.

I shall also talk about the attitude to criticism. It is an open secret that attempts are sometimes made to prevent critical statements or to "reassure" an editorial board with a formal reply. We have also come across facts of persecution for criticism, and one cannot help thinking that the cases of suppression of criticism would be impossible if the Party and government bodies only punished the culprits.

The press exerts its main influence on the education of the masses by popularizing advanced experience and models in all spheres of life. It has rich opportunities possibilities to give an effective portrayal of the image of our contemporary - the working man - who embodies lofty ideological and moral qualities. We need vivid stories about heroes of the Five-Year Plan: workers, collective farmers and specialists, such films of TV journalism as "The tuner" - about the Leningrad innovator Ye. N. Moryakov, or "Yegor Ivanovich" - about the famous miners' team leader Ye. I. Drozdetskiy. Needless to say, TV films about the country's best people are very important in educating the younger generation of the working class.

The TV audience is also expecting more feature films and entertainment programmes in good taste. Of course, it is not easy to make every programme meaningful and interesting. But there is no other way to the minds and hearts of viewers.

Comrades, it is the most important mission of socialist culture to form and elevate the spiritual needs of man and actively influence the ideological, political and moral values of the individual. It is this that determines the measure of responsibility of the artist whose talent is highly appreciated by the Party and regarded by it as a most valuable asset of society. Most heartfelt words of gratitude are due to those men of letters, musicians, artists and workers in the theatre and cinema who are actively developing the great multinational culture of our homeland. Many works of art of the past few years have become good travelling companions to millions of people in their life. This, undoubtedly, is the effect of the multi faceted activity of our creative associations in promoting the links of literature and art with the practice of building communism.

The point of departure in the artist's work has always been his civic position. It is only a Party approach that helps understanding of the main trends of our time. genuine talent does not isolate itself from life or take the liberty of vulgarly idealizing reality or artificially emphasizing negative phenomena.

But it must be admitted that things happen differently sometimes. Certain film-makers and authors sometimes put to the forefront only unhappy lives, troubles in life, unstable and uncaring characters. But man, particularly a young man, needs an ideal embodying noble goal in life, ideological convictions, industry and fortitude. There is no need to invent such heroes because they are living among us.

It is worrying that some works of art permit departures from historical truth, for instance, in evaluating collectivization, and let in "God-seeking" motives and idealization of the patriarchal way of life. We also encounter instances of an author either getting discouraged by complex problems or trying to show off by interpreting them in an "unorthodox" way, thereby distorting our reality. Such phenomena could be avoided if the staff of all the journals and publishing houses stamped out more resolutely instances of unprincipledness, appeasement and subjectivist bias. This fully applies also to the formation of the repertory of theatres and cinemas.

Not everything satisfies us in such a popular art genre as variety either. One cannot fail to see, for instance, that the wave of popularity sometimes brings to the surface

music groups with programmes of doubtful value, which cause ideological and aesthetic harm.

A more careful approach should also be made to the selection of foreign and creative products which we are getting through cultural exchanges. It is common knowledge that, along with meaningful works of art, we are getting films, plays, publications and music which are noted for their lack of ideals, platitudes and lack of artistic substance. One should not forget, comrades, that here we should give priority to a political rather than a commercial approach.

The USSR Ministry of Culture, the USSR State Committee for Cinematography and the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Works and the Book Trade should improve the supervision of the development of those areas of creative life of society which come within their particular sphere of activity. There should be no room for either formalism or lack of control. The Department of Culture of the Central Committee, too, should be more active in helping creative organizations and establishments to organize their work in the spirit of high Party demands and principles.

Of course, the Leninist style of leadership of the development of culture is distinguished by a profound understanding of the specific features and complexities of artistic creative work and methods of command and lack of objectivity are alien to it.

Thousands upon thousands of communists work in creative associations and establishments of art and culture. They are the militant vanguard of our artistic intelligentsia and its political core. It is important that Party organizations should actively influence the ideological orientation of theatres and film studios, literary associations, journals and publishing houses and the education of cadres, create an atmosphere of good teamwork between recognized masters and young workers in art, and help them to master Marxism-Leninism and to perfect their skills.

Soviet culture, which is permeated with humanism, creative diversity and artistic wealth, is actively promoting the cause of mutual understanding between the peoples. Last year alone, about 400 Soviet art groups visited over 100 countries. Revolutionary solidarity leads our film-makers, journalists, writers and artistes to the "flash points" of the world where the battle for the freedom of the peoples and for social justice is going on. And it is heartening that talented works of journalism, political novels, plays and films, which often are created on the heels of actual events, are winning ever larger audiences in the country and abroad.

The scope of the spread of cultural values here is truly immense. But there also are certain difficulties. The growing demand for books, first and foremost fiction and art publications, is not yet met in full. The reasons for this are well-known, namely, lack of printing capacity and paper. Musical instruments, modern TV equipment, particularly filming and transmitting equipment, and dependable colour TV sets are not yet produced in sufficient quantities. The USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR Ministries of Communications Equipment and the Electronics Industries, the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper and Wood Industry, the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances and other departments do not approach with proper responsibility the strengthening of the technical base of propaganda. But it is time to understand that the delay in the provision of technical equipment is a brake on the efficient use of our propaganda potential.

Comrades, now over to our tasks which emanate from the present-day international situation. As you know, the USA and NATO countries are banking today mainly on achieving military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty organization and on the runaway arms race camouflaged with myths about the "Soviet military threat". Washington's adventurist policy, whipping up international tension to the utmost, is pushing mankind towards nuclear catastrophe.

Given all the complexity of international relations, the CPSU is still firmly convinced that nuclear madness can be stopped. And our Party knows of no more

important task than that of safeguarding and strengthening peace. We are consistently upholding the principles of peaceful coexistence and detente. The broad complex of initiatives advanced lately by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community shows that socialism is continuing its peace offensive.

Statements by Comrade Yu.V. Andropov are exerting a profound influence on the world public. Their argumentation, principledness and calm and confident tone stand in sharp contrast with the irresponsible and aggressive declarations of the White House. At the same time, these statements give our class adversaries an idea of the might of our state and of the futility of the hopes to force the USSR to make concessions which would jeopardize our security and the peaceful life of the Soviet people and of the working people of fraternal socialist countries. This position has been reiterated most forcefully in the recent statement by the Soviet government.

The major tasks of Tass, Novosti, the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and other departments concerned with foreign policy propaganda is perseveringly and convincingly to bring to the knowledge of the masses the truth about our foreign policy, to win over to its side public opinion and expose the plans of the imperialist circles. The Foreign Information Department of the CPSU Central Committee should co-ordinate all this work in the best possible way.

We have no reason to take a defensive stand on any question of principle. We cannot say, however, that our foreign policy propaganda always sufficiently actively and skillfully reveals the advantages of socialism and that it fully succeeds in overcoming the barrier of anti-socialist bias with which the Western ruling circles are surrounding the peoples. Let us not deceive ourselves: if we explain an event superficially or report on it belatedly, we shall then have to change people's convictions later, which is far more difficult than convincing them in the first place.

It is necessary to enhance the argumentation and effectiveness, appeal and journalistic qualities of material addressed to foreign audiences while explaining in an understandable way the specific content of our peaceful internationalist policy. Otherwise we cannot hope for success in foreign policy propaganda in the long term.

Priority should be given here to information about the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state in the further development of relations among socialist countries. It is necessary to improve exchanges of experience in communist education and our ideological co-operation and to make better use of the available reserves for a joint struggle against imperialist propaganda and the attempts to sow the poisonous seeds of nationalism and revisionism. Likewise we must not relax attention to questions of strengthening solidarity with the liberated states and with the peoples who are fighting for their freedom and independence. The consistent efforts of the Party to establish mutually beneficial contacts with capitalist countries are a constant theme of our propaganda.

The class enemy are openly stating their intention to eliminate the socialist system. President Reagan has called for a new "crusade" against communism. Imperialism regards "psychological warfare" as one of the chief means of achieving its goal. It is being waged by the West at the highest possible, one may say an hysterical, anti-Soviet and anti-communist pitch. The adversary is practising veritable banditry over the air. We face attempts to organize against us a full-scale information and propaganda invasion and to turn radio and TV channels into a tool of interference in the internal affairs of states, a tool of subversive actions.

That is why it is necessary to launch a large-scale offensive of counterpropaganda work not only in the international arena but also within the country. Party committees should have a clear idea of what the enemy is trying to smuggle in, in what form and through what channels, and counter these rallies in a timely and effective way. In the same way one cannot leave without a principled evaluation in the Party spirit the actions of those persons who, consciously or unconsciously, are singing in foreign voices, so to speak, and spreading all sorts of gossip and rumours. No communist can ignore such phenomena.



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The CPSU Central Committee gave a positive appraisal of the practice of organizing counterpropaganda in the Maritime Kray. Interesting experience has been accumulated in Moscow, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan and Estonia. More extensive use should be made of it, naturally, with due account for local conditions. It is important that Party committees and primary Party organizations should in good time get material helping to expose the tricks of hostile propaganda. The appropriate departments of the Central Committee should always be working on this.

The ideological struggle in the international arena is going on without respite. We shall continue to wage it vigorously and with dignity, without falling for acts of provocation. The Soviet people can be confident that our Party will spare no effort in the struggle for ensuring peace on earth and for the social and national rights of the peoples.

### III

Comrades, our entire system of ideological work should operate as a well-adjusted orchestra in which every instrument has a distinctive voice and plays its own part while harmony is achieved by skilful conducting. The main demands on Party leadership of ideological work are constantly to check the tenor of propaganda against the goals of our policy and the interests of people and to ensure that "word becomes deed", as Lenin put it. Propaganda is called upon to embrace every aspect of social life and every social group and region and reach every individual. It is necessary here to co-ordinate better the educational efforts of our soviets, the truly mass bodies of state authority and also the trade unions, the Komsomol and all the other public organizations.

Since the CPSU Central Committee's resolution of 26th April 1979, Party committees have begun to concern themselves more actively with propaganda and show more initiative and creativity in increasing its effectiveness.

But has such a turn taken place everywhere? Frankly, no. Apparently, certain Party committees have taken a simplistic view of the Central Committee's demand for more attention to ideological work. The number of resolutions has increased while the situation has in effect remained the same. Education matters are often shifted onto the shoulders of ideological cadres alone, while the resolutions adopted are not backed by practical work. For instance, Leninabad Oblast Party Committee has examined matters concerning legal education and improvement of law enforcement on more than 40 occasions during the past three years but the number of offences in the oblast keeps on growing. This example shows again that directives alone cannot change the situation. It is important that the Party committees, all their departments and, of course, the first secretaries regularly concern themselves with matters of ideological work.

We say that ideological work is the affair of the entire Party and hence of every communist, who influences the views and moods of people not only by words but also by his attitude to work and by his conduct in everyday life. Communists are setting good examples of dedicated service to the interests of the people and the ideals of the Party.

It is a great honour to be a communist today. But it is also a great responsibility and a far from easy duty. That is why, while unfolding political propaganda amongst the broadest mass of the working people, **the Party committees must raise the level of ideological work within the Party itself and improve its forms and methods.** It is all the more important since hundreds of thousands of young workers, collective farmers and intellectuals are joining the Party every year. Today it has more than 3,000,000 members under 30 years old. It is necessary to help every new member to master in depth the Party's ideological and political heritage, Leninist traditions and Bolshevik ethics. The replenishment of Party ranks and the education of young communists links matters of the Party's organizational work and ideological work. Work should be organized here so that the non-Party people, in Lenin's words, should clearly see: "The communists admit new members of the Party not in order that they may enjoy the advantages connected with the position of a governing party, but that they set an example of real communist labour..."

The force of the moral example of a communist, particularly a communist in a position of leadership, is great. He is always in full view of the masses, and the higher his post the greater his responsibility. Those who forget this and catch "altitude sickness" can fall prey to serious dangers and setbacks. One also comes across cases of conceit, rudeness and red tape. There still are leaders who do not know the difference between their own pockets and those of the state and abuse their position. The Party resolutely gets rid of such people.

Ideological work should be conducted in a differentiated way, with due account for the diverse interests of different groups of the population. This should be said first and foremost because the make-up of social strata and social patterns are changing before our very eyes and because the multifaceted process of obliterating differences between classes is going on.

**These changes make themselves felt first and foremost in the social make-up of young people.** The younger generation who are the most literate in the country's history and particularly well prepared occupationally are now embarking on their independent roads in life. They have grown up under conditions of socialism, continuously rising living standards and peace. Loyal to communist ideals and revolutionary traditions, young people are working in the vanguard of the five-year plan period. The future of our system is in dependable hands.

But the Party also sees negative phenomena amongst young people. What is worrying is belated civic maturity, political naivety and sponging attitudes among certain young people, their unwillingness to work where society needs their work today. One cannot help being alarmed at the desire of some young people to make themselves noticeable not by their knowledge or industry but by expensive things bought with their parents' money. I mention this here not at all to carp about present-day young people, saying that they are not what young people used to be in the past. No, what I mean is something else. Those who are going to school today will tackle the most complex tasks of the coming 21st century. We want them to be in the prime of their talents and free from moral flaws when they tackle them.

The point also is that our enemy is trying to exploit for its ends specific features of the psychology of young people. Young people have not seen at first hand the grim trials of class struggle and war, when the true face of imperialism with its hatred for the peoples of our country and the socialist system was laid absolutely bare. That is why it is necessary to take constant care of the ideological, moral, class and work "hardening" of young people.

The schoolteacher has a great role to play in the accomplishment of these tasks. He is entrusted by society with raising our children and is a dependable bulwark of the Party in agitation, propaganda and ideological activity as a whole. The sources of many civic qualities and the knowledge which benefits man over the years are inseparable from the work of schoolteachers, of whom we have, Comrades, about 3,000,000. We should raise and safeguard in every way the prestige of the teacher and constantly take care to improve his working and living conditions and his ideological and professional training.

There is no need to prove the importance of early identification of the abilities and gifts of the individual and correct choice of profession or trade. Man's labour productivity, social activity and his destiny in life, if you wish, depend on this to a large extent. Our vocational training system has extensive possibilities in this sense. Regrettably, it is often regarded in schools as a way of getting rid of so-called problem teenagers. This attitude is harmful both to schools and to vocational training schools, contribute to their material basis and personnel, and improve training and educational processes in them. Thought should also be given to a system of more effective privileges to their graduates in enrolment in institutions of higher learning.

To be a patriot today means to strengthen tirelessly the economic and defence potentials of our homeland, enhance one's readiness to defend peace against any encroachments of the imperialist aggressor and approach one's military duties conscientiously. On the whole young people do military service well, perseveringly mastering modern technology. Rising to the demands of the homeland and their internationalist duty, they perform veritable feats worthy of the military glory of their fathers and forefathers.

The people by right call our army and navy a school of bravery, industry and lofty moral values. We must continue to enhance in every way the educational role of the Soviet armed forces.

Comrades, ideological work in the conditions of our country, uniting more than 100 nationalities and ethnic groups, is unthinkable without a **thorough study of their specific interests and particular features of national psychology and culture**. Indeed, the solution of the nationality question as we inherited it from the past does not at all mean that it has been removed from the agenda altogether. A well thought-out scientific nationalities policy is an intrinsic part of the activities of the Party in perfecting developed socialism. The key condition of their success is the raising of the working people in the spirit of proletarian socialist internationalism.

The key directions and tasks of these activities were defined in the materials of the 26th Congress and other Party documents. You are well aware of them. I would only like to remind you how important it is to notice in good time new positive developments in national relations, comprehensively analyse the tendencies of the nations which are flourishing and drawing closer together and devise forms of work which open even greater vistas for the cross-fertilization of the cultures of our peoples. It is important to identify in good time the problems and contradictions arising here and effectively resolve them. In short, internationalist education should be conducted on a large scale, perseveringly and in a businesslike way, without limiting ourselves to celebrations, ten-day festivals and jubilee campaigns. Truly Party principledness should be skilfully combined here with the utmost tactfulness.

The Soviet people's internationalism is always active. Hundreds of thousands of representatives of different nationalities are working on priority construction projects wherever their work is called for by the interests of the state as a whole.

Of course, all this is not done of its own accord. There are, for instance, reserves of labour resources in certain parts of the country. However, we are not yet quite successful in attracting them and sending them to those places where they are particularly needed today. All of us should think how better to cope with this problem.

Take such a progressive phenomenon which has come about here as the perfect command of Russian as the language of intercourse among nations in addition to a national language. It has become widespread. But there are quite a few cases when a poor knowledge of Russian limits a person's access to the wealth of international culture and narrows the range of his activity and intercourse. Recently the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on providing conditions to facilitate the study of Russian by the population of national republics. This resolution should be actively implemented.

I have touched upon only some of the problems arising in the sphere of relations among nationalities. All of them demand the attention of the Party committees, social scientists and activists in ideological work. We should work for an organic combination of patriotic and internationalist education and for the formation in everyone of high standards of intercourse among nationalities and a sense of pride in our Soviet homeland.

Work with such a specific group of the population as believers must not be slackened either. Part of the people - and, frankly, not a very insignificant part - are still under the influence of religion. Numerous ideological centres of imperialism are trying to support them and, moreover, inculcate religious sentiments and impart to them an anti-Soviet and nationalist bias. A special stake is made on religious extremists. At the same time allegations are spread about "violations of the freedom of conscience in the USSR".

What can be said in this context? Everyone knows about our constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience. Communists are consistent atheists, but they do not impose their world outlook on anyone. Our method is education, conviction, propaganda. But when we come across facts of violations of socialist laws and subversive political activity which is only camouflaged by religion, we act in accordance with the demands of our Constitution.

Lasting results in educational work are achieved, as has been said above, when it embraces every aspect of the life and activity of people, including their everyday life, leisure and family relations. Leisure should be more meaningful and interesting and help in the development of human talents and relieve the psychological stresses caused by the pace of today's life.

A responsible role is played here by health care workers. There are among them quite a few really dedicated and knowledgeable people. They are doing a good deal to shield man from disease and extend his active lifespan. Naturally, this field of activity requires constant care and improvement and the removal of the existing shortcomings.

Of course, human health, vitality and mood do not depend on medicine alone. It is important that everyone, not only at work but also in leisure hours, should be aware of attention and care. A great role is to be played here, in particular, by the development of the mass physical culture movement. The Party organizations of production collectives, house management offices and deputies' groups have accumulated a wealth of experience in working with the population at places of residence. It is necessary to draw general conclusions from this experience, select all the best things and introduce them into practice more boldly. The press, for instance, has described on more than one occasion the establishment of rayon cultural and sports complexes, supervised by local soviets of people's deputies, integrating the work of community centres, sports facilities and libraries regardless of their departmental affiliation. The USSR Council of Ministers jointly with the AUCCTU should give thought to the more extensive propagation of this experience.

Problems of leisure are closely intertwined with problems of enforcing public order and dependably ensuring citizens' peace and quiet and personal safety. The Central Committee makes strict demands of those who have been entrusted with this responsible affair, first and foremost the militia, the courts and the procurator's office. The public, particularly the Komsomol, should not stay aloof from maintaining law and order either.

Let me touch upon the "technology" of ideological work, upon questions of its organization and planning. It is a good thing that comprehensive plans have begun to be used on a large scale and that the tasks of education are being more closely related to the solution of concrete socio-economic problems.

However, propaganda still is in need of consistency and a businesslike approach. Sometimes one wave of a propaganda campaign catches up with another, as it were dampening rather than enhancing its impact. Another shortcoming is that some ideological departments of Party committees spend an inordinate amount of time on drafting numerous plans which remain in the desks of their authors. At the same time an avalanche of all sorts of directives and demands for reports and memoranda chains secretaries of Party organizations to their desks, tearing them away, from work in direct contact with people. This bureaucratic style of work should be renounced, the sooner the better.

Today, when new structures of management of agricultural production are emerging, particular urgency is attached to matters of improving the style and methods of ideological and organizational work of the rural rayon Party committee.

The experience of the Talsi rayon Party Committee in Latvia, the Viljandi and Parnu Party committees in Estonia and the Abasha Party committee in Georgia is instructive. They have approached the establishment of agro-industrial associations

first and foremost as a problem of establishment of new relationships between people who are brought together by common objectives, a common interest, and responsibility for the end results of their common work. Socialist emulation, the activity of the local newspaper and radio network, and verbal agitation and propaganda are subordinated to the accomplishment of this task. Particular concern is shown for meeting the social and cultural needs of people and for the development of democratic principles in production management. This experience, tested by practice, should be turned to more often.

Everyone likes to see the fruit of his work and know how society evaluates it. Ideological workers are no exception. When all is said and done, their work is measured by the ideological maturity of people, their activity in work and the degree of their organization. But a good deal has to be done to work up to this point, so to speak. Fuss, harassing demands (Russian: *derganye*) on cadres and attempts to substitute reports on the lectures read and on the number of activities staged for actual results of education have nothing to do with this work. These weeds should be suppressed wherever they emerge. Party committees have every right to count on more active help from the propaganda department of the Central Committee in asserting a businesslike and creative style of work.

It is impossible to conduct ideological work efficiently without having a smoothly functioning feedback mechanism. Otherwise propaganda will miss its mark.

The Party has many channels of flexible and prompt communication enabling it sensitively to detect changes in the mood of the masses and study in depth their interests and needs. These include statements and letters of working people, questions to lecturers and propagandists and sociological studies. An interesting experience of such work has been accumulated in Azerbaijan, Belorussia, Georgia, Latvia, Uzbekistan and a number of oblast committees of the RSFSR and Ukraine. It should be developed. It is necessary to go over from appraisals of the condition of ideological processes to forecasting them, from occasional public opinion polls to systematic public opinion studies and even to the organization of a centre for studying public opinion.

The need has arisen to strengthen further the scientific and methodological base of political education and propaganda work as a whole. Work on sociological, psychological and pedagogical problems of this sphere of spiritual activity still lacks depth and a planned character. The very rich experience accumulated in this field is poorly generalized as well. I think it would be right for the plenum to instruct the Secretariat of the Central Committee to examine this question and adopt an appropriate resolution.

Noting the leading role of the contents of propaganda, we should not underestimate the importance of its forms. This was pointed out by the 26th CPSU Congress. We see that such forms of work as methodological seminars, "open letter days" and TV dialogues generate interest in propaganda and make it possible to conduct a frank dialogue with audiences.

However, there still exist long and boring didactic monologues. The appeal of permanent propaganda centres, let alone those which are in fact constantly inoperative, is markedly on the decline. A considerable part of the means of visual agitation which, incidentally, absorb a good deal of public funds as well as time, do not work in harmony. In short, the inertia of outdated forms still makes itself felt.

It is understandable that a propaganda form in itself does not yet guarantee success. For instance, integrated political education days have appeared to be a good form of mass political work. However, in a number of places their contents are patently watered down. Sometimes officials are replaced by lecturers and political observers and a lively discussion of outstanding problems gives way to news readings or recitals of texts on general political themes.

Why do some officials avoid this work? Merely because many questions raised by working people demand not only explanation and eloquence, but also practical measures. When they are constantly put off till tomorrow there emerge, on the one hand, discontent in the audience and, on the other, a certain "timidity", fear of public speeches.

One should not avoid frank discussions with people. One should be able not only to explain our policy and teach the masses, but also learn from them, one may say, get charged up by them. This should be not only a duty but a requirement of every official. Political speeches and regular business-like reports to working people are the touchstone, effectively testing the qualities of an official and his ability to organize people and lead them. That was how Lenin saw it. It is how our Party's Central Committee sees it.

The development of socialist democracy is unthinkable without large-scale publicity. You know what measures the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee has taken to provide fuller information about its activity. We will continue this line and ensure the maximum possible publicity on matters touching upon the interests of people. Obviously it is necessary to make it obligatory for the heads of ministries, departments and Party committees to appear on television and write in the press on a regular basis.

**Cadres are the key link in ideological work.** They are contributing great efforts and Bolshevik spiritedness to propaganda. The Party believes in its cadres and highly appreciates their noble and dedicated work. It supports their creative quests and shows constant concern for raising their knowledge of the theory of ideology and their professional skills and for keeping them informed of the latest developments. There has emerged a streamlined system of training and retraining for all groups of ideological workers. It is necessary to continue to improve it on the basis of those increased requirements which are made by the Central Committee today. I believe that the ideological cadres will do everything possible to demonstrate more graphically the greatness of our ideals and the unbreakable links of Party policy with the vital interests of people and promote even more the activity of working people.

Comrades our plenum has met on the eve of the 80th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party. The Bolshevik Party has travelled a glorious and arduous road. Equipped with Marxism-Leninism and relying on the working class and the support of all the working people, it spearheaded a revolutionary upheaval of world-wide historical importance and led our people to great victories.

One of the main results of the heroic road travelled by the Communist Party is the unbreakable unity of the Party ranks, the unity of the Central Committee and its leading nucleus (Russian: yadro). This unity, in Lenin's words, is "infinitely precious and infinitely important".

The November 1982 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee became a model of the cohesiveness of the Central Committee and its politburo and the unity of the Party and the people. In those difficult days the Central Committee addressed an appeal to communists and all Soviet people to close their ranks even tighter and implement calmly and confidently the course chartered by the 26th Party Congress. That appeal evoked a profound response from the hearts of millions.

The Politburo and the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee are working efficiently and in concert, in an atmosphere of high principledness and full and genuine unity. Every condition has been created at their meetings for free discussion and evaluation of matters of domestic and foreign policy and for a comradely exchange of opinions.

Concluding my report, I would like to comment again on the complexity and multidimensional character of the tasks arising in every field of ideological work. There are not nor can there be any once and for all decisions which are good for all time. Short-lived campaigns and crash programmes (Russian: shturmovshchina) will yield no effect here either. It is necessary to attune oneself to systematic work without cease. We have everything necessary to make this work an even more efficient way of encouraging the initiative, energy and conscientiousness of the masses. We will certainly achieve it if every communist and every official consistently translated into practice the Leninist principle: Ideological work is a cause of the entire Party!

16 Jun 83

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There is not nor can that be a nobler task than that of putting within the people's reach the ideals of communism and the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. There is not nor can there be a loftier task than that of raising everyone to the level of maker of his own destiny, maker of history.

Allow me on behalf of the Politburo to express the confidence that in the course of the plenum and in the speeches of comrades, urgent matters of ideological work and political education will be examined thoroughly and comprehensively; general conclusions will be drawn from accumulated experience; and what is most important, practical ways will be mapped out collectively to accomplish successfully the tasks facing us. This will be the tuning urged by Yu.V. Andropov, tuning up to deeds rather than to loud words.

**Communique on Concluding Day's Proceedings: "Organizational Matters"**

Moscow home service 1200 (also Tass in English 1216) gmt 15 Jun 83

Text of "Communique on the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee" (first names from Tass version):

Today [15th June] the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee continued discussion of the report "Topical questions of the Party's ideological and mass-political work" delivered by Konstantin Chernenko, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Comrade Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made a lengthy speech at the plenum.

Taking part in the discussion of the report were Comrades [Sharaf] Rashidov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Uzbekistan; [Karl] Vaino, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Estonia; Petr Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Karen Demirchyan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Armenia; Sergey Lapin, Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; Mikhail Prokofyev, USSR Minister of Education; Lev Kulidzhanov, First Secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Film-makers; Stepan Shalayev, Chairman of the AUCCTU; and Viktor Mishin, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Leninist Young Communist League.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee unanimously adopted a resolution on the matter discussed. The resolution is being published in the press.

The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee examined organizational matters.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee elected Grigoriy Romanov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, to be a Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee endorsed Mikhail Solomentsev, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, as Chairman of the Party Control Committee at the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee elected Vitaliy Vorotnikov candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee promoted to full membership the following candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee; Sergey Akhromeyev, First Deputy Chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces; Boris Balmont, Minister

# Inviolable union of free nations

The following article by Konstantin Chernenko, member of the political bureau and secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was published in the September issue of Soviet Union magazine:

ON DECEMBER 30, 1922, the First All-Union Congress of Soviets, meeting in Moscow, adopted a declaration and treaty forming the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. By this treaty the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Transcaucasian Federation (consisting of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia) united, on a voluntary and equal basis, to form an integral federal state.

The past six decades have been eventful ones for the Land of the Soviets. They have witnessed titanic, dedicated work to transform the towns and villages along socialist lines, a genuine cultural revolution, great martial feats of defence of the socialist homeland, the difficult period of post-war recovery and the creation of a developed socialist society.

The fact that the Soviet people were able to withstand all the trials that befell them, that today our country is a powerful socialist state, is due in an enormous degree to the correct and just solution of the nationalities question.

## Bitter legacy

After carrying out the victorious October Revolution, the communist party, headed by Lenin, inherited a bitter legacy from tsarism. In tsarist times the non-Russian nationalities, which comprised more than half of the country's population, were subjected to discrimination. Feudalism still held sway in the outlying ethnic regions—in Central Asia, Kazakhstan and many parts of Transcaucasia. The overwhelming majority of the people there never saw a schoolteacher or a doctor in all their lives. They groaned under a double yoke: oppression by local exploiters and by Russian landowners and capitalists.

Those outlying regions were at a cryingly low level of economic development. Industrialisation had passed them by. Transport arteries were practically nonexistent. The peasants farmed the land with primitive implements. Many of the nationalities inhabiting the regions led a nomadic

life. Millions upon millions of people lived in poverty and ignorance. There, as the Tajik author Aini put it, a person who could read and write was as much a rarity as a green sapling in a desert.

Tsarism had followed the principle of "divide and rule". It made no attempt to counteract discord among the nationalities but, on the contrary, deliberately fanned it. Just recall such disgraceful occurrences as the Jewish pogroms, the massacres in Transcaucasia, the humiliations poured on "aliens" in the Volga River area, and so on.

Lenin's description of tsarist Russia as "a prison of the nations" was bitter but exact. Old Russia was a prison for all its large and small nationalities.

However, the difficulties in resolving the nationalities question in a country where enmity among the nationalities had been cultivated for decades, for centuries, was not limited just to the objective state of affairs. Any perplexing problem can be solved easier if there is a tried and tested practical example to follow. But the world's history did not provide any examples of a positive approach to the nationalities question. There had been multinational states before, of course, in various periods of history, but their example was only negative. This applied to the Holy Roman Empire, to Austria-Hungary, to Great Britain and even to the United States of America, which arose in a war for national independence. Exploiter classes, whether feudal or bourgeois, are not interested in settling the nationalities question. Alienation and mistrust among the working people of various nationalities has always brought grist to the mill of the exploiters. Discord among nationalities weakens the working people, blinds them to their common fundamental interests, prevents them from seeing who their real enemy is.

In short, young Soviet Russia faced a host of difficulties, objective and subjective, in tackling the nationalities question. However, the nationalities policy of the Soviet communists has been successful and fruitful. This is illustrated by the historic birth and development of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

## Class struggle

At the dawn of their revolutionary activity Lenin and his associates paid close attention to the nationalities question. They clearly saw their goal: to unite the working people, irrespective of nationality, to oppose all forms of oppression and to fight for a new social system free from exploitation. They mapped the road to this goal with precision. As Leonid Brezhnev has noted, the communists have always examined the nationalities question through the prism of the class struggle and have subordinated its solution to the interests of the revolution, to the interests of socialism. It was precisely for this reason that the fighters for socialism made the keystone of their nationalities policy an alliance of working people, regardless of nationality, in a common battle against all oppression and for a new social system, that would free the working people from exploitation.

The communists staunchly advocated the un-

conditional right of every nation to decide its own destiny. While condemning nationalism they drew a distinction between the nationalism of an oppressor nation and the nationalism of an oppressed nation. In striving for a fraternal union of the workers and working masses of all nations, they completely excluded the use of any violence whatever. The union should, and could, be built only on the principle of voluntary association.

Incidentally, in the pre-revolutionary period, too, the communist party admitted people of various nationalities to membership. In 1905 Lenin wrote: "To dispel any idea of its being national in character, the party called itself 'Rossiiskaya' (of Russia) and not 'Russkaya' (Russian)."

From the very outset the Bolshevik Party was a party of internationalists. This had exceptional importance in the work to implement the programme goals of the party's nationalities policy after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In the pre-revolutionary years reliable and competent party activists of various nationalities rose up to carry out this correct policy.

## Self-determination

The Soviet government did not delay in putting its nationalities strategy into practice. One of its earliest historic acts, alongside the Decree on Peace and the Decree on Land, was the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia. The Declaration proclaimed that the peoples of Russia were equal and sovereign; that they had the right to free self-determination, including the right to secede and to form an independent state; that all the privileges and restrictions that had been granted or imposed on the basis of nationality or religion were abolished, and that voluntary and honest union of the peoples of Russia and complete mutual trust among them were essential.

The nationalities question was now moved from the realm of theory to the sphere of practical policy. Equality of the nations and nationalities became a law binding on one and all. Addressing the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets in January 1918, Lenin said: "We do not rule by dividing, as ancient Rome's harsh maxim required, but by uniting all the working people with the unbreakable bonds of living interests and a sense of class. This, our union, our new state, is stronger than power based on violence which keeps artificial state entities hammered together with lies and bayonets in the way the imperialists want."

Even then Lenin's words were backed by concrete actions. The October Revolution of 1917 gave all the peoples of the former tsarist empire an opportunity to decide their own destiny. Finland and Poland acquired independent statehood. This was a practical embodiment of the right of nations to self-determination, as proclaimed by the Soviet government. Independent Soviet republics also arose. The first of them, the Russian Republic, also became the first Soviet multinational state. It was constituted as a federation on the basis of a free alliance of free nations. Other independent republics arose: the Ukrainian and Byelorussian, and then the Azerbaijan, Armenian and Georgian republics. Soon after, the latter three republics united in a federation. Autonomous state entities of various nationalities also came into being.

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# DMITRY USTINOV'S SPEECH AT KUIBYSHEV AWARD CEREMONY

THE CITY OF KUIBYSHEV on the middle reaches of the Volga River, has been awarded The Order of Lenin for services to the Soviet land in revolution, war and labour effort.

Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitry Ustinov, a member of the political bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union central committee and USSR Defence Minister, spoke at the ceremony on behalf of the CPSU central committee, the Soviet government and President Leonid Brezhnev, cordially congratulating the working people of the city.

He recalled that it was in Kuibyshev, previously called Samara, that Lenin began his revolutionary activities. And he recalled the significant contribution of the city to the victory over nazism in the Second World War: over 30,000 Il-2 assault aircraft, considered the best combat aircraft at the time, were built in Kuibyshev during the war.

Today, the Defence Minister said, Kuibyshev's mills put out metal and engines, jet planes and sophisticated machine tools. The city's trade mark is known all over the USSR and in more than 80 other countries where Kuibyshev's products are exported.

"We have to solve our creative tasks in tough international conditions," Mr Ustinov went on. "The situation in the world is worsening because of the efforts of imperialist reaction, above all of the US leadership. There are many troubled areas in the world today, scenes of war and bloodshed.

Everywhere it is a consequence of the policy and aggressive actions of imperialism. Neither does the present course of the Peking leadership, aimed against the common interests of the socialist community, contribute to a lessening of world tensions.

"All their actions are accompanied by frenzied anti-Soviet, anti-socialist campaigns, and crude lies about a Soviet military threat.

"Washington has been forced by the USSR's consistent, firm and constructive foreign policy and by the pressure of the mounting peace movement in the USA and other Western countries to resort more and more to using the rhetoric of peace to camouflage its aggressive course. But this will hardly deceive anybody.

## Delaying tactics

"Talks have started, despite the American administration's lengthy delaying tactics, on the problems of limiting and reducing strategic weapons and on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe," the Defence Minister went on. "This in itself is undoubtedly a positive step.

"But the facts show that our partners in the talks are not prepared to reach agreements on terms of equality and equal security. They are continuing to stake everything on ensuring their military superiority. Clearly the Soviet Union cannot except an agreement that would allow the USA the opportunity to secure unilateral advantages. We have the right to expect that a

sense of realism will prevail in the USA and she will hold talks with due regard for other's legitimate interests.

"Our approach to the resolution of world problems, however intricate and acute they may be, is determined by the very peaceable nature of our socialist society. Its essence is that the sole sensible path in this nuclear age is that of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems.

"This is the path of settling disputes at the negotiation table. To advance on this path, it takes goodwill and not just a show of interest, but true interest in preserving peace. It takes every effort to promote the process of detente.

"Leonid Brezhnev and other leaders of the fraternal socialist countries have reiterated during their traditional August meetings in the Crimea their firm and consistent course for strengthening international security, curbing the arms race, and lessening the threat of military-political crises and a new world war," Marshal Ustinov pointed out.

"The USSR will continue to build her policy with due regard for present day international realities. We have to take into account the threat to socialism and universal peace stemming from imperialism and its accomplices. While making every effort to uphold peace, as was clearly stated by Leonid Brezhnev at the May 1982 plenary meeting of the CPSU central committee, we must maintain our country's defence capacity at the necessary level."

## UN SECRETARY-GENERAL ON SOVIET PEACE PROPOSALS

UNITED NATIONS secretary general Javier Perez de Cuellar has praised highly the Soviet Union's contribution to the activities of the United Nations Organisation in strengthening peace and international security and in developing co-operation between states, reports *Tass* correspondent Valentin Vasilets.

The secretary general granted an interview to the *Tass* correspondent in connection with his official visit to Moscow starting on September 8.

Mr Perez de Cuellar noted that the Soviet Union, as one of the founding members of the UN, had always played a leading role in the work of the organisation. "The participation of your country in the activities of the United Nations has been prompted by the desire to co-operate with other countries in the pursuit of the aims enshrined in the charter," he said.

"This attitude is reflected in the Soviet Union's participation in the activities of the Security Council. As you know, the Security Council has, over the last few months, dealt with a number of dangerous crises whose repercussions are being felt throughout the world. In this regard, I have witnessed the Soviet Union's interest in ways and means to strengthen the political role of the Security Council, and the USSR's constructive and responsible positions throughout the deliberations of that important organ."

Among the various peace proposals put forward in the UN and particularly at the UN General Assembly's Second Special Session on Disarmament, he said, "Of those I consider most significant, I would put the solemn declaration from President Brezhnev that the USSR was assuming an unequivocal obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons to the fore.

"That obligation," said the UN secretary

general, "indicates a broadening of the previous Soviet position, and, to use some of the words of your President, if all states that have nuclear weapons were to make such a pledge and were to adhere to it, 'this would be tantamount in practice to banning the use of nuclear weapons altogether'.

"I attach great importance to the talks between the USSR and the USA on strategic arms limitation and reduction, and in that connection I see as very important the Soviet Union's proposal at the Second Special Session that the two sides should freeze the strategic arms race quantitatively and that more modernisation be limited as far as possible. Such a limitation would be greatly served by the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty, which is also a point that has been clearly made by the Soviet Union at the Special Session.

"It is, in my view, of great importance to take early steps to reduce as much as possible the risk of an outbreak of an armed conflict in Europe, where the concentration of weapons, both conventional and nuclear, is particularly high. The various proposals by the Soviet Union for curbing the arms race, and particularly for the gradual reduction and even the total renunciation of all types of medium-range nuclear weapons targeted in the European area, deserve the most serious consideration," Mr Perez de Cuellar continued.

"As was emphasised by the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, at the Second Special Session, the Soviet Union believes that a nuclear disarmament programme should be adopted and implemented stage by stage, and now agrees that one of its initial stages could be the cessation of production of fissionable materials for manufacturing various types of nuclear weapons.

"I take great interest in that statement," the UN secretary general said. "In my view, the

cessation of the production of fissionable materials for weapons, particularly if combined with a comprehensive test ban, could be a decisive step towards halting the nuclear arms race. In this regard I also appreciate the announcement that your government is agreeable to placing a part of its peaceful nuclear installations under the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency."

The UN secretary general also viewed as constructive the Soviet Union's proposal for stockpiling of chemical weapons, and on the destruction of those weapons. He added that he viewed with great interest the proposal's provisions for verification. "I believe that this initiative demonstrates that if there is good will on the part of all those involved in the negotiations, it should be possible to find acceptable solutions to problems that have been the subject of discussion for so long."

Outer space should not become a theatre of military operations, he added. "I am pleased that the Soviet Union agrees that a treaty to this effect should be concluded."

The United Nations Organisation plays an important role in nuclear disarmament and in reducing the risk of a nuclear conflict, Mr Perez de Cuellar noted. "In the first place, the UN provides a unique forum for deliberations in which all nations have an opportunity to state their case. Although the nuclear arms race primarily involves the major powers, it potentially affects all because a nuclear war would not leave a single state unharmed.

"All nations, therefore, have an interest in seeing that the risks of such a war are reduced," he said. "The United Nations provides a framework for international efforts for the limitation and reduction of armaments. In this respect countries might make better use of the United Nations than they have so far."

Even though revolutionary soviet government a working people of former tsarist Russia bringing them government wa capitalists and mills were be the land. Thousand and fact the nat The inte na

Even though the internal and external counter-revolutionary forces did not give the young Soviet government a lengthy spell of peace, the working people of the various nationalities of former tsarist Russia could see what it was bringing them. They saw that the Soviet government was wiping out oppression by the capitalists and landowners; that the factories and mills were being turned into public property; that the land was being given to the peasants. Thousands of examples showed them the tolerant and tactful approach taken by the communists to the national sensibilities of each nation.

The years of the civil war and of foreign armed intervention were a grim school of internationalism for the peoples of former tsarist Russia. It was, I repeat, a grim school. But it taught political knowledge quickly, and its lessons were perfectly clear. The country was being split on class lines and not on a basis of nationality. The working people saw, from their own political experience, that were it not for the strong government of the working people of all nationalities, who had voluntarily united, the landlords and capitalists would return to power the following day, bringing with them oppression and exploitation; they saw that in this case their hopes for a better future would be buried.

The civil war and foreign armed intervention did not bypass a single corner of our country. Sons and daughters of all the peoples of our Motherland fought shoulder to shoulder in support of the young Soviet government against the White Guards and foreign interventionists.

The years immediately following the Great October Revolution witnessed the formation of a military-political alliance of all the Soviet republics. Economic and other contacts among various regions of the country developed as much as circumstances at the time allowed.

The internationalist spirit of the Russian working class was undoubtedly a crucial factor in the birth of the multinational Soviet state. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Russian working class bore the brunt of the struggle in the civil war and in the period of intervention. The selfless heroism of the proletarians of Petrograd and Moscow, of Nizhny Novgorod, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and other industrial centres of Russia, and their uncompromising attitude towards all oppressors, convinced the working people of all the other nationalities that they could put their faith in the Russian worker, in his communist party, in Lenin, all of whom were dependable.

### Voluntary union

We, therefore, have every right to say that the groundwork for the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was laid by the entire course of the revolution. This historic act was a logical outcome of the free expression of the will of all the peoples inhabiting Russia. In the newspapers of those years we find reports of large rallies and meetings of Soviets at all levels: uyezds, regions, gubernias and republics. These were a kind of referendum in which the peoples stated a firm "Yes!" to the question of a voluntary union.

The establishment of an integral federal state was dictated both by internal and external factors. Without a close union it would have been impossible to heal the harsh wounds of war and it would have been impossible to preserve and strengthen Soviet government of, by and for the people and to defend it against the numerous threats from outside.

With the formation of the USSR (as noted above, in late 1922, at the end of the civil war and foreign armed intervention) Lenin's nationalities policy and its noble features began to reveal themselves in full.

"Our Party was well aware that overcoming the consequences of national oppression and inequality would require more than the adoption

of even the best and the most equitable laws," Leonid Brezhnev has said. "The economic and cultural backwardness of the once oppressed nations and nationalities also has to be eliminated. In other words, it was not enough to abolish the legal inequality of nations; it was also necessary to put an end to the actual inequality between them. Fulfilment of this task became one of the party's main political goals."

The party set our country on a course of accelerated economic, cultural and socio-political development in the outlying regions inhabited by various nationalities. In line with this policy a number of constituent republics received generous subsidies from the federal budget for many years.

### Creating industry

The nationalities policy was always taken into account, along with economic expediency, when deciding where to develop productive forces, where to carry out capital construction projects. I remember the geography of the construction projects of those years. Of course, giant industrial enterprises also arose in the country's traditional industrial regions. But the birth of modern industries in literally all the constituent republics was the salient feature of the times. No wonder the growth of industrial output in, say, the Soviet Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, in the years since the USSR was established, is now expressed in percentages of three, and in some cases four, digits.

Special attention was paid everywhere to wiping out illiteracy and to training highly qualified local personnel for various branches of the national economy. Thanks to intensive assistance from the central areas, that is, from the

Russian Federation, a successful cultural revolution was carried out in the constituent republics. It was not only a question of attaining general literacy but also of building up, in each republic, a system of secondary and higher education and a network of research centres. Today these are making an ever increasing contribution to the progress of Soviet science as a whole.

Or take the cultural sphere. Not a single one of the many attractive facets of the numerous ethnic cultures has been lost in the integral federal state. A genuine cultural rebirth has taken place. The close cultural contacts and, I should like to add, the spread of the Russian language, have brought about the flowering and enrichment of the cultures of the various nationalities.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had only 19 years of peaceful constructive work before the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945. But the progress made in this brief period, under the guidance of the communists, in carrying out Lenin's plan for building socialism and Lenin's nationalities policy, brilliantly withstood the severe tests of the war. The course and outcome of the war reaffirmed that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a sturdy structure, built to last for ever. All of our nations and nationalities rose to its defence. The friendship of the peoples of the USSR was one of the main factors behind the Soviet victory in the mortal combat with fascism.

When the long-awaited peace came, this friendship helped the war-devastated Ukraine, Byelorussia, territories and regions of the Russian Federation, Moldavia and the Soviet Baltic Republics to rise up from the ruins and ashes.

We have full justification for saying that the correct nationalities policy was an excellent catalyst in the development of the Soviet Union as a whole. Today our country is a strong socialist power with a single policy, a united Soviet multinational culture, and an integrated economic mechanism founded on the common economic goals and on the interests of all our nations and nationalities. A new historical community, the Soviet people, has come into being.

However, the communist party does not say that the nationalities question has been taken off the agenda in the Soviet Union. The communists have, of course, solved it in the shape in which it came down to us from the past. Discord among the nationalities has disappeared. So has inequality in economic, cultural and social development. The constellation of the 15 constituent republics of the USSR is, as the 1977 Constitution declares, "a socialist state of the whole people, expressing the will and interests of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, the working people of all the nations and nationalities of the country".

### Common interests

The party's present nationalities policy aims to strengthen and develop friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union and to augment the material and cultural potential of each republic. This calls for a harmonious linking-up of each republic's development with that of the country as a whole, and for the fullest account to be taken of the common interests in building a communist society.

Today, as always, our party pays daily attention to the Soviet citizen's well-being. It has never singled out any special groups of people or separate nationalities, either in major matters or in minor ones. It focuses its attention on the interests of the entire Soviet people. The 26th CPSU Congress put forward a broad programme of further raising the people's living standards during the period of the 11th Five-Year Plan and in the 1980s as a whole. The programme covers all aspects of the life of the Soviet people, from consumer goods to housing, from cultural facilities to rest and recreation, and from working

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to the conditions of everyday life. At the 1982 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the report presented there Leonid Brezhnev were a striking confirmation of the party's efforts along these lines. The plenary meeting laid down concrete guidelines for improving the people's living standards and endorsed a large-scale Food Programme. Today we possess the wherewithal to carry out such tremendous tasks. We are confident that the combined efforts of all the fraternal peoples of the Land of Soviets will bring to fruition everything that has been planned.

"The continued convergence of our country's nations and nationalities is an objective process," Leonid Brezhnev has emphasised. "The party is opposed to artificially speeding it up. There is no need for that. This process is dictated by the

## MINISTER REPORTS ON SOVIET CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

THE SOVIET chemical industry is now sufficiently advanced to make any product, Vladimir Listov, Soviet Minister of the Chemical Industry, told a *Tass* correspondent. "But this does not mean," he emphasised, "that we are against business co-operation with other countries in the chemical industry. On the contrary.

"We favour mutually beneficial partnership which ensures the solution of tasks in the shortest possible time and with the greatest possible economic efficiency.

"The diversity and vast potential of the Soviet chemical industry open up broad opportunities for economic co-operation with other states. Many major Western companies justifiably regard the Soviet Union as one of the most reliable trading partners."

"Compensation agreements have been used widely in recent times. They are a mutually advantageous and effective form of foreign trade. We have established and are continuing successfully to develop trade and science and technology between the USSR and the CMEA member-countries."

"We have formed broad business contacts in chemical production with Western firms, above all in West Germany, Japan, Italy, France and Britain. Not only brisk trade but also industrial co-operation have been maintained with some of them.

"At the current fifth international exhibition, 'Khimia-82', in Moscow, a number of companies are showing products developed as a result of their co-operation with the Soviet Union. The prototype samples of polycarbonates on show at the exhibition are a result of the joint work of scientists from the Italian firm Montedison and Soviet experts.

"The West German company Battenfeld is showing an extrusion line for the manufacture of polyethylene pipes with the use of Soviet raw materials.

"The Soviet Union is interested in broadening the scope of mutually beneficial trade and economic relations and contacts with businessmen in other countries. At 'Khimia-82' we hope to consolidate business relations even further with our partners and to establish them with those foreign firms with whom we do not yet have agreements.

"A representative scientific and technological symposium will be held," the minister said. "Combined with the exhibition of advances in the chemical industry, it will allow for a broader and more precise view of the countries' export possibilities and facilitate successful commercial activity."

entire course of our Soviet life. At the same time, the party regards as inadmissible any attempts whatever to hold back the convergence of the nations, on one pretext or another to hinder it, to artificially consolidate national exclusiveness, for this would run counter to the general direction of our society's development, to the internationalist ideals and ideology of the communists and to the interests of building communism."

## Constant attention

Various aspects of the nationalities policy receive constant attention from the party. They are examined, without fail, at party congresses and are taken into account in the work of plenary meetings of the CPSU central committee, and in laws and other decisions passed by state bodies. The party's consistent implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy is bearing rich fruit.

The Soviet people are celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a holiday of all the nations and nationalities of our country. This is a festival of internationalism, a festival of the friendship of the peoples.

The communists have demonstrated, both in theory and in practice, that there is a real road to harmonious relations among people of different nationalities.

Lofty internationalist principles also underlie the foreign policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government. These principles have become the foundation of the socialist international relations established within the framework of the world socialist community. The basic rules which cement the friendship of the internationalist family of socialist nations are: genuine equality, respect for sovereignty, and close mutual assistance.

It is natural and logical that the bonds linking the fraternal socialist states in the political, economic and cultural spheres are multiplying. It can definitely be said that both national efforts and internationalist co-operation among the

socialist countries are behind the achievements of each socialist country today.

The Soviet Union's internationalist structural principles are also clearly manifested in our growing co-operation with developing countries. Today, as before, the Soviet Union regards as sacred the right of every nation to free and independent development. It strongly opposes any interference whatever in the internal affairs of other countries and it gives all possible assistance to peoples striving for political and economic independence.

The Soviet Union is prepared to develop good-neighbourly co-operation with all countries of the world. This is one of the goals of the Peace Programme for the 1980s adopted by the 26th Congress of the CPSU. All of the Soviet Union's international actions pursue this goal. Ending the arms race and international tension, and consolidating detente and carrying it further, would mean opening broad vistas for solving the many constructive problems each country and nation faces.

## Historic

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a young country. I think the readers of this magazine will agree when I say that 60 is not an old age for a system of government. But in these six decades the Soviet communists and the whole Soviet people have registered truly historic accomplishments equal to a whole epoch.

This makes us absolutely confident that we will also succeed in carrying out today's tasks, the tasks of building communism and of preserving and consolidating peace.

We will be able to do this because the CPSU and the Soviet government guide themselves by the people's interests; because co-operation among the working people of all countries is a supreme goal of the communists; because peace, peaceful labour and concord among people of different races and nations are indispensable conditions for a happy future for mankind.

## Los Angeles Olympics poorly prepared

PREPARATIONS for the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games, with only two years to go, are still suffering from serious shortcomings, says USSR National Olympic Committee member A. Yermakov in the newspaper *Trud*.

A major problem, he says, will be the heat. Los Angeles, especially in the summer, is blanketed by smog, making the air so polluted that doctors often advise the people of the city to stay indoors if they want to avoid a heart attack. Plans for combating smog have been drawn up but the indications are that nothing can be done before the Olympic Games.

The sportsmen and other guests will also suffer from long, tiring rides of up to an hour-and-a-half from the Olympic villages to the far-off sites of the competitions. And the establishment of two separate Olympic villages will also be a problem. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) gave way to the organisers on this and the villages are on old university campuses, with not very comfortable rooms, many of which do not have bathrooms. Sportsmen from different villages appearing in the same events will clearly be in unequal conditions.

The temptation to cash in on the Los Angeles Olympics has not been fought off. The guests' stay in the Olympic villages will cost nearly three times as much as at the Moscow games. On top of this the organisers have announced that national teams will have to foot the bill if any of their members are injured and have to be treated at a city hospital.

The Los Angeles Olympics organisers are not

only going to deny comfort and injury insurance arrangements to the competitors. They have not met the demands of various international federations over the reconstruction of Olympic facilities, either.

The national Olympic committees (NOCs) have also been waiting for a long time for the necessary technical information from Los Angeles, such as the competition schedule broken down into hours, data on training facilities, and types and trademarks of sports gear.

So far there has been little to smile about. One can only speak of the Los Angeles organisers' violations of the Olympic charter, refusals to comply with the just demands of the IOC, international federations and NOCs, and their unwillingness to sort out the worries of their future guests in the preparations for the games.

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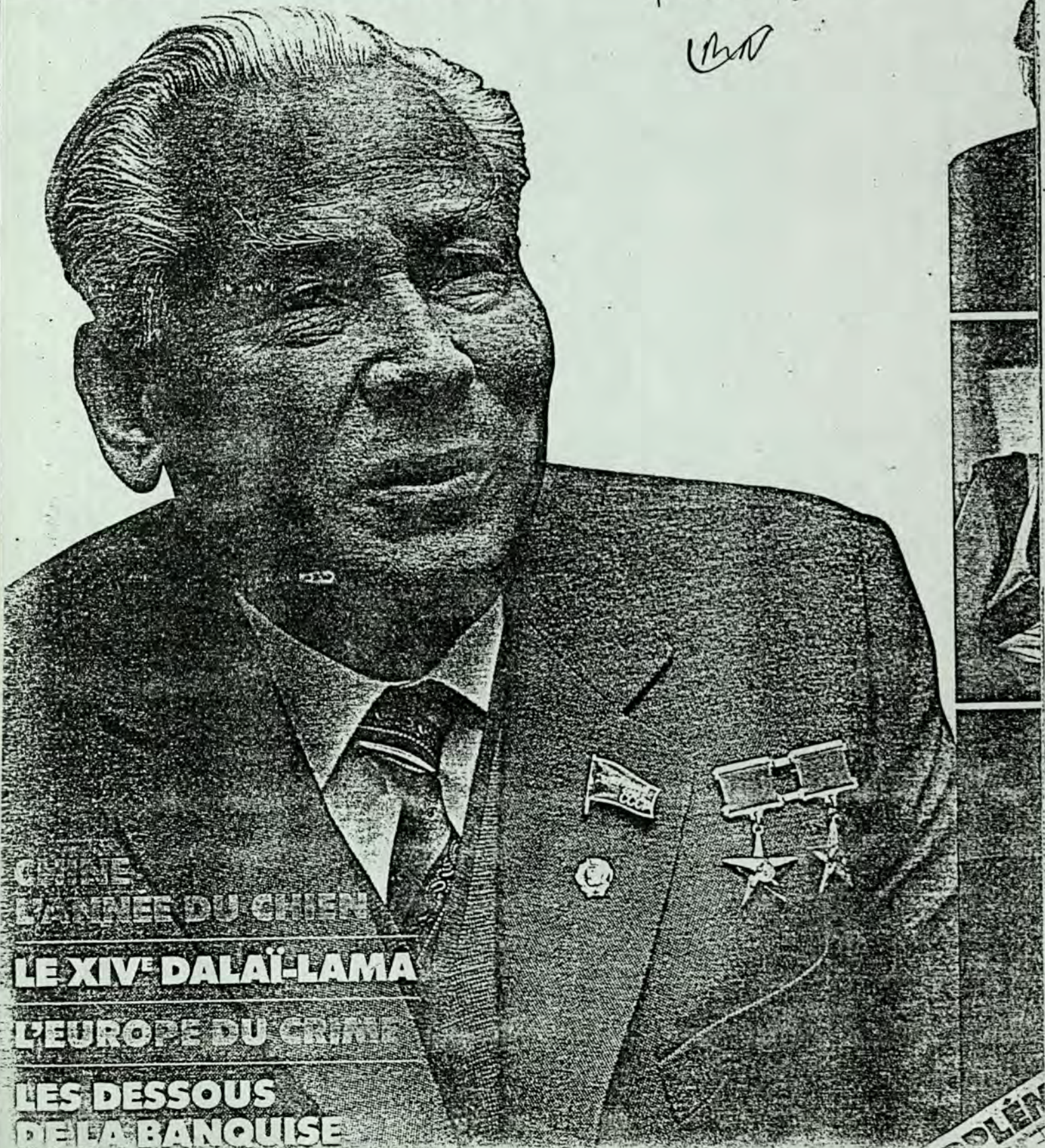
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**ENTRETIEN AVEC  
CONSTANTIN TCHERNENKO**

*Re. avec le Tchernenko*

*Speeches fadder*

*UN*



**CHINE  
L'ANNEE DU CHIEN**

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**LE XIV<sup>e</sup> DALAI-LAMA**

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**L'EUROPE DU CRIME**

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**LES DESSOUS  
DE LA BANQUISE**

**SOLEIL**



**ENTRETIEN**

# LA VOIX DE MOSCOU

## ENTRETIEN AVEC CONSTANTIN TCHERNENKO

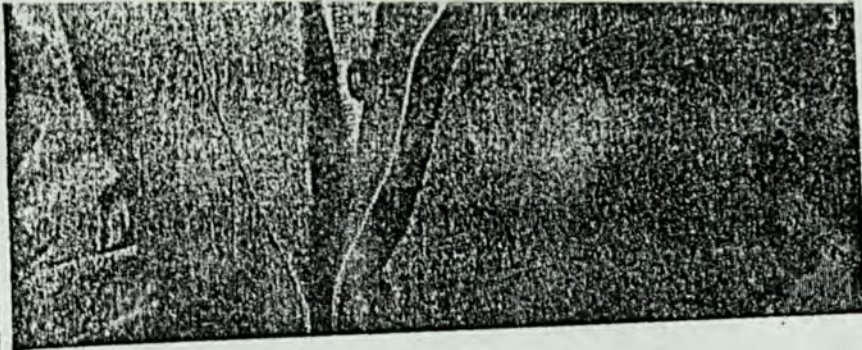
Novembre 1981 : Leonid Brejnev accorde un entretien au magazine ouest-allemand *Der Spiegel*.

13 décembre, « l'état de guerre » est décrété en Pologne.

Février 1982 – premier dirigeant soviétique à s'exprimer dans la presse occidentale depuis – Constantin Tchernenko répond aux questions que nous lui avons soumises.

Ce Sibérien de 70 ans, membre du Secrétariat du Comité central et du bureau politique du Parti communiste d'Union soviétique (PCUS), est désigné par l'ensemble de la presse occidentale comme le successeur probable de Leonid Brejnev.

Constantin Tchernenko nous a reçus à l'Ambassade d'URSS à Paris. Un entretien capital dans le contexte



FABRICE ULMANN - *Vous êtes connu comme l'un des principaux dirigeants du PCUS. Pourriez-vous préciser pour nos lecteurs de quel secteur de l'activité du parti vous êtes responsable?*

CONSTANTIN TCHERNENKO - Ma réponse à cette question est liée au rôle et à la place qui sont dévolus à un parti dirigeant dans le système politique du socialisme développé. Le PCUS est précisément un tel parti. Dans l'intervalle entre les congrès - ceux-ci sont convoqués une fois tous les cinq ans - l'organe suprême de notre parti est son Comité central. Le plénum du CC se réunit deux fois par an et donne les orientations de l'activité du parti sur les questions fondamentales, les plus importantes. L'application pratique dans la vie des principales orientations formulées par les congrès du parti et les plénums du CC sont mises en œuvre quotidiennement par le Bureau politique et le Secrétariat du CC du PCUS. C'est de l'organisation du travail des organes suprêmes du parti entre les congrès que je m'occupe avec mes autres camarades.

Les problèmes qui sont exami-

nés lors des réunions hebdomadaires du Bureau politique et du Secrétariat du CC englobent le large éventail des activités du parti et de l'Etat. C'est pourquoi la manière, les procédés, les méthodes et les moyens utilisés par les organes suprêmes du parti pour diriger autrement dit le style de leur activité, ont ici une importance décisive.

Notre point de référence, c'est le style léniniste de travail au sein du parti et de l'Etat. C'est un style vivant, créateur, qui ne s'accommode pas des stéréotypes. Pour évoquer quelques traits du style léniniste, soulignons le caractère collégial de la direction, son approche scientifique des problèmes, sa compétence, l'observation précise du principe du centralisme démocratique, la mise en œuvre stricte du contrôle et de la vérification de l'exécution des tâches, le renforcement et l'extension des liens avec les masses laborieuses. C'est un organe de direction collégiale de ce type que constitue aujourd'hui le Bureau politique du CC du PCUS, placé sous la direction du camarade Leonid Brejnev.

J'ai déjà expliqué que le Bureau politique et le Secrétariat examinaient un large éventail de ques-

Ce Sibérien de 70 ans, membre du Secrétariat central et du bureau politique du Parti communiste d'Union soviétique (PCUS), est désigné par l'ensemble de la presse occidentale comme le successeur probable de Leonid Brejnev.

Constantin Tchernenko nous a reçus à l'Ambassade d'URSS à Paris. Un entretien capital dans le contexte international actuel : « jamais depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale la situation n'a été aussi sérieuse », selon Leonid Brejnev lui-même.

tions politiques, économiques et sociales afférentes au développement de notre société. Mais cela ne signifie nullement que le parti se substitue aux institutions de l'Etat et aux organisations sociales, prenne en charge leurs fonctions. Bien au contraire, l'art de la direction consiste chez nous à choisir l'orientation fondamentale, le maillon essentiel, à bien délimiter la place de tous ces organismes, à faire en sorte que chaque travailleur ait une responsabilité concrète. Les tâches avancées par le parti seront ainsi accomplies de manière efficace, en temps opportun et auront un bon niveau.

En bref, je peux assurer à vos lecteurs qu'il y a suffisamment de travail pour tous les membres du Bureau politique et du Secrétariat du PCUS.

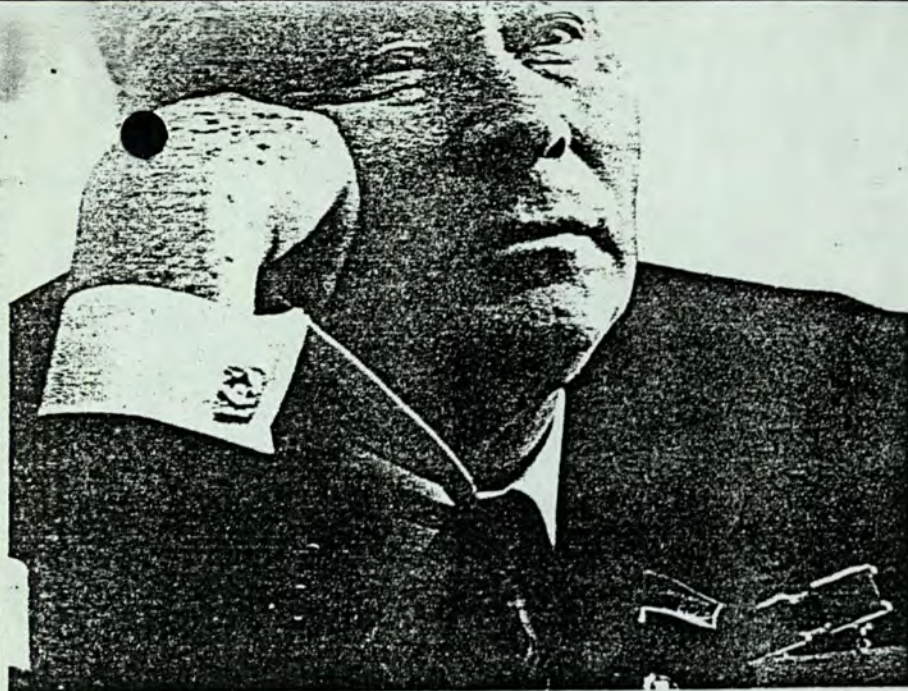
F.U. - *La délégation que vous conduisez séjournera une semaine en France. Avec quelles pensées et quels sentiments arrivez-vous dans notre pays, au congrès du PCF? Qu'attendez-vous de votre séjour?*

C.T. - Si l'on veut être bref, disons que la délégation du PCUS assiste

au XXIV<sup>e</sup> congrès du PCF pour saluer les communistes français; nous amis sincères de longue date.

Nous sommes satisfaits de voir que les communistes de France avancent d'un pas ferme. Nous voyons que, dans le pays comme au gouvernement, ils défendent résolument les intérêts de la classe ouvrière, des masses travailleuses, que, pas à pas, ils gravissent de nouveaux échelons dans ce combat malaisé. Comme nous avons déjà pu nous en rendre compte au cours des travaux du XXIV<sup>e</sup> congrès, les communistes de France demeurent inlassablement, comme par le passé, attentifs au renforcement de leurs positions. C'est pour eux le gage du succès pour la cause de la démocratie et du socialisme. Pour nous, communistes soviétiques, notre présence au congrès du PCF est une manifestation concrète de notre solidarité internationale avec nos amis français, ce qui signifie que les liens et la coopération entre nos deux partis seront encore renforcés.

F.U. - *Vous avez participé aux travaux de la Conférence d'Helsinki. La situation en Europe est actuellement l'un des problèmes*



*principaux dans les rapports soviéto-américains. Croyez-vous à une reprise du dialogue entre ceux que nous appelons "les deux super-puissances"? Quand et comment peut-il commencer?*

C. T. - Avant toute chose, j'aimerais souligner que l'Union soviétique ne se sent pas concernée par le concept de "super-puissance", dans la mesure où celui-ci reflète une aspiration à une place particulière, disons-le franchement, une place dominante dans le monde ou tout du moins dans une certaine partie du monde. Or, ceci est absolument étranger à l'Union soviétique qui refuse le principe d'hégémonisme dans les relations internationales. A propos, nous avons justement été à l'initiative de l'adoption d'une résolution de l'Assemblée générale de l'ONU qui condamnait l'hégémonisme.

En ce qui concerne le dialogue avec les Etats-Unis de même qu'avec n'importe quel autre pays du monde, y compris les pays d'Europe occidentale, comme vous devez déjà le savoir, nous ne sommes jamais intervenus pour la rupture de ce dialogue, et ce n'est pas nous qui avançons toutes sortes de conditions préalables à la reprise du dialogue.

L'Union soviétique ne demande rien à personne. Mais le peuple soviétique, comme tous les peuples du monde, voudrait que cessent les confrontations entre Etats, porteuses du danger de conflits militaires y compris d'une catastrophe nucléaire. Nous avons besoin de la paix, pour accomplir avec succès les tâches posées par la construction d'une société nouvelle. Toute la politique extérieure de l'Etat soviétique depuis le premier jour de son existence est marquée par un intérêt vital dans la paix et par un souci de paix. Et à présent,

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## 66 L'Union ne de rien à pe

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lorsqu'à la suite de l'action de certaines forces, bien connues de tous, avec à leur tête l'administration américaine et de certains gouvernements d'Europe occidentale dans leur sillage, la situation internationale s'est aggravée; lorsque le processus de détente a nettement été freiné; lorsque les tensions, artificiellement attisées sous n'importe quel prétexte, atteignent un seuil dangereux au-delà duquel commence un glissement dans l'abîme de la "guerre froide", comment, dans ces conditions si ce n'est par le dialogue amener le monde sur la voie de l'assainissement du climat politique dans les relations entre Etats des deux systèmes opposés? Comment, si ce n'est par le dialogue, peut-on à nouveau ouvrir les portes sur la confiance entre ces Etats afin de développer la compréhension mutuelle et la coopération entre eux? Il n'y a pas d'autre voie raisonnable que de s'asseoir à la table des négociations pour résoudre les problèmes qui ont surgi, qui surgissent et qui, probablement, surgiront encore entre nous pour différentes raisons.

Nous sommes pour un dialogue d'égal à égal, pour un dialogue, excluant la violation des droits souverains imprescriptibles des participants indépendamment de leur poids politique, de leur niveau de développement économique et

*Standard  
connaissent*

Poland  
Afghanistan  
- etc.

de leur puissance militaire. Nous sommes pour un dialogue, qui doit obligatoirement reposer sur le respect et la prise en compte des intérêts légitimes des uns et des autres. Un tel dialogue peut avoir lieu à tout moment avec les Etats-Unis et avec tous ceux qui seront disposés à respecter les règles de relations internationales admises par le monde entier et qui ne tenteront pas de nous imposer leurs exigences.

Bien entendu, nous n'accepterons aucun diktat. Comment devons-nous vivre chez nous, comment devons-nous établir nos relations avec nos amis, nous en décidons et continuerons d'en décider nous-mêmes. Nous ne sommes pas d'accord pour un dialogue sur ces questions. Les ultimatums, adressés par les Etats-Unis et quelques autres pays de l'OTAN à notre in-

dans la course aux armements, surtout nucléaires, mais pas uniquement nucléaires. Les Américains développent, par exemple, la production d'armes chimiques, notamment de gaz neuro-paralysant. Et pour justifier cela ils font circuler des élucubrations calomnieuses sur l'utilisation en Afghanistan et en Asie du Sud-Est d'armes chimiques de fabrication soviétique.

Nous avons déjà répondu à plusieurs reprises à ces accusations malhonnêtes ainsi qu'à d'autres que l'on nous adresse. De façon très argumentée elles ont été réfutées par Leonid Brejnev dans son interview à la revue *Der Spiegel* (novembre 1981). Des explications complémentaires ont été fournies dans toute une série de déclarations publiques des chefs militaires soviétiques, ainsi que dans la brochure récemment éditée par notre ministère de la Défense *Qui menace la paix?*

Avant tout, il convient de souligner un fait indiscutable : dans le monde entier, de même qu'en Europe, où se trouvent face à face les plus puissantes concentrations de forces armées, il s'est établi et il existe toujours un certain équilibre militaire : cet équilibre existe tant entre l'URSS et les USA, qu'entre le Traité de Varsovie et l'OTAN. Ceci on le sait, a été reconnu à plusieurs reprises par des dirigeants des Etats-Unis, y compris par des personnalités de l'actuelle administration. Un grand nombre de spécialistes occidentaux sérieux le reconnaissent aussi.

Il est important de le souligner : l'Union soviétique ne se fixe pas pour but de rompre l'équilibre établi, ni de parvenir à une supériorité militaire quelconque sur l'autre partie. Pour l'Union soviétique, le maintien de l'équilibre militaro-stratégique est le garant, dans les conditions existantes, de l'application du principe d'égalité et de seuil de sécurité égal entre les parties, il sert objectivement au maintien de la paix sur notre planète. Parallèlement, nous sommes sans aucun doute pour la diminution du niveau actuel de confrontation militaire aussi bien en Europe que dans le monde, pour la réduction des armements des deux côtés.

La politique que mènent les Etats-Unis est diamétralement opposée. Les milieux dirigeants de ce pays se sont fixés pour but - et ils le proclament ouvertement - de modifier, coûte que coûte, en leur faveur le rapport des forces sur l'arène mondiale et de s'assurer dans les années qui viennent une supériorité militaire. Pour parvenir à ce but, que l'administration Reagan a officiellement qualifié de primordial, on attribue des crédits

## on soviétique emande ersonne 99

attention et à celle de nos alliés, prouvent leur irresponsabilité vis-à-vis de la Charte de l'ONU et de l'Acte final de la Conférence d'Helsinki, car ils représentent une intervention ouverte dans les affaires intérieures d'Etats souverains et entraînent une aggravation de la tension.

Je répète, l'Union soviétique était et reste un partisan résolu du maintien du dialogue avec les USA et les autres pays. Nos portes sont toujours ouvertes à toute initiative pacifique.

**F.U. - Dans la presse française il est souvent question du surarmement de l'URSS. La partie soviétique déclare que le but de sa politique est le désarmement. Que faites-vous concrètement pour cela ?**

**C. T. -** Les propos sur le "surarmement" de l'URSS sont tenus par des personnes irresponsables ou par ceux qui ne connaissent pas l'état réel des choses. Dans tous les cas, ils se fondent sur des chiffres falsifiés, fournis outre-océan. La thèse entièrement fautive de la "menace militaire soviétique" est utilisée pour attiser des campagnes de propagande antisoviétique et pour justifier les propres efforts de l'administration américaine, qui a, en fait, entamé une nouvelle spirale



militaires dépassant largement les besoins de défense, on accélère le renforcement de capacités militaires des forces nucléaires stratégiques, on tend à "compléter l'armement" de l'Europe occidentale par de nouveaux missiles américains de moyenne portée et on a l'intention d'accroître considérablement la puissance de combat et le nombre des troupes américaines.

L'équilibre existe, il existe non pas sur le papier, mais dans la réalité. C'est ainsi que le chancelier de la RFA, H. Schmidt, a déclaré dans une interview télévisée le 21 août 1981 : "Les responsables politiques américains cherchent à donner l'impression qu'ils sont fermement décidés à rétablir à tout prix l'équilibre. A mon avis, l'équilibre dans la réalité n'a pas été, en principe, rompu." Les Etats-Unis n'ont aucune raison de "compléter leur armement", dans la mesure où ils n'ont pas de retard sur l'URSS. "Compléter son armement" pour atteindre soi-disant la parité cache en fait leur désir d'obtenir la supériorité militaire.

Que ceux qui comprennent en fassent leur profit. Mais si d'aucuns ne nous croient pas, qu'ils fassent eux-mêmes le compte (mais sans les soustractions auxquelles se livrent habituellement ceux qui parlent d'un "surarmement" de l'URSS) des divisions, des missiles, des avions, des sous-marins, des charges nucléaires dont disposent les deux parties.

Cela concerne aussi les armements nucléaires de moyenne portée installés en Europe : il suffit de recourir à une méthode simple de calcul, de poser sur le plateau de la balance, pour chaque partie, ce qui peut atteindre le territoire de l'autre partie; il apparaîtra alors immédiatement qu'il existe non seulement une parité approximative entre l'OTAN et l'organisation du Traité de Varsovie, mais même une certaine suprématie du côté de l'OTAN. Avec l'installation des Pershing-2 et des missiles de croisière, l'OTAN obtiendrait une supériorité d'environ 200% pour les charges nucléaires, sans même parler d'une modification notable de la situation stratégique en faveur des USA. Nous ne le permettrons pas et nous entendons naturellement réagir.

Mais l'Union soviétique ne souhaite pas donner un nouveau tour à la course aux armements. Nous refusons la logique de l'escalade dans l'esprit de la guerre froide. Nous refusons une logique tournée vers la perspective d'un réel conflit armé Est-Ouest, quelle que soit la façon dont l'envisagent les stratèges du Pentagone : limitée à l'Europe ou global. Nous nous

fondons sur la nécessité vitale de préserver et de renforcer, de consolider les perspectives pacifiques.

La politique extérieure de l'Union soviétique a toujours été et demeure axée sur la lutte pour la paix et la sécurité des peuples, la détente, le ralentissement de la course aux armements. "Défendre la paix, soulignait L. Brejnev, il n'existe pas actuellement de tâche plus importante sur le plan international pour notre parti, pour notre peuple comme pour tous les autres peuples de notre planète."

Ce n'est pas un hasard si la question du maintien de la paix, de la conjuration de la guerre est posée de façon aussi brutale. La situation que connaît le monde aujourd'hui est très dangereuse, c'est sans doute la plus dangereuse de toute la période de l'après-guerre.

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## “ Le maintien de stratégique garant du seuil

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Les grandes puissances possèdent des armements dont l'utilisation pourrait engendrer des tragédies innombrables pour l'humanité, causer des dommages irréparables à la civilisation. L'accroissement de la tension internationale par l'administration américaine, l'introduction, par cette dernière, d'éléments hystériques dans la politique mondiale, rapproche le danger de guerre, crée une atmosphère dans laquelle les aventuristes peuvent décider qu'ils ont les mains libres.

Le XXVI<sup>e</sup> congrès du PCUS a réaffirmé la ligne inébranlable de la politique extérieure soviétique tournée vers la paix, et a proposé un ensemble de mesures constructives pour tous les problèmes clefs de la vie internationale.

D'où la lutte inlassable que mène l'Union soviétique pour la cessation de la course aux armements, pour que soient réunies les conditions nécessaires à la limitation puis à la réduction des armements, nucléaires surtout, mais aussi conventionnels, bien entendu. Depuis la fin de la guerre, l'Union soviétique a proposé à la communauté internationale une centaine de mesures concrètes dans le domaine du désarmement. Parmi les dernières en date, citons l'interdiction d'installer des armes de tout type dans l'espace cosmique et l'interdiction de la bombe à

neutrons. Nombre d'entre elles ont été approuvées par l'ONU. Certaines ont été à la base de traités conclus. Nous sommes prêts à poursuivre des négociations, nous ne posons pas de préalable à l'exception d'un seul : l'entente est possible sur tous les sujets à condition de respecter le principe de l'égalité et de la sécurité identique.

En Europe également, nous sommes vraiment pour réduire à zéro les moyens nucléaires de moyenne portée. C'est ce qu'a rappelé, une nouvelle fois L. Brejnev lors de sa rencontre avec les représentants de l'Internationale socialiste, le 5 février dernier. La mise en œuvre de cette proposition créerait une situation qui offrirait à l'ensemble de l'Europe occidentale de très sérieuses garanties contre le danger nucléaire, celle-ci garan-

### *l'équilibre militaire- que est le ! de sécurité ?*

tissant en échange, naturellement, de ne pas déclencher d'attaque nucléaire contre le territoire de l'URSS et de ses alliés à partir du territoire des pays de l'Europe occidentale, des espaces maritimes et aériens jouxtant ce continent. N'est-ce pas une exigence juste ?

Nous considérons que c'est la seule issue juste, donc la seule voie réaliste pour résoudre le problème de la sécurité européenne. Ce faisant, nous avons maintes fois souligné notre désir de négocier également les problèmes relatifs aux armes conventionnelles.

Nous sommes prêts à nous entendre sur la création de zones dénucléarisées en Europe du Nord, dans les Balkans et dans d'autres régions du monde.

Nous sommes favorables à la constitution d'une zone de paix et de coopération dans le bassin de la Méditerranée.

Nous sommes intéressés; nous ne le cachons pas, à reprendre tous les pourparlers qui ont été interrompus ces derniers temps, cette interruption n'étant d'ailleurs pas le fait de la partie soviétique comme chacun le sait (sur l'interdiction totale et universelle des essais nucléaires, sur la limitation des ventes d'armes conventionnelles, sur la limitation puis la réduction de l'activité militaire dans l'océan Indien).

Nous sommes d'accord pour ne

pas mettre au point de nouveaux types d'armes et systèmes de destruction massive, pour renforcer les garanties de sécurité relatives aux Etats non nucléaires, pour consolider le régime de non-dissémination de l'arme nucléaire, pour diminuer les budgets militaires.

Nous estimons, enfin, qu'en décidant de convoquer une conférence sur la détente militaire et le désarmement en Europe, la conférence de Madrid servirait les intérêts des peuples de l'Europe et du monde entier.

Toutes ces propositions sont liées par une même aspiration : assainir le climat international, approfondir la détente, écarter la menace de guerre. Quand elle cherche à obtenir un assainissement radical de la situation, quand elle propose des initiatives concrètes, l'Union soviétique ne pose pas d'ultimatum. Ses offres sont une invitation au dialogue, à la négociation, qui peut et doit examiner toute mesure susceptible de faciliter la solution des problèmes internationaux actuels. Pourquoi donc l'Occident nous laisse-t-il sans réponse ?

F.U. - *Quelle place accordez-vous à la France dans le système des relations Est-Ouest ? A Paris, certains ont l'impression que la RFA est en train de devenir votre partenaire privilégié.*

C. T. - Nos deux peuples entretiennent une solide tradition historique : intérêt mutuel profond, respect de l'amitié. Cette tradition est déterminée par le fait que certains intérêts fondamentaux coïncident.

Il est un fait qui joue vraisemblablement un rôle non négligeable : l'Union soviétique a été et demeure sincèrement partisane d'une France forte et indépendante, capable d'être un partenaire sûr, non seulement au sein de la coopération économique et culturelle, mais encore dans la lutte pour prévenir la menace d'une guerre nucléaire, pour liquider les situations conflictuelles sur une base juste.

L'Union soviétique a maintes fois montré combien elle était attachée à la coopération soviéto-française. C'est une constante de la politique extérieure soviétique. Mais pour qu'il en soit toujours ainsi, il est indispensable que l'autre partie préserve la constante équivalente.

C'est que pour être bilatérales, les relations doivent être construites que des deux côtés, n'est-il pas vrai ?

Pour que des relations revêtent un caractère permanent, soient empreintes de confiance et prennent un caractère privilégié, il faut y mettre de la bonne volonté, il faut

un dialogue politique permanent. Ne proposons le dialogue sans l'imposer à personne. Il est indispensable, également, d'instaurer une atmosphère amicale dans l'opinion publique.

Pour ce qui nous concerne, nous nous en tenons fermement aux documents soviéto-français qui traduisent et consacrent le caractère privilégié de nos relations. Notamment pour ce qui est du développement des sentiments d'amitié entre les peuples de l'Union soviétique et de France.

Malheureusement, il n'en va pas de même en France où les campagnes allant dans un sens tout à fait différent ne sont pas un phénomène rare. Il nous semble que les intérêts mutuels seraient mieux servis par une politique d'amitié plutôt que de haine.

Et nous espérons que la compréhension de ce fait permettra de surmonter les obstacles artificiels que certains dressent sur la voie d'un développement fructueux des relations soviéto-françaises.

Avec la France, nous avons ouvert l'époque de la détente, qui a apporté beaucoup de choses bonnes et précieuses pour tous les peuples d'Europe. Nous sommes convaincus que la France peut jouer un rôle de premier plan dans l'assainissement des relations Est-Ouest, dans l'affaiblissement de la tension actuelle, dans le rétablissement du processus de détente, dans le développement de la coopération pacifique entre tous les pays et les peuples.

**F.U. - Pensez-vous que les relations entre l'URSS et la Chine puissent s'améliorer? A quelles conditions cela peut-il se produire?**

C.T. - Oui, nous le pensons, car nous sommes profondément convaincus que l'amélioration des relations entre l'URSS et la Chine répond aux intérêts profonds et durables des peuples tant soviétique que chinois, aux intérêts de la solution positive des problèmes posés par la construction du socialisme, aux intérêts du mouvement communiste mondial et de toutes les forces anti-impérialistes, aux intérêts du renforcement de la paix dans le monde entier. Le peuple soviétique n'a jamais éprouvé de sentiments d'animosité envers le peuple chinois. Le cœur des Soviétiques élevés dans l'esprit de l'internationalisme est ouvert à toutes les manifestations d'amitié émanant de tous nos partenaires étrangers et à fortiori de nos voisins.

L'Union soviétique souhaite-

rait développer ses relations avec la République populaire de Chine dans un esprit de bon voisinage, sur la base des principes de la coexistence pacifique. Cette ligne politique du PCUS et du Gouvernement soviétique revêt un caractère permanent; elle est invariablement approuvée par les congrès de notre parti et trouve sa traduction dans toute une série de propositions soviétiques qui ont pour but de normaliser les relations entre nos deux pays. Ces propositions conservent leur force. Et nous ne posons aucun préalable d'aucune sorte.

**F.U. - Le président égyptien Moubarak a parlé de la possibilité pour l'URSS, de participer au règlement global du problème**

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**« Personne ne peut  
à faire  
le socialisme »**

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**du Proche-Orient. Comment voyez-vous cette participation de l'URSS?**

C.T. - Je voudrais souligner avant tout que seul un règlement juste peut être durable, et que pour être juste, il doit prendre en compte les intérêts légitimes de tous les participants directement engagés dans le conflit; c'est pourquoi il ne peut être que global et tout embrasser. Tout le reste n'est que tromperie pour les peuples. Voilà de nombreuses années que l'on a entrepris d'effectuer des "petits pas". Parmi ces "pas", citons le marchandage séparé de Camp David et tout ce qui est fait pour lui donner une suite. Qu'ont-ils apporté à la principale victime de l'agression israélienne, au peuple arabe de Palestine? Rien, hormis de nouvelles souffrances que l'on a tenté de calmer par les promesses d'une pseudo-autonomie qui ont pour but, au fond, de rendre éternelle l'occupation israélienne des territoires palestiniens accaparés en 1967. Qu'est-ce que ces "pas" ont apporté au Liban épris de paix? Rien, sinon des raids dignes de bandits effectués en permanence par les militaires israéliens et la menace d'un effondrement de l'Etat libanais. Qu'a obtenu la Syrie? L'insolente décision d'Israël d'annexer les hauteurs du Golan. Enfin, qu'a obtenu l'Egypte? A la place de l'occupation israélienne du Sinaï la

création de ce que l'on appelle des forces multinationales, dont le but est de légitimer la présence militaropolitique dans cette région du principal patron des agresseurs et annexionnistes israéliens : les Etats-Unis. Mais globalement, la tension, le danger d'un nouveau conflit ouvert dans cette région n'a pas diminué ; au contraire, il a sérieusement augmenté.

Afin que le règlement soit véritablement solide et englobe tous les problèmes, il est indispensable de rassembler autour d'une table tous les participants au conflit et tous ceux qui, d'une manière ou d'une autre, y ont été entraînés en raison de son internationalisation. Le XXVI<sup>e</sup> congrès du PCUS a proposé de convoquer une conférence internationale à laquelle participeraient la Syrie, le Liban, la Jorda-

comprenant la création de son propre Etat, de garantir le droit de tous les Etats du Proche-Orient, y compris Israël, à une existence et un développement pacifiques.

Nous avons défendu, et continuerons invariablement de défendre ces principes, car seule leur application sera en mesure d'apporter une juste paix aux peuples du Proche-Orient et à leurs voisins.

**F.U. - Parmi les problèmes internationaux, la situation en Pologne et en Afghanistan occupe une place de choix dans la presse occidentale. Que pouvez-vous déclarer à nos lecteurs sur ces questions ?**

**C.T.** - Il convient de rappeler avant tout qu'il s'agit de pays différents. La Pologne est un pays socialiste, tandis que l'Afghanistan est un pays révolutionnaire démocratique, non aligné, en voie de développement. Il existe cependant bon nombre de points communs dans l'émergence de la situation qui s'est créée en Pologne et en Afghanistan. Ces points communs résident avant tout en ceci que les milieux impérialistes occidentaux ont déployé de sérieux efforts afin d'agir sur les processus intérieurs se déroulant dans ces pays en stimulant par leur travail de sape l'approfondissement des phénomènes de crise.

Toutes les tentatives de l'Occident visant à faire de la situation en Pologne ou en Afghanistan un objet de discussion sont inacceptables, car incompatibles avec le principe de non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures d'Etats souverains.

La Pologne a été et demeure un Etat populaire, et par conséquent socialiste, et personne ne parviendra jamais à faire reculer le socialisme en Europe.

Le soleil de la liberté s'est levé sur l'Afghanistan, et personne ne pourra le faire disparaître. □

## *arviendra jamais reculer en Europe 99*

nie, l'Egypte, l'Organisation de libération de la Palestine et Israël, l'Union soviétique et les Etats-Unis, ainsi que les pays représentant les régions liées au Proche-Orient - l'Europe Occidentale, l'Asie du Sud, l'Afrique du Nord. Nous sommes favorables à ce que cette conférence se déroule sous l'égide de l'ONU et de son secrétaire général. Naturellement, cette conférence ne doit avoir aucun lien avec des marchandages séparés du type Camp David. Le but de cette conférence doit être de parvenir à un retrait total des troupes israéliennes des territoires arabes qu'elles occupent, d'octroyer au peuple arabe de Palestine le droit à une existence indépendante



# L'URSS souhaite une relance des relations avec la France

Vadim Zagladine à France-Inter

Au cours d'une émission de *France-Inter*, hier soir, Vadim Zagladine, membre de la délégation du PCUS au 24<sup>e</sup> Congrès, a évoqué les relations d'Etat entre l'URSS et la France, regrettant la stagnation et même une certaine régression de ces rapports au plan politique, et approuvant la suggestion d'un journaliste au sujet d'une future rencontre franco-soviétique au sommet.

Vadim Zagladine (premier chef adjoint du département international au Comité central du PCUS) a fait remarquer que les dirigeants soviétiques se sont prononcés à maintes reprises pour des rencontres entre chefs d'Etat. Cela est vrai pour l'URSS et la France, et c'est toujours utile. Il n'y a pas eu encore de tel contact entre Léonide Brejnev et François Mitterrand ? « En effet, cela manque », répond. Zagladine, en souhaitant que les divergences idéologiques ne viennent pas perturber la coexistence pacifique.

Comme des journalistes lui demandaient si le chef de sa délégation envisageait des entretiens avec des représentants du gouvernement français, Vadim Zagladine a rappelé que Konstantin Tchernenko était venu pour assister au 24<sup>e</sup> Congrès du PCF et il a ajouté : « Si on veut avoir le contact avec nous, nous y sommes prêts. »

A propos de l'expédition spatiale commune du 16 juin prochain — un journaliste imaginant que ce pourrait être l'occasion d'une invitation à

François Mitterrand à Moscou — Vadim Zagladine s'est félicité de la « bonne coopération » qui s'est établie dans le cosmos, ainsi que dans plusieurs autres domaines, économiques notamment.

Et il a ajouté : « Il reste les problèmes de la guerre et de la paix. On a beaucoup à faire à ce sujet et nous devons travailler ensemble dans cette direction. »

Avec la France, nous avons des relations exceptionnelles, des rapports qui ont des racines historiques, des bases objectives pour les développer à l'avenir. »

Au début de l'entretien, Vadim Zagladine, qui était interrogé au sujet des relations entre les deux partis communistes, a souligné qu'il s'agissait de rapports d'amitié avec le PCF, « l'un des plus grands partis » ; il peut y avoir des divergences, mais cela n'empêche pas les relations fraternelles. Celles-ci se sont développées et on peut dire qu'elles sont plus riches qu'avant. »

Le délégué soviétique a rappelé que

le 26<sup>e</sup> Congrès du PCUS avait nettement déclaré qu'il n'y a pas de modèle du socialisme, et que les sociétés socialistes en construction sont toutes différentes. « Nous avons réalisé la première révolution socialiste et il est normal que d'autres étudient notre expérience, comme il est normal que nous étudions l'expérience des autres. Par exemple, nous étudions les méthodes du PCF, l'expérience extraordinaire de la participation des communistes au gouvernement. »

Interrogé au sujet de la Pologne, le délégué soviétique a estimé que la situation intérieure dans ce pays était en train de changer dans le bon sens, bien que la crise ne soit pas résolue.

## POLOGNE

### Des mesures d'exception levées fin février

Au cours d'un entretien de plus de deux heures avec la presse française, le ministre polonais des Affaires étrangères a confirmé hier à Paris que son gouvernement a l'intention de lever avant la fin de ce mois plusieurs des mesures d'urgence prises le 13 décembre et qui affectent directement la population. Cela ne signifie pas l'annulation de l'état d'urgence, a ajouté Jozef Czyrek, mais cela exprime notre volonté de réduire pour l'essentiel les restrictions que nous avons décidées parce que nous n'avions pas d'autre choix.

Evocant l'actuel séjour au Vatican du primat de Pologne, le ministre a formulé le souhait qu'il contribue à l'établissement du dialogue entre Rome et Varsovie, ainsi qu'aux relations entre le gouvernement et l'Eglise en Pologne ; où les contacts sont d'ailleurs maintenus jusqu'au plus haut niveau.

Interrogé au sujet de sa rencontre de mercredi avec le ministre français des Relations extérieures, Jozef Czyrek estime qu'elle était utile, comme tout ce qui contribue à une meilleure compréhension entre deux partenaires. On peut apprécier de manière diverse ce qui a été fait en Pologne depuis l'instauration de l'état d'urgence, mais dans son message au président Mitterrand, le général Jaruzelski avait dit son intention de poursuivre la politique de renouveau socialiste et celle des réformes ; bien entendu, il n'avait pas fixé de délais. Les activités du gouvernement sont allées dans ce sens et seront poursuivies, en tenant compte des réalités de la situation dans le pays.

Le ministre a dénoncé les ingérences américaines dans les affaires polonaises ; elles sont mises en œuvre par ceux-là mêmes qui disent protester contre les interventions étrangères

## EN BREF

● **CONSTANTIN TCHERNENKO**, chef de la délégation soviétique au 24<sup>e</sup> congrès du PCF, sera reçu, à sa demande, dans les prochains jours par le premier ministre Pierre Mauroy.

● **LE BUREAU EXECUTIF DU PARTISOCIALISTE** a déclaré, hier, dans un communiqué évoquant la situation en Pologne et dans les autres pays socialistes, que « la nature de ces régimes ne s'apparente nullement au socialisme ».

● **ANDREAS PAPANDREOU**, premier ministre grec, a quitté Bonn jeudi en début d'après-midi, au terme d'une visite de quatre jours. Ses entretiens avec les dirigeants ouest-allemands n'ont d'ailleurs pas permis d'aplanir toutes les divergences entre les deux capitales.

Helmut Schmidt a confirmé à son interlocuteur son refus de voir la Grèce obtenir un statut spécial dans la Communauté européenne. D'autre part, le chef du gouvernement ouest-allemand n'a pas apporté à Andreas Papandréou le soutien que ce dernier attendait au sujet de la menace turque.

Les divergences sont également demeurées en ce qui concerne la place de la Grèce dans l'OTAN.

● **REGIS DEBRAY**, conseiller du président français François Mitterrand pour les Affaires étrangères, effectuera un voyage d'information en Asie du Sud-Est au cours du mois de février.

Il se rendra dans certaines capitales de l'Association des nations du Sud-Est asiatique (ANSEA, Indonésie, Malaisie, Philippines, Singapour et Thaïlande) et au Vietnam.

Son voyage sera particulièrement consacré au problème des réfugiés indochinois.

personnel. L'armée et la police assurent le fonctionnement d'un service minimum d'autobus.

● **A MADRID**, le procureur du Conseil suprême de la justice militaire a requis 30 ans de prison contre le lieutenant-général Jaime Milans Del Bosch, le général Alfonso Armada et le lieutenant-colonel Antonio Tejero, principaux



Milans del Bosch.

inculpés dans l'affaire du putsch manqué du 23 février 1981. Le magistrat a requis 20 ans de prison contre un autre inculpé, le général Luis Torres Rojas.

Le conseil de guerre, qui jugera les 32 militaires putschistes devrait avoir lieu le 18 février à Madrid.

● **LE GOUVERNEMENT POLONAIS** a augmenté d'un quart les prix des céréales à la production. Ces prix sont désormais de 1.200 zlotys au lieu de 950 pour 100 kilos de seigle, de blé, d'avoine ou d'orge, à partir du 1<sup>er</sup> février. Le gouvernement avait déjà augmenté les prix

Le président mena. On diennes n'o

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*Speeches*  
C. CHERNENKO'S SPEECH IN TBILISI

**Presentation of Order of Lenin**

(a) Moscow home service 1300 gmt 29 Oct 82

Excerpt from announcer-read report of speech:

A festive session of the City Party Committee and the City Soviet of People's Deputies held today in Tbilisi was devoted to the presentation of the Order of Lenin to the capital of Georgia. The participants in the session elected with great enthusiasm an honorary presidium comprising the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee headed by Comrade Brezhnev.

Comrade Chernenko, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who was given a warm welcome by those present, delivered a speech. He passed on to the working people of Tbilisi greetings and congratulations from Comrade Brezhnev on this great and notable event in the life of the city, which were greeted with tumultuous applause from those present.

We have a duty to the capital of Georgia, Tbilisi, Leonid Ilyich said to me the other day in conversation. The city has been awarded the Order of Lenin, the 65th anniversary of October is drawing near, and it would be a good thing to present the award [Soviet television 1600 gmt 29 Oct 82: before the holiday. I myself had hoped to have time to come and present the order to the city, but preparations for the session of the Supreme Soviet and for the plenum of the Party Central Committee and other urgent affairs just would not let me leave Moscow even for a short time. It would be a good thing if you (Russian: ty) were to just fly down to Georgia, Leonid Ilyich continued, and present the order to the city of Tbilisi. That republic, as you know, is an interesting one. The Party organizations work energetically and creatively. Eduard Amvrosyevich Shevardnadze gives a good lead in everything. Convey to him, and of course to all the other comrades, my best wishes and greetings. Tell them also that I well remember last year's meetings and visit to Tbilisi.] I firmly believe that both Tbilisi and the whole of Georgia in the coming years will gladden the homeland with fresh glorious accomplishments.

[Soviet television 1800 gmt 29 Oct 82: Permit me also, dear comrades, to associate myself with the warm words of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of our Party, and to congratulate you from the bottom of my heart on the high award.]

Tbilisi, like every city, has its own unique history, its own destiny, the speaker went on. Your city has since olden times been the native home not only of Georgians, but also Armenians, Russians, people of various nationalities. And national conceit of any kind was always alien to working Tbilisi. I do not wish to say that everything was plain sailing. Life is not free from difficulties, both objective and subjective ones. Indeed, you know as well as I what complicated political work you had to do after the well-known resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the organizational and political work of Tbilisi City Committee of the CP of Georgia in carrying out the resolutions of the 24th CPSU Congress. That was a struggle for a healthy political climate in the republic, a struggle, if you like, for its good name, its honour. And the communists of Tbilisi and the whole of Georgia, led by Comrade Shevardnadze, coped well with the tasks set by the CPSU Central Committee.

Tbilisi, Comrade Chernenko noted, is confidently moving to greater heights. Since 1977, its industry has been working practically without lagging enterprises. The experience of the Tbilisi Party organization in improving the management of the socio-economic life of the city is instructive. Tbilisi's successes are undoubtedly the result of the great and positive changes which have taken place throughout Georgia over the last 10 years. From its example it is clear what a great role is played in the life of each Soviet

republic by the union-wide division of labour. All this convincingly shows the correctness of the course of the 26th CPSU Congress, a course of building up the material and spiritual potential of each republic and at the same time of the maximum utilization of this potential for the harmonic development of the whole country. This is vivid evidence of the fruitfulness of the Leninist friendship of the peoples of the USSR, whose 60th anniversary we are shortly to mark. In a word, you have something to be proud of. And it is no coincidence that the activity of your Party organization was given a high evaluation in the recently-adopted resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the organizational and political work of Party organizations of the Georgian SSR in preparing for the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR.

I think it would not be superfluous, however, to recall that the republic has considerable reserves and potential which are not being used in full measure, and there is still plenty of unfinished work to be done. Your attention was drawn to this last year in a thoroughly principled way by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev. The CPSU Central Committee knows that you are working persistently to act upon the remarks and directions of Leonid Ilyich.

On the development of the republic's agriculture, the speaker noted that attention is now focused on the tasks stemming from the Food Programme. It is good, he said, that you are trying to determine the specific place of each rayon and town, each state and collective farm, each works and factory, each institution and organization, each farmstead and each worker in fulfilling them. Indicative in this respect is the recent October plenum of the CP of Georgia Central Committee, at which there was a serious and impartial discussion of the untapped reserves and shortcomings in the production of grain and fodder. Such a self-critical and businesslike way of tackling the matter is the only correct one.

[Soviet television 1800 gmt 29 Oct 82: You have experience of the solution of major economic problems and the creative use of the immense capabilities of a collectivized economy. This experience is not bad. Evidence of this is, for example, the initiative of Abasha Rayon in improving the administration of agriculture, which has now been emulated throughout the country.]

All our practice shows that the decisive factor of success is skilful Party leadership, the ability of Party committees to select and place cadres correctly and motivate communists and all working people for self-sacrificing work. This is what characterizes the organizational and political activity of the CP of Georgia Central Committee. It (?attracts) a persistent search for new forms of work, the ability to organize it taking the future into account and relying on the broad masses of the working people, and implacability towards everything which runs counter to the nature of our system and our morality. This is the true, Leninist line.

Unfortunately, there are still leaders who feel uncomfortable on the rostrum in front of the masses, but if they are competent people, principled, honest communists, they have nothing to fear. Criticism from below, although unpleasant, is necessary and useful to everyone. One cannot lead the masses without being accountable to them. These are, so to speak, two sides of the same coin.

We should constantly strengthen discipline and organization everywhere. Of course, it is not a matter of blind and unthinking obedience. Our discipline presupposes consciousness, each person having a deep understanding of the nature of the issues being resolved, self-reliance and initiative in the fight to implement the plans which have been collectively drawn up and approved. And this fight needs monolithic ranks and unity of will.

A united will is needed, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said: All must act as one on each practical matter. United will cannot be just a phrase or a symbol - we demand that it be in practice. The united will of our Party, Comrade Chernenko, said, is vividly expressed in the cohesion of communists around the CPSU Central Committee, headed by that faithful continuer of Lenin's great cause, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev. This cohesion is the guarantee of the successful fulfilment of all our tasks.

More than 11,000 primary Party organizations in Georgia - that, comrades, is enormous strength. Here, as in all the parties, the report-back and election campaign is under way. It is important that it should take place in a demanding and Bolshevik-like atmosphere. Each just critical remark and each businesslike proposal by a communist should result in real action.

The rallying of the creative intelligentsia on Party positions and the skilful utilization of the enormous educational potential of the arts has been an important success of the CP of Georgia Central Committee.

Turning to work with young people, the speaker stressed that the CP of Georgia Central Committee, understanding the importance of these matters, strives to combine the enthusiasm and profound knowledge of young people with the wisdom and experience of mature cadres. Comrade Chernenko went on to deal briefly with international affairs, noting the two main trends and the clash between them, which determines the present political climate. [See below]

(b) Tass in Russian for abroad 1342 (and in English 1409) gmt 29 Oct 82

Excerpt from report of speech:

At one pole of world politics, he said, are all those who are for preventing nuclear war, ending the arms race and solving controversial problems through constructive negotiations; in other words, they favour the relaxation of international tension and peaceful coexistence. At the other pole are all those who would like to torpedo detente, whip up the arms race and return to cold-war times. Those politicians of yesterday are not numerous, but they are dangerous. They are particularly dangerous, because they have in their hands a huge military machine, above all that of the USA.

The US ruling class has not stood the test of detente, the test of peaceful co-operation. Indeed, detente is a process of many aspects and dimensions. Detente is undoubtedly the way to peace and co-operation. But not only that. The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that detente gives scope to the democratization of international life in general and enhances the political activity of the broadest masses of people. Detente is inseparable from recognition of each nation's right to decide its future independently, to choose a way of life and direction of social development.

For almost two years, the rulers of the USA have been "flexing their muscles". For almost two years, abuse against the Soviet Union and other socialist states has been heard from Washington. For almost two years, myths about a "Soviet threat" and the "hand of Moscow" have been serving as a kind of ideological foundation of US foreign policy. What has Washington achieved? The quantity of its nuclear bombs has surely grown; one military programme overtakes another, but the USA's international position has not become stronger because of that - on the contrary.

The US politicians' cynical talk of "limited", "protracted" or "rational" nuclear missile war, and the intention to localize such a war to the "European theatre of operations", "have resulted in the growth of nervousness and concern in Western Europe.

New lines of tension have emerged in relations between the USA and Latin America.

And the Middle East? It is clear to all that were it not for Washington's support and patronage, Israel would not have risked embarking upon the road of genocide against the Palestinian people and drowning in blood long-suffering Lebanon. Now the Americans are wriggling and writhing.

More cracks have appeared in Japanese-American relations. Incidentally, there has been no lessening in the number of cracks either in Japan's relations with a number of other countries, because of its turn in the direction of militarization, to which Washington is nudging it.



To the one hundred billion budget deficit, record unemployment, a wave of bankruptcies and other crisis phenomena, the makers of American policy can certainly also add an enormous foreign policy deficit, the speaker continued. Things have gone so far that you can read the following statement in one American newspaper: If Moscow could manage to infiltrate its agents into the White House, the newspaper said, it could still hardly do more to undermine the authority of America than is being done by the present administration. This, it turns out, is where one should look for the "hand of Moscow".

To the bellicose, great power and boundlessly egocentric foreign policy course of the USA the Soviet Union responds with a confident and restrained policy free from any fluctuations dictated by expediency (Russian: konyunkturykh). "From the first legislative act of Soviet power - the Decree on Peace," Leonid Brezhnev said, "to the recent decision of exceptional importance - the commitment not to resort to first use of nuclear weapons - the whole policy of our Party and state has been imbued with a sincere desire to preserve peace. The Soviet Union is prepared to do and is doing everything possible to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, curb the arms race and strengthen the foundations of peace on earth."

Our country's European policy is based on the need to preserve the values of detente, and preserve and multiply what has been accomplished and laid down in Helsinki.

We sincerely want to normalize relations with our great Chinese neighbour, Konstantin Chernenko said, and we are convinced that this will benefit both China and the Soviet Union, as well as the cause of peace in the world.

The Soviet Union is opposed to the further growth of tension in Soviet-American relations. We are for their normalization and improvement, and we are ready for business-like and thorough negotiations which would be sure to take account of the interests of both sides.

If, however, Washington proves unable to rise above primitive anti-communism, and if it persists in its policy of threats and dictate, well then we are strong enough and we can wait. Neither sanctions nor bellicose posturing frighten us. We believe in reason. And we believe that sooner or later - and the sooner the better - reason will triumph and the danger of war will be averted.

Mankind deserves peace, and it will live in conditions of peace.

[Note: The Moscow home service 1300 gmt report said in conclusion that Chernenko had read out the decree awarding the Order of Lenin to Tbilisi, and that Shevardnadze had said in reply that the people of Tbilisi "who are responsive to kind words and consideration, address their joy and gratitude above all to the man whom they made an honorary citizen of Tbilisi in unforgettable May 1981 - that outstanding citizen of our age, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev. He lives and works for the people and in the name of the people. He belongs entirely to the people, and devotes himself wholly and completely to the great Leninist cause." It was reported in the Moscow home service news bulletin at 1200 gmt on 29th October that Chernenko had been made an honorary citizen of Tbilisi. According to Soviet television the previous day (1800 gmt), Chernenko visited the Dimitrov aircraft factory in Tbilisi on the 28th.]

#### Meeting with Georgian Leaders

Moscow home service 1330 gmt 30 Oct 82

Text of report:

Comrade Chernenko, a member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has had a talk with members of the Bureau of the Central Committee and Tbilisi City Committee of the CP of Georgia and leading Party and local government

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workers of the republic. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the CP of Georgia Central Committee, described the progress of implementation of the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the tasks set by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev during his visit to Georgia in May 1981. He noted that the republic's Party organization is consistently striving to further improve the standard of management, improve the use of production reserves and step up organizational and educational work. The Party organization of Georgia in recent years has done a great deal of work, socio-economic tasks and of working with the masses is becoming increasingly creative. Much attention is being focused on organizational and political ways of ensuring implementation of the tasks set. The demands on leading cadres are increasing, and ideological work is being reorganized actively.

During the talk it was noted that in recent years Georgia had achieved a significant increase in the rate of economic and social development. The growth of industrial and agricultural production and the rise in labour productivity in the current five-year period are higher than the planned targets. At the same time, there are a good many reserves for increasing the efficiency of production and reducing losses of working time. Much attention has been paid to the problems of the development of the light and food industries, improvement of product quality and implementation of plans for housing construction in the republic. It was pointed out that in the light of the resolutions of the May 1982 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, specific tasks had been outlined for the republic and each rayon and farm in the implementation of the country's Food Programme. More persistent work must be done on the intensification of agricultural production through the accelerated development of subsidiary farms of enterprises and establishments and increasing Georgia's contribution to implementation of the Food Programme.

The leadership of the republic expressed the determination of workers in industry and agriculture to fulfil the plans and socialist obligations of the jubilee year and the five-year period as a whole.

Comrade Chernenko stressed that in implementation of the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress, the chief and determining factor was unity of word and action, resolution and implementation. He expressed the certainty that the communists and working people of Georgia would meet the 60th anniversary of the USSR with new achievements. [Sight-seeing; departure for Moscow]