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31 July 1985

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY, ELECTIONS IN URUGUAY CHRONICLED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 4, Apr 85 pp 20-31

[Article by E. V. Demushkina: "The Victory of Antidictatorial Forces in Uruguay"]

[Text] On 25 November 1984 direct general elections were held for the first time in 13 years, marking the end of rule by the military dictatorship established on 27 June 1973. They were held on the basis of an agreement attained as the result of lengthy negotiations between representatives of all political parties (both those recognized by the regime and those having illegal status) and the government. The election was won by the Colorado Party, the largest bourgeois party. Julio Maria Sanguinetti, its candidate, took up his duties as president of the republic on 1 March 1985.

Events of recent years in Uruguay bespeak the fact that, thanks to close interaction between the political and social associations of the opposition and the organized mass movement for a restoration of democracy, the dictatorship's plan suffered a crushing defeat. This plan had provided for "limited democracy" under the supervision of the armed forces.

Under conditions of a worsening socioeconomic and political crisis at the end of the 1970's, the dictatorship drew up a "timetable for transition" from military rule to a regime of "limited," or "guided" democracy under the control of the armed forces.¹ In accordance with this timetable a referendum on a proposed constitution was envisioned. This constitution was prepared by the authorities for the purpose of institutionalizing a regime of "limited democracy," partial legalization of bourgeois parties and presidential elections in 1984 with participation by parties with legal status, the activities of which would be regulated by a special law.

Under these conditions antidictatorial forces had at least two goals: to make sure that elections would take place no later than the deadline established, and to guarantee that they would be of a general, democratic nature. Democratic forces directed all their energies toward the resolution of these tasks, particularly the Communist Party of Uruguay (PCU) and the Frente Amplio, working in the underground. PCU documents repeatedly emphasized that it was possible to achieve these goals only by means of developing the masses' organized struggle on a higher level, with coordinated action by all oppositional forces, for the

dictatorship would not voluntarily give up its power and would defend it stubbornly.

The first step by the dictatorship in the direction of realizing its plan for "gradual democratization" was a referendum on the proposed constitution, held on 30 November 1980. This referendum showed how unfounded were the projects of the military.² The negative result of the voting -- 57.2 percent of those voting were opposed -- represented a visible symptom of the political crisis of the regime and the first important victory by antidictatorial forces. Without belittling the significance of this victory, one should note that it was not so much the result of coordinated action by a unified opposition as it was of the profound unpopularity of the regime, an expression of the striving of the majority of the people for democratic change.

The military junta, which continued to take the initiative, drew at least two practical lessons from its defeat: the necessity of creating an appearance of giving in to the workers' and trade union movement and of not allowing the opposition to unite, and the necessity of broadening its own political base through traditional parties. This latter step was accompanied by increasingly severe repression of all leftist forces. The "trade union law" and "party law" which the government adopted were to have facilitated the attainment of these goals.

In 1981, after lengthy discussion in which workers' representatives did not take part, the "trade union law" was passed.³ Some positive amendments had been introduced into its text as compared to the original 1979 plan; the paragraph concerning the necessity of prior government approval of trade union establishment was removed, as well as the paragraph stating that union leaders must "affirm their loyalty to democracy" (i.e. to the regime -- E. D.). However, this law did not extend to government employees, who were completely forbidden to found trade unions, though they equalled 1/3 of all workers.⁴

In documents of the National Workers' Convention (NWC) it was noted that the dictatorship, aided by the "trade union law," was attempting to limit the workers' struggle under the guise of "legalization" and at the same time create the illusion of normalization of union activity in Uruguay, thus deceiving the international public. At the same time the NWC leadership emphasized that in conditions of an absence of civil liberties, kidnappings and arrests of trade union leaders in Uruguay, it was necessary to utilize even minimal legal opportunities for setting up unions.⁵ The process of forming primary union organizations began throughout the country.

On 1 September 1981 Lieutenant General Gregorio Alvarez became president of Uruguay until 1985, elected by the Council of the Nation on the recommendation of the junta of generals. The new president announced his intention to realize steps "essential for the transition to constitutional rule"; to adopt a "party law" in 1982, with its resultant revitalization of parties' activity, to draw up a plan for a constitution with representatives of these parties in 1983, and in 1984, after approval of this constitution in a referendum, to conduct presidential elections and transfer power to a legally elected government on 1 March 1985.

According to the "party law," adopted in June 1982, limited activity was allowed only for traditional bourgeois parties: the Colorado Party, the National (Blanco) Party, as well as the small Civic Union. Thereby the corresponding government authorities kept control over the membership, finances and informational organs of these parties. In particular, the government banned the most prominent leaders of the parties mentioned from participating in political life: Wilson Ferreira Aldunate, Carlos Pereira and Dardo Ortiz (National Party); Jorge Batle (Colorado Party). They could not be entered in the membership lists of these parties and, as a result, could not claim leadership posts in them and be nominated as candidates in the elections. The law provided for prison terms of from three to six months for any mention by informational organs of individuals figuring on the regime's "proscribed lists." A ban on activity by the Frente Amplio was also passed, as well as exclusion from the country's political life of parties "whose ideology and principles indicate direct or indirect ties to foreign political parties." This last provision was primarily directed against the communist and socialist parties.⁶

In accordance with this law, so-called "intra-party elections" of delegates to congresses of the three legal parties were set for 28 November 1982. These in turn were to choose the leadership organs of each party. The authorities emphasized that the upcoming elections were purely an internal matter of the parties, in which participation was not mandatory.

Although the elections were internal to the parties, in fact all citizens with the right to vote participated, since the traditional parties had no official membership rolls. Taking advantage of this, the opposition decided to turn the election into a unique referendum against the dictatorship. Attainment of this goal was connected with the elimination of a number of serious difficulties. Firstly, there existed strict limitations on propaganda activity, election campaigning, nomination of candidates etc. by opposition groups within traditional parties. Secondly, it was essential to achieve unity of action within the framework of these same groups, while all their existing disagreements were being stirred up in every way possible by progovernment informational organs.

Overcoming the obstacles created by the regime, opposition forces called upon the voters to participate actively in the intra-party elections and turn them into a new plebiscite against the dictatorship. The banned Frente Amplio recommended that its supporters vote with blank ballots, as a sign of protest against the antidemocratic "party law" as well as to prove the real strength of this people's coalition.⁷

Despite the fact that the intra-party elections took place in a situation of anticommunist hysteria, repeated confiscations of periodical publications, a ban on the print organs of oppositional factions within the traditional parties and blackmail and threats directed against prominent opposition figures,⁸ the results of the voting stunned the dictatorship. According to official data, more than 1,177,000 persons voted -- approximately 70 percent of all voters. Approximately 82 percent of the citizens who took part in the elections voted for members of the opposition. The progovernment candidates of these parties, nominated by individual factions, suffered a most crushing defeat, particularly in departamientos with the highest concentration of workers: in Montevideo votes "against" (including blank ballots) amounted to 85 percent; in Salto and

Paysandu -- 84 percent; and in Rio Negro -- 92 percent.

The National Party received over 580,000 votes, of which the leading position with 78 percent, or 36 percent of the total voters, was held by opposition factions with contact to V. Ferreira Aldunate, then living abroad. These factions were in favor of democratization of the country, a general amnesty and the conducting of general elections as soon as possible without any limitations whatsoever. Almost 495,000 persons voted for candidates of the Colorado Party. Thereby antidictatorial factions within the party, headed by Julio Maria Sanguinetti and Enrique Tarigo, garnered 362,000 votes (73 percent). The progovernment faction headed by former president Pacheco Areco received 26 percent of the votes within his own Colorado Party, a little more than 11 percent of total votes. Only 14,000 votes were cast for candidates of the third party permitted by the dictatorship, the Civic Union.

A total of 88,000 persons, responding to the call by the Frente Amplio Coalition, turned in blank ballots.⁹ In Montevideo these (a total of 68,000) exceeded the number of votes received by Pacheco Areco (55,000).¹⁰ Thus the Frente Amplio affirmed its existence as a real political force although many of its activists, headed by General Liber Seregni, Executive Committee chairman, were either in dictatorial imprisonment or had been exiled.

Summing up the results of the "internal" elections, V. Ferreira Aldunate, leader of the National Party, emphasized: "This time no one, nothing can deny us the victory. I am not referring to the victory of my party, but rather to the victory of the nation, expressed by an overwhelming majority of the population."¹¹ The Plenum of the PCU Central Committee, held in February 1983, evaluated the election results and the situation in the country as follows: "The total external and domestic isolation of the dictatorship led to obvious disintegration of the regime and to the origin of a new political situation. In this situation, despite the most subtle forms of repression, opposition forces are winning positions... The plebiscite of 1980, the voting of 1982 and the demand "Away With the Dictatorship!" -- all these are an expression of efforts to remove the dictatorship from power and reinstitute democracy... Now the objective and subjective preconditions for final defeat of the dictatorship have been created; however, this can occur only as a result of the masses' struggle."¹²

The congresses of the legal parties, held in January, and the election of leadership organs in March 1983 reinforced the victory of the leaders of the antidictatorial factions. Juan Pivel Devoto, a supporter of V. Ferreira Aldunate, was elected chairman of the National Party. J. M. Sanguinetti, leader of the moderate reform wing of the Colorado Party, became general secretary of its executive committee. Umberto Siganda was elected chairman of the Executive Junta of the Civic Union.

Simultaneously with reinforcement of the positions of the antigovernment majority in traditional bourgeois parties there developed a process of rebirth of primary trade union organizations. The opposition movement, gaining strength, strived in the new political situation to exploit to the maximum the slightest legal opportunities to increase further the isolation of the dictatorship, achieve nationwide elections in an atmosphere of full restoration of political and civil liberties. The formation of an Inter-Union Workers'

Plenum (IWP) in April 1983 became an important factor in the mobilization of workers for a common democratic struggle for their socioeconomic and political interests. It originated not as a unified trade union center (the NWC, operating underground, retained this function), but rather as a legal organization for the coordination of the unions which made it up. The IWP's original goal was the organization of a workers' demonstration to mark 1 May, International Workers' Day. At first the IWP's appeal to the government on this point, signed by 53 unions, was rejected. However, one week later (21 April) the authorities were forced to allow a 1 May celebration for the first time in 10 years in Uruguay. This was one of the important symptoms of the dictatorship's growing instability.

The IWP initiative was supported by all political parties and trade unions. The 1 May 1983 celebration became a fundamentally important landmark in the development of the antidictatorial struggle. Approximately 200,000 persons took part in the demonstration, or one-fifth of the capital's population. The march took place under the motto "Unity of All Workers and the People in the Struggle for Freedom, for Amnesty, for National Rebirth, for Fair Wages, for Work!"¹³ The May Day march and a programmatic Manifesto by the IWP proclaimed at a rally¹⁴ showed that the tendency toward unity in the struggle against the dictatorship was gaining strength.

After the May Day march the mass protest movement against the dictatorship became the definitive factor in political life. Whereas the victories of the antidictatorial forces in the 1980 plebiscite and in the 1982 intra-party elections occurred within a framework established by the dictatorship itself, beginning with the 1983 May Day demonstration the masses of the people gradually took the initiative. They then went on the offensive, utilizing the most diverse forms of protest against the dictatorial regime.

The key question, around which an acute and bitter struggle between the dictatorship and opposition forces developed, was the working out of a plan for a new constitution. On the basis of this constitution, after its approval by plebiscite, the military authorities intended to hold national elections in November 1984. On 13 May 1983, in a situation of growing mobilization of the people's masses, negotiations on this question began at the government's initiative between representatives of the Armed Forces Commission for Political Affairs (COMASPO) and delegations from the legal parties: the Colorado Party, National Party and Civic Union.

In the course of negotiations both sides pursued opposing goals. The dictatorship strove to pass its plan for "limited democracy." A COMASPO memorandum, presented as a basis for dialogue, in fact did not differ fundamentally from the constitution rejected by plebiscite in 1980. The military categorically insisted on the inclusion in it of a paragraph on the position and functions of the Council for National Security, which would place it above elected organs of power and substantially limit the rights of parliament. The fundamental differences between participants which were evident from the very beginning of the dialogue led to a rejection by chairmen of political parties of the plan to institutionalize a regime of "limited democracy"; the chairmen broke off negotiations on 5 July 1983.

The position of the legal parties at the negotiations was based upon the struggle of the masses, who had firmly expressed their desire for democratic change. Inasmuch as the dictatorship, despite all its efforts, did not succeed in attracting young people to its side, the fighting slogan of the 1950's -- "Workers and Students Together and Forward!" -- took on new force in the course of a demonstration on 27 June 1983, which was dispersed by the police.

The response of the government, which at this time was dominated by proponents of a hard line, headed by President Gregorio Alvarez, to the growth of the resistance movement was repression of the participants in peaceful demonstrations and the adoption on 2 August 1983 of "Institutional Act No. 14," which strictly regulated the activity of the legal bourgeois parties. Thereafter they were allowed to discuss only programmatic documents and some organizational matters. They were categorically forbidden to conduct any political activity which transcended intra-party matters, under the threat of losing their political rights for a period of from two to seven years. Press censorship was tightened, etc.

However, the regime was no longer in a position to contain the **growth** of the movement for the reestablishment of democracy. The struggle of antidictatorial forces, particularly the struggle of the working class, was developing upward, characterized by the growth and strengthening of IWP positions, reinforcement of tendencies toward unified action, diversity of forms of protest. Despite a ban by the authorities, partial and "echeloned" strikes continued to be conducted, as were antigovernment rallies and demonstrations. Beginning in August 1983 the opposition began to utilize new forms of struggle: Days of National Protest, "pots and pans concerts," shutoffs of electric power at designated times, boycott of government publications, organized mass refusal to attend theaters and restaurants, use public transportation etc. Work groups in which representatives of all political parties, unions and student and social organizations participated were set up to prepare and carry out such actions.

Thus, in the course of everyday struggle unity of actions of democratic forces was achieved in practice. Under these conditions the matter of coordinating and agreeing upon actions at the level of the leadership of the political parties came to be of particular importance in the struggle against the dictatorship. Emphasizing the necessity of resolving this task for the sake of overthrow of the dictatorship, Rodney Arismendi, first secretary of the PCU Central Committee, noted: "...We cannot forget the broad strata of the population which only recently joined in the struggle against the dictatorship and are participating in it due to an appeal by the party to which they belong. This is a dialectical interaction: the masses are urged to actions on a wider scale, but when the goals of their unity and leadership have been attained, this leads to a higher level of mobilization of the people... Coordination and possible convergence of all political parties and social forces must be regarded as the basic means of achieving the victory of democracy."¹⁵

The PCU and the Frente Amplio, operating in the underground, became the most consistent fighters for the unification of all antidictatorial forces. At the beginning of August 1983, when the regime had again stepped up repressions, the Frente Amplio came out with the initiative to create an Interparty Commission (IC) from the representatives of all political forces, both legal and illegal.

The IC was designed "for evaluation of events, exchange of information and definition of possible forms of struggle." With the goals of ensuring "peaceful but firm" forms of people's struggle, in particular mass unified demonstrations, the Frente Amplio proposed that a special organ be formed with the participation of all political and social forces: Intersectorial, which would "carry out all practical actions."¹⁶

The first Day of National Protest was successfully carried out on 25 August 1983, on the 158th anniversary of national independence. Member of all political parties, trade unions and student and public organizations participated. By the end of 1983 three more Days of National Protest had been organized. The demonstration on 27 November in Montevideo was the culmination of the antidictatorial struggle and a brilliant demonstration of the unity of all opposition forces; approximately 400,000 persons participated in this demonstration. In it, members of the legal and banned parties, as well as the IWP, appeared together for the first time. The demonstration graphically proved the strength of the IWP and the resolve of its component organizations to struggle for the restoration of freedom and democracy in the country, for legalization of all parties and for amnesty for all political prisoners.

Nevertheless, the creation of the IC, an exceptionally important step in the process of closing the ranks of the political opposition at the level of the higher party leadership, was not sufficiently durable. This became clear as early as December 1983, when the dictatorship again increased repressions and the legal parties de facto broke off collaboration within the framework of the IC.¹⁷ However, neither the government's authoritarian policy nor the half-hearted stance of the legal bourgeois parties could cool the fervor of the workers' struggle.

In 1984 the mass antidictatorial movement rose to a qualitatively new level and acquired a more organized and consistent nature. One of the decisive factors in stepping up the struggle against the dictatorship was the growing role of unions. At the beginning of 1984 the IWP already contained approximately 150 unions -- four times more than when it was founded.¹⁸

On 18 January 1984, despite a ban and threats by the authorities, the first 24-hour general strike in the history of the dictatorship was conducted on the initiative of the IWP. The strike encompassed practically the entire country. The IWP strike call was supported by the Frente Amplio, factions of the majority of the National Party, the "Independent Batlists" faction of the Colorado Party, the student association, autonomous trade unions and various public organizations. The leadership of the moderate reform wing of the Colorado Party and the Civic Union came out in opposition to holding the strike, fearing the the growing activism on the part of the masses could cause the regime to cancel holding national elections or postpone them to a later date. The strike was of an obviously political nature. Its participants demanded withdrawal of the repressive decrees and all limitations on the activities of trade unions and political parties, freedom for political prisoners, observance of civil rights and liberties, salary increases and reduction of unemployment.¹⁹

Attempting to cool the ardor of the people's struggle, the military government published a decree concerning the dissolution of the IWP and the arrest of its leaders, and forbade mass information media to in any way mention the strike. Nevertheless, the influence of the IWP on the masses grew inexorably. Having been unsuccessful in concluding an agreement with moderate factions in the traditional parties, and realizing that it was losing the initiative, the military was forced to make some concessions under pressure from the masses. An important victory for the forces of democracy was the release from prison in March 1984 of Liber Seregni, a prominent social and political figure and laureate of the international Lenin Prize "For Strengthening Peace Among Peoples," the leader of the Frente Amplio, as well as Jose Luis Massera, one of the leaders of the PCU.

The reactivation of IC activities in February-March 1984 played an important role in the successful carrying out of the first 1984 Day of Protest on 1 April. The 1984 May Day demonstration became a show for the militant worker' forces; all political parties, trade unions, the student association and other associations participated in it. In scale it was twice the size of the 1 May 1983 demonstration. In a document read at the rally, which was carried on the radio, serious criticism was leveled at the regime's socioeconomic policy, a program of urgent socioeconomic transformations was outlined and the immediate restoration of democracy and a return of the country to a constitutional system were demanded. One of the particular characteristics of this demonstration was the demand that the NWC be legalized.

Beginning in May 1984 the struggle for the restoration of democracy and for the holding of elections entered its decisive phase. On 1 May the government published a memorandum, on the basis of which negotiations with the legal parties concerning a return to constitutional rule would be revived. In essence this memorandum was no different from the previous one, rejected by the legal parties in June 1983. Only now the plan for a constitution had to be drawn up by the National Assembly and presented for a plebiscite at the end of 1985 or beginning of 1986. Until that time all legal acts of the military government, both existing ones and those which could be passed after the November elections, would not be subject to review. A week before publication of this memorandum it was stated that "Institutional Act No. 14" from 2 August 1983 remained in effect. At the same time, seven opposition publications were shut down. Although the authorities did not exclude the possibility of reviewing the question of allowing the activity of some parties and organizations in the course of the negotiations, parties belonging to the Frente Amplio (and excluding the PCU), the ban on political activity by National Party leader V. Ferreira Aldunate was not subject to review, nor was the loss of political rights for two years by L. Seregni, chairman of the Frente Amplio. The government let it be clearly understood that it was offering the legal parties their last chance to discuss the possibilities of a transition to constitutional rule. In the event that they were unsuccessful in reaching an agreement, the government would seek another solution.

The attitude of the political parties to new talks with the military was ambivalent. The National Party categorically rejected the memorandum as absolutely unacceptable and began preparations for a nationwide referendum with the goal of reversing the dictatorship's decrees, restoring the 1967 constitution and granting political rights to all parties and individuals. The leadership of

the Colorado Party and the Civic Union considered a renewal of dialogue with the military government possible in principle. In these tense days, when a real danger of a split in the IC arose, a split which would have resulted in a weakening of the positions of the antidictatorial forces, the Frente Amplio played the decisive role in strengthening interparty cooperation on the basis of the mass movement. Revealing the reactionary nature of the dictatorship's political plan, its leadership emphasized that under the existing conditions opposition parties must work out a unified strategy and give a common answer to the proposals of the military leaders. The opposition must be supported by the broadest possible mass movement both before the elections and afterwards, so as to defeat the dictatorship once and for all.²⁰

A declaration was adopted on 22 May at an IC conference in which representatives of all political parties participated. Therein IC members announced their intention to draw up a common platform so as to face the enemy as a "united front." The IC declared its readiness to conduct negotiations with the regime with the goal of realizing democratic transformations. At the same time the IC, together with other forces in Intersectorial, turned to the people with an appeal to make 27 May a Day of National Protest under the slogan of "A Second 27!"

The Day of National Protest was successfully carried out with widescale participation by the masses, not only in Montevideo but throughout practically the entire country and applying various forms of protest: "pots and pans concerts," demonstrations, rallies. In an appeal signed by Intersectorial it was emphasized in particular that the day of peaceful protest affirmed the goal which had been set: "to fight for a homeland in which only tyranny and injustice will be banned... Today Intersectorial declares its readiness to carry on the struggle for free elections and complete freedom, work and fair wages."²¹

The dictatorship was not slow in responding with a show of force. It resolutely rejected the demand by political parties and trade unions for an amnesty for political prisoners and again stated that the conduct of elections was dependent upon preliminary agreement with the legal parties. On 3 June the police dispersed a peaceful demonstration by young people in Montevideo and carried out mass arrest. On 16 June V. Ferreira Aldunate, leader of the National Party was arrested, just after arriving in Uruguay after 11 years in exile. As a sign of protest the National Party decided not to participate in the negotiations until he was released.

The grandiose general civil strike on 27 June 1984 was the culmination of the mass organized antidictatorial movement. It marked the 11th anniversary of the overthrow of the government. For the first time all political parties, trade unions, student and other organizations and business associations took part in a strike. The strike, under the slogan "Freedom, Democracy, Elections Without Exclusions and Amnesty and Work For All," paralyzed the entire country.²² It was the practical embodiment of the high level of overlap in the interests and coordination of forces among all political parties and social forces, including entrepreneurial circles, and affirmed the effectiveness of the path, capable of ensuring the transfer of power, strengthening the democratic system and creating a plan for the rebirth and affirmation of democracy.²³

After the end of the strike the Frente Amplio chose Jose P. Cardozo, general secretary of the Socialist Party of Uruguay (PSU) and Juan Young, one of the leaders of the Christian Democratic Party (PCD), to represent it at the preliminary stage of negotiations with the military government. The decision of the Frente Amplio was supported by the remaining members of the IC -- the Colorado Party and the Civic Union, which announced that they would not sit down to negotiate without representatives from the Frente Amplio. Under pressure from the powerful opposition movement the dictatorship compromised: a special decision on the restoration of political rights for Jose P. Cardozo was announced, for the purpose of allowing him to represent the Frente Amplio at the negotiations. (Juan Young was not on the dictatorship's "proscribed" list.)

At the preliminary stage of negotiations, which took place on 6-23 July, the military was forced to make considerable concessions to the opposition e.g. the legalization of the PCD and PSU, which essentially signified permission for activity by the Frente Amplio. Government representatives made assurances that communists could also participate in the elections. "Institutional Act No. 4" was revoked (concerning firing of government employees for political reasons), as well as "Institutional Act No. 14." The military leaders rejected the demand for a general amnesty, but agreed to review the question of freedom for political prisoners who had served half of their sentences. The opposition succeeded in reaching agreement on such a fundamental question as the powers of the Council for National Security, which would carry out functions of a consultative nature under the president's guidance.

On the basis of the agreement between the government with the political parties, the dictatorship officially announced that general elections would on 25 November 1984 and published "Institutional Act No. 19," which provided for restoration of the 1967 constitution and the conducting of reforms in the course of a transition period of one year. During this time the reconstituted Council for National Security would act as a consultative organ; it would be made up of five civilian figures and three representatives of the armed forces of Uruguay. The Council for National Security was to assemble only by decision of the president of the republic.

In the elections on 25 November the Colorado Party received 745,000 votes, of which 564,000 were cast for the candidate for the post of president, J. M. Sanguinetti. A total of 634,000 voters voted for the National Party. The Frente Amplio received 394,000 votes, the Civic Union -- 44,000. As a result no single party has a majority in legislative organs. In comparison with the preceding elections (1971) the Colorado Party maintained its number of seats in the chamber of deputies and in the senate (41 and 13, respectively), the National Party lost five seats in the chamber of deputies and one in the senate (35 and 11), while the Frente Amplio increased its representation in the chamber of deputies from 18 to 21 and in the senate from five to six seats.

The president elected declared the necessity of creating a government of national unity on the basis of agreement between various political forces, the main tasks of which would be the institutional consolidation of the country and the resolution of economic problems. Concerning matters of foreign policy, J. M. Sanguinetti emphasized that his government would conduct a "military policy

independent of blocs," demonstrating all-round solidarity with the countries of Latin America, expressed full support for the proposal presented by the Contadora Group for the restoration of peace to Central America, and also announced the intention of his government to restore diplomatic relations with Cuba and Venezuela, stimulate economic cooperation with Argentina and Brazil and also support trade ties with all countries around the globe.

Summing up the situation in the country after the November elections, R. Arismendi emphasized that now the Uruguayan people face the task of restoring democracy to the country, including the carrying out of a full amnesty for political prisoners, organization of the work of the parliament, legalization of the PCU and the realization of social transformations.²⁴

The general elections in Uruguay reflected a process which is underway today not only in that country but in other regions of Latin America as well. The dictatorial regimes upon which American imperialism placed its reliance are crumbling.

FOOTNOTES

1. See: E. V. Demushkina, "The Antifascist Resistance in Uruguay. The Working Class in the Vanguard of the Struggle for Democracy," Moscow, 1981, pp 255-275.
2. Demushkina, "Uruguay: A Dictatorship On a Dead-End Street," LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, 1981, No 6, p 48.
3. On the whole this law strictly regulated trade union activity: establishment of unions was permitted only at individual enterprises (in Uruguay trade unions have traditionally been set up on an industry-wide basis); they were obligated to refrain from interference in politics and observe a "code of laws" adopted by the dictatorship; workers' right to strike was not recognized; mandatory registration of unions was introduced; the law contained a number of other statutes limiting union activity.
4. DESDE URUGUAY. S.l., 1981, No 21, p 6.
5. PCU, BOLETIN EXTERIOR. S.l., 1983, No 10, pp 7-8.
6. Ibid., 1982, No 7, pp 1-2.
7. Ibid., 1982, No 10, p 2.
8. Thus, for example, five leading opposition figures of the National Party and one from the Colorado Party were arrested during the two weeks before the elections and their names dropped from the ballot.-- DESDE URUGUAY, 1982, No 22, p 1.
9. ESTUDIOS, 1982, No 85, pp 7-8.
10. Ibid., p 7.

11. MAYORIA, Stockholm, 1983, No 1, p 2.
12. PCU, BOLETIN EXTERIOR, 1983, No 3, pp 11-12.
13. DESDE URUGUAY, 1983, No 9, pp 1-2.
14. VSEMIRNOYE PROFSOYUZNOYE DVIZHENIYE [World Trade Union Movement], 1984 No 3, p 27.
15. PCU, BOLETIN EXTERIOR, 1984, No 3, p 4.
16. MAYORIA, 19 March 1984, p 5.
17. Ibid., p 16.
18. MAYORIA, 5 April 1984, p 17.
19. VSEMIRNOYE..., op., cit., p 27.
20. Ibid., 17 June 1984, pp 3-4.
21. Ibid., 31 June 1984, p 3.
22. Ibid., 26 July 1984, p 4.
23. Ibid., 17 June 1984, p 4.
24. PRAVDA, 1 December 1984.

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INTERNATIONAL

CUBAN MASS ORGANIZATIONS SEEN TO UNIFY, DIRECT SOCIETY

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 4, Apr 85 pp 94-99

[Article by R. N. Logoveyev: "Cuba: Mass Public Organizations"]

[Text] Fidel Castro noted at the 1st Congress of Cuban communists that "our Revolution possesses a mighty and inexhaustible source of political and revolutionary energy in mass and public organizations. These organizations ensure the closest possible ties between the party and the masses. They represent a guarantee of the party's educational, guiding and mobilizing influence." In the Programmatic Platform adopted at the congress it was emphasized that "mass organizations are a fundamental part of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and are the basic binding link between the party and various groups in the population..."¹ In Cuba their activities are the subject of a great deal of attention. The election -- at the 2nd Party Congress in December 1980-- of the leaders of the Committees for Defense of the Revolution (CDR), the Cuban Workers' Trade Union Center (CWTUC), the National Association of Small Farmers (NASF) and the Federation of Cuban Women (FCW) as candidate members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba was greeted with a broad and positive response around the country. A major group of representatives from these groups was also elected to membership on the Central Committee.

The leaders of the CDR, CWTUC, NASF and FCW were chosen as members of the State Council of the republic as well; a whole series of permanent work commissions in Cuba's National Assembly of People's Power are headed by the general secretaries of the appropriate industry-wide trade unions.

Article 7 of the Cuban Constitution states that the Cuban socialist state recognizes, protects and encourages the activities of mass organizations, which unite various strata of the population, represent their specific interests and acquaint people with the tasks of the construction, strengthening and defense of a socialist society. They are granted the right of legislative initiative, which they utilize actively. As socialist democracy develops and the process of creating a new society becomes more deeply rooted, the role of mass public organizations in Cuba is increasing. Their activities are being enriched by new and more effective forms and methods of operations.

The CDR are the most massive public political organization in the country, with 5.6 million members. It began to be created in 1960, in the transition period between the national liberation stage and the socialist stage of the revolution. Its goal was to mobilize the population to defend the achievements of the revolution from external aggression and internal counterrevolution. It retains these functions even today.

The CDR operate special "schools of struggle against the enemy." Members of the organization constantly participate in night watches which serve to maintain public order. Special "Look to the Sea" Units, operating in conjunction with the border troops, carry out round-the-clock patrols in certain coastal zones. The CDR render assistance to the people's police in their surveillance of antisocial elements.

However, CDR activities are gradually encompassing an ever broader range of tasks. With the widest access to the public, these committees play a tremendous role in explaining the policy of the communist party to the broad strata of the population and recruiting them for active participation in the leadership of society. It has already become a tradition to conduct nationwide discussion of the most important state decisions and proposed legislation with their assistance. For example, they played a significant role in organizing discussion of the Constitution of the Republic of Cuba; this constitution reinforced the successes which the country has attained in socialist construction.

The CDR carried out a tremendous amount of preparatory work before the 1976 elections to organs of people's power. Since that time the committees have been collaborating actively with the assemblies of the people on a number of directions of these assemblies' work. For example, CDR representative are members of school soviets and help resolve numerous questions concerning both the educational institution directly and the apartment buildings adjacent to it, where the greatest portion of students live. The economic effect of volunteer work is significant in construction and in agriculture and in the collection of secondary raw materials; Committees for Defense of the Revolution mobilize the populace for these jobs.

The CDR conduct major propaganda work. They have become the initiators of the introduction of new customs which are in keeping with standards of communist morality. An average of three million persons each month participate in political courses (at the place where they reside); there they study the most important party documents and speeches by leaders of the party and the government.

The specificity of this organization lies in the fact that it unites people from various social classes and professional groups, educational backgrounds and levels of ideological maturity. CDR activities are aimed toward the achievement of the goals of all the people, including the narrower interests of the different social strata. People who have worked in the CDR since they were first established note that this fact also exerted a positive influence on the unification of the leading political parties at the beginning of the 1960's. The differences of opinion which existed at times were set aside for the purpose of resolving a common task: defense of the revolution. This inevitably led to their convergence.

The largest mass organization is also the most popularly run. There is an insignificant number of full-time workers in the CDR at the municipal, provincial and national levels. In the lower branches everything is run on a community basis. Thus, the CDR is essentially an organ of self-government even at the general democratic stage of the national liberation struggle. In his report at the 2nd Party Congress, Fidel Castro noted that the CDR are an indispensable instrument for carrying out tasks relating to the defense of the Motherland, the ideological and political education of the masses and the carrying out of other social functions.² It is no coincidence that organizations similar to the CDR are being formed in a number of new states.

After the victory of the revolution, the trade union movement in Cuba followed a difficult path of development. Time was needed to find forms of trade union activity which were compatible with the new conditions and the changed class nature of the state. Nevertheless, despite all the difficulties, as was noted in documents of the 1st Communist Party Congress, the CWTUC made a large contribution to the development of a revolutionary consciousness in the working class and the inculcation of a collectivist attitude toward work and community property.³ The end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's are known for the most intensive growth in the activism of the union movement, its organizational reinforcement and an increase in its role in the life of the country. At the beginning of 1984 there were over 2.6 million members in the CWTUC -- 99.2 percent of all persons employed in the state-controlled sector of the economy!

The 2nd Congress of Cuban communists presented unions with large-scale tasks. The chief among these was the task of recruiting workers, engineers and technicians and all working people on a broad scale to participate actively in the socioeconomic development of the country, inculcating in them a feeling for their responsibility for production. That is why the CWTUC attaches an exceptional degree of importance to general mandatory education on economics and strives to ensure that each member has a profound understanding of the economic laws of socialism. Each year more than 1.5 million persons participate in discussion of enterprises' plans. Broad-scale work is underway in collectives to explain the importance of fulfilling the program outlined by the party for further improvement of the economy and analyze existing difficulties, additional possibilities and each worker's contribution to the common task.

Assemblies at the levels of brigades, shifts, shops and enterprises have been one means of inculcating an economical attitude toward production. If resolution of the problem does not lie outside the competence of the shop or plant, then the comments or proposals expressed are taken under consideration without delay. Matters which require review at the municipal or provincial levels are resolved by the appropriate organs, and trade union committees can in this case perform control functions. Workers' proposals and comments which require study at the national level -- by Gosplan or the Council of Ministers -- are sent on to the CWTUC National Council.

The minutes of production meetings of the 500 largest labor collectives are sent to the CWTUC, which, after processing, sends them on to the Cuban CP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers. This is yet another way of bringing workers' opinions to the attention of the highest party and state organs.

Active participation by trade unions in work on improving labor organization facilitates production growth. Union committees participate in the process of norm setting, which is carried out on a democratic basis. Over the past few years the number of persons working under norms has tripled, reaching 1.2 million persons -- 90 percent of those working in conditions under which norm setting is possible.

The direct participation of unions in the implementation of salary reform in 1980-1981 was of great significance; this reform had as its goal more complete application of the socialist principle of distribution on the basis of work done. Union organizations have done a great deal in the explanation of the practical application of laws adopted in 1980, designed to improve labor discipline.

Cuban trade unions utilize socialist competition to attract workers from cities and villages to active participation in the realization of plans to develop the national economy. Recently the CWTUC has done a great deal to increase economic efficiency, taking into consideration the experience of socialist countries and local specificity. Each year more than two million workers undertake personal obligations. Hundreds of enterprises participate in collective competition. The level of organization of this socialist competition has risen particularly noticeably in the basic sector of the Cuban economy: the sugar agro-industrial complex, where moral and material stimuli are being effectively utilized and all links in the technical chain of production have been encompassed by the competition.

In Cuba ever greater attention is being devoted to the struggle for conservation and thrift. In response to the party's call to be careful stewards, the trade unions set practical work in motion locally. Particular hopes are being placed on the conservation of electric power and petroleum products. This task, in particular, is a basic one in the chemical and mining industries. Sugar plants are waging a struggle to operate without using fuel oil. The smoke of burning mazut has long since ceased to rise from the smokestacks of many of them. Whereas in 1979 the sugar industry consumed 430,000 tons of fuel oil, in 1983 this figure was lower by a factor of 20. Unions are stimulating the search for ways to increase production of goods for export and lower expenditures for imports.

The CWTUC's role is great in matters of social security, improvement of working and living conditions and increase of the educational and cultural level of workers. Every month over two million people attend classes in the trade union political network.

The CWTUC is making ever more active use of its legislative initiative. Trade unions not only carry out mass control over the observance of labor legislation, but also participate in the drafting of it. Recently increased attention has been devoted to legal education for workers.

Union representatives are members of the highest collective leadership organs of enterprises and institutions and are part of administrative soviets.

Close ties to other public organizations are characteristic for the CWTUC: with the FCW on matters of working women, with the CDR with regard to military and patriotic education, etc. The CWTUC in every way possible facilitates the development of socialist construction, constantly improves its work and strives to utilize local initiative to maximum effect.

The Cuban union movement is playing an ever greater role in the political system of society, and is ever more fully reflecting the interests of workers. At the same time its international prestige is also growing.

In particular, evidence of this is the fact that the 10th World Congress of Trade Unions was held in Havana. Speaking at the congress, Fidel Castro said: "We do not intend to affirm that we have already achieved ideal development of union organization. But we have with all honesty and good conscience worked on the development of a truly class-oriented, revolutionary, democratic movement, capable of independently setting itself major tasks and seeing that they are carried out.

...Our workers' movement today is stronger than ever. Its authority and role in society are growing with each passing day and acquiring decisive significance."⁴

The 15th CWTUC Congress (February 1984) was an important step in the work of Cuban unions, defining tasks for the present stage of socialist construction.

From the moment it was established -- on 17 May 1961 -- the National Assembly of Small Farmers (NASF) has played an important role in the political system which has come into being in this country. It has become an important support for the government in the execution of its agrarian policy, particularly the agrarian reform of 1959, which was implemented in a situation of acute class struggle. In the course of the entire period since the victory of the revolution the association has been a faithful helper to Cuban communists and a dependable link between the party and the working class and peasantry. "As the bearer of the ideas of socialism among the peasants, the NASF plays the decisive role in explaining the advantages of socialist forms of management and in attracting peasants to these forms, while observing the principle of voluntary participation."⁵

At the beginning of May 1982 the association had a total of 193,700 members, united in 2,181 credit and service cooperatives, 1,222 production cooperatives and 294 local peasant organizations.⁶ The share of this sector in agriculture is significant. On an area of 113,000 caballerias (one caballeria is equal to 1.343 hectares) cooperatives and non-cooperative small farmers produce 18 percent of the sugar cane refined, 70 percent of the tobacco, 50 percent of vegetables and root crops, 54 percent of the coffee and 67 percent of the cacao. They own 21 percent of all cattle and sell the state four million quintals (one quintal is equal to 46 kilograms) of various fruits annually.

In recent years the main direction of NASF activity has been the establishment of production cooperatives. This is a multifaceted task. In Cuba its realization is approached by taking into account both the experience of collectivization in socialist countries and characteristics specific to the local area. The following figures give an idea of the process of production cooperation

which is unfolding: by the beginning of May 1984 the number of production cooperatives had grown to 1,472, and these owned 56 percent of peasant lands. In all, state farms and production cooperatives have control of 90 percent of all arable land. Inasmuch as one of the important tasks is to ensure that the peasant sector makes the maximum contribution toward increasing production of agricultural goods, the association does not ignore individual peasant farmers. It renders them all necessary assistance, particularly in fulfilling their deliveries to the state.

In addition to production problems, which the NASF is resolving in close contact with the Ministry of Agriculture and other state organs, a major part of their activities are devoted to ideological and political work among the peasantry. The organization publishes a monthly magazine, prepares special radio and television broadcasts and has a network of political education centers. NASF also facilitates the cultural growth of the rural population, holds music festivals, literary contests etc.

A profound analysis of the work of the NASF was made at its 6th Congress, which was held in May 1982. Delegates spoke not only of successes already attained, but also about problems which remain unresolved, problems which concern the interests of the peasantry and the state as a whole. The congress pointed out the necessity of further developing the process of setting up cooperatives.

The NASF, encompassing practically all aspects of peasants' productive and social lives and studying phenomena which are occurring in their milieu, helps these aspects into account when agricultural policy is implemented. On the other hand, the association brings the policy of the party to the peasantry. It helps to realize the decisions of the state. As Fidel Castro eloquently stated at the 6th NASF Congress, the party has in the NASF a great representative of the peasantry, and the peasantry a representative of the party.⁷

The Federation of Cuban Women (FCW) has over 2.6 million members. At the federation's initiative much has been done in Cuba to create the necessary working conditions for women employed in production, lighten the burden of household chores and raise the educational and professional level of female workers.

More than one-third of those employed today in socially useful labor are women (this is five times more than before the revolution). Furthermore, whereas previously they were by and large employed in low- and no-skill jobs, today they are at work in the most diverse sectors of the economy and occupy various positions, including leadership positions, right up to the level of ministerial posts. The FCW devotes careful attention to the rendering of assistance in childrearing and health care, particularly disease prevention.

In large part thanks to the efforts of the federation, year after year the role of Cuban women in socialist construction and in public life increases. Their representation in the communist party is increasing: whereas in 1975 a total of 14 percent of the members of the Cuban Communist Party were women, that figure was 19 percent in 1980. Women made up 24 percent of elected leaders of union groups in 1974, and 43 percent in 1982.⁸ Women are participating actively

in the work of local organs of people's power and the National Assembly.

Speaking at the 2nd Congress of the FCW in November 1974, Fidel Castro emphasized: "...the situation faced by the Revolution fully justified the creation of the Federation of Cuban Women... We feel that the decision to develop this women's movement, to create this organization, was a truly successful, timely decision, since the work which this organization does could not be accomplished by other means."⁹

In recent years the role of mass public organizations in Cuba has been growing constantly. The communist party to an ever greater degree entrusts them with the resolution of important tasks, and in every way possible stimulates and encourages their activity.

Accumulated experience, on the one hand, confirms the correctness of Leninist instructions concerning their significance in strengthening the ties between the party and the masses, and on the other **confirms** the rightness of another Leninist thesis as well: "All nations will arrive at socialism, this is inevitable, but not all will arrive in quite the same fashion, each will bring diversity to one or another form of democracy, to one or another different variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to one or another rate of socialist transformations of various aspects of public life."¹⁰ General conformances to law, proven by time, are refracted here into specific forms and methods of operation.

FOOTNOTES

1. "1st Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, Havana, 17-22 December 1975," Moscow, 1976, pp 161, 364.
2. GRANMA, Havana, 19 December 1980.
3. "1st Congress of...", p 165.
4. GRANMA, 11 February 1982.
5. "1st Congress of...", p 364.
6. GRANMA, 17 May 1982.
7. Ibid., 19 May 1982.
8. Ibid., 6,7,8 March and 19 August 1980, 9 March 1982; TRABAJADORES [Workers], Havana, 16 March 1982.
9. F. Castro, "The Revolution Today Has an Impressive Political Force in Cuban Women," Havana, 1974, pp 12-13.
10. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 30, p 123.

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INTERNATIONAL

FORTY YEARS OF BRAZIL-USSR DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS NOTED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 4, Apr 85 pp 100-103

[Article by A. N. Glinkin, under the rubric "USSR-Latin America": "USSR and Brazil -- 40 Years of Diplomatic Relations"]

[Text] April 1985 marks the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Brazil. Commemorating this noteworthy date, the public of both the USSR and Brazil note the path which has been traveled over the course of four decades, noting with satisfaction achievements attained and soberly evaluating the difficulties which still remain.

Ties between our countries have a long history. In 1978, in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Russia and Brazil, a solemn ceremony was held in the capital of Brazil, at which copies of the historic documents from the archives of the ministries of foreign affairs of the two states were exchanged. After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken off. In 1918 the personnel of the Brazilian mission left Soviet Russia. As Brazilian researchers have noted, "...the truth about the October Socialist Revolution was not properly appreciated by official circles in Brazil."¹

Diplomatic relations between the USSR and Brazil were established on 20 April 1945, when the tremendous growth in the international authority of the Soviet Union, which had played the decisive role in the defeat of Hitler's Germany, aroused the ruling circles of many capitalist countries to overcome their preconceived attitude toward the home of the Great October Revolution. At that time the Soviet Union and Brazil, having declared war on the Axis powers, were members of the anti-Hitler coalition. A Brazilian expeditionary corps took part in battles on the fronts of the Second World War in Italy as part of the Allied armies. Broad strata of Brazil's population expressed cordial solidarity with the heroic Soviet people and welcomed the establishment of relations with the USSR. In April 1945 the Brazilian ambassador to the USA wrote in a note to the Soviet ambassador: "...I am certain that relations can always remain normal and amicable and that in the future our countries, working together to their mutual advantage, can make a contribution to the cause of the preservation of peace."²

As subsequent events have shown, the path to this goal has turned out to be a difficult one. But the main point lies in the fact that the difficulties and obstacles which arose were in the end successfully overcome. In October 1947, at a time when the "cold war" was beginning, the government of Brazil broke off diplomatic relations with the USSR. For several years this step halted the development of Soviet-Brazilian ties. A new turning point in relations between the two countries occurred at the end of the 1950's and beginning of the 1960's, when Brazil took the route of diversification in its foreign economic and political ties and toward the conducting of an active, sovereign policy in international affairs. Diplomatic relations between the USSR and Brazil were reestablished in November 1961.

Since that time Soviet-Brazilian ties have been developing along an ascending curve. A number of long-term agreements concluded between the USSR and Brazil in the 1970's and at the beginning of the 1980's laid the groundwork for constant growth of mutually advantageous trade and expansion of economic, scientific and technical cooperation. Interparliamentary exchanges and fruitful contacts in the area of culture and sports have come to be of a regular nature. A convergence of the two countries on a number of highly important problems of present-day international life has become evident. The new level of Soviet-Brazilian relations allows one to conclude that their significance today transcends the bounds of bilateral ties and exerts an influence on the international situation as a whole.

The stance of the USSR facilitates this course of events. The USSR is guided in its international relations with Brazil, as with other countries, by the fundamental principles of the foreign policy of the Soviet state, elaborated by V. I. Lenin: the principles of mutually advantageous cooperation, respect for sovereignty and national dignity, equal rights and noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries. Efforts on the part of Brazil to overcome the anticommunist prejudices of those who oppose normalization of the international political situation have been observed in its relations with the Soviet Union. In large measure this approach is defined by a striving to find new partners for the country, outside the confines of its traditional ties to the basic "centers" of modern-day imperialism: the USA, Western Europe and Japan.

It is in part for this reason that the interest of business circles and the general public in Brazil in the prospects for economic collaboration with the USSR is increasing. In September 1984 the largest bank in Brazil -- Banco do Brazil -- dedicated a special edition of the bulletin which it publishes to the development of Soviet-Brazilian trade. This bulletin pointed out that over the past five years trade volume with the USSR has increased by a yearly average of 25 percent and has been the most dynamic component of Brazilian foreign trade.³

The visit to Brazil by a delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1984 was an important moment in the development of Soviet-Brazilian relations, as the mass information media have pointed out. JORNAL DE BRASILIA, a newspaper published in the capital, printed an interview with one of the leaders of the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party, Valmor Giavarin, who is also a deputy to the National Congress. He noted that the expansion of political contacts

between Brazil and the USSR allows us to contribute to avoidance of nuclear catastrophe and at the same time make a contribution to the development of mutual understanding between peoples, and to the strengthening of universal peace."⁴

The positive accents in Soviet-Brazilian relations evoke increased interest on the part of the United States, where recently voluminous publications on the policy of the USSR in Latin America have been appearing practically every year. In these works the majority of American Sovietologists portray the development of relations between the USSR and Brazil, or any other Latin American country, in exclusively bleak tones. They depict it as "dangerous Soviet penetration" which should be countered by a union of "anti-Marxist" regimes, supported by the USA. Cowell Blasier, a professor at Pittsburgh University, on the other hand, explains what is from his point of view the unprecedented "growth of the USSR's presence in the Western Hemisphere" in the following manner. "The USSR and Eastern Europe," he feels, "lie outside the West's control and therefore represent alternative partners from the diplomatic point of view. This sort of alternative possibilities can be of tremendous importance to Latin Americans... And a growing number of countries in the region, similarly to Argentina and Brazil, find in the Soviet Union an advantageous customer." However, these realistic evaluations are found in Blasier's book alongside unproven fantasies to the effect that the Soviet government allegedly regards Brazil as a "political prize" in Latin America and that "Soviet activity in the Western Hemisphere... could in the future threaten the vital interests of the USA."⁵

Speaking in May 1984 at the Brazilian National Congress, M. V. Zimyanin, head of the Soviet parliamentary delegation, deputy chairman of the Commission on Foreign Affairs under the Council of Nationalities of the USSE Supreme Soviet and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stated: "The Brazilian people may rest assured: the Soviet Union was, is and will be a good friend of Brazil in its struggle against the forces of imperialism and neocolonialism, for peace and mutual understanding on our planet. This position is not of a competitive nature, it proceeds from the fundamental principles of the Leninist foreign policy of our state."⁶

The achievements in Soviet-Brazilian cooperation in recent years have been quite significant, and the potential opportunities for further growth of economic, scientific and technical ties are great. Dialogue and political cooperation between the USSR and Brazil are broadening as a result of convergence in the positions of the two countries on many highly important problems of the modern world. Primarily these are such problems as those of ensuring peace and international security, reining in the arms race -- which has reached an unprecedented level during the Reagan Administration's time in power in the USA -- and ensuring that force will not be applied in international relations and that regional conflicts will be settled peacefully. In the course of the 36th, 37th and 39th Sessions of the UN General Assembly, meetings were held between the two countries' ministers of foreign affairs; they discussed the problems of ensuring peace on earth. In recent years the Brazilian delegation to the UN General Assembly has on more than one occasion acted jointly with the USSR and other countries as the coauthor of resolutions which meet the tasks of preventing nuclear catastrophe. Soviet proposals to not allow the militarization of space have met with positive response in Brazil.

It is clear that the international positions of the USSR and Brazil do not coincide at all times and on all issues. It would be unrealistic to close one's eyes to the existing difficulties in the development of bilateral relations both in the field of trade and that of foreign policy. It is that much more important to utilize all channels for these relations -- interparliamentary contacts, regular consultations through ministries of foreign affairs, visits by cultural and scientific figures etc. -- to strengthen and expand the inter-relations between our countries.

Soviet-Brazilian relations have already been developing over four decades on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems. Sincere mutual sympathies and the good will of the Soviet and Brazilian peoples give one reason to hope for further strengthening of the amicable ties which connect them today.

FOOTNOTES

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2. "Vneshnaya Politika Sovetskogo Soyuza v Period Otechestvennoy Boyny" [The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War Period], Moscow, 1947, Vol 3, p 158.
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INTERNATIONAL

BOLIVIAN OFFICIAL EVALUATES BOLIVIA-USSR RELATIONS

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 4, Apr 85 pp 104-106

[Article by Raul Selada Covarrubias, interim envoy for Bolivian affairs in the USSR, under the rubric "Meetings, Interviews": "40 Years of Soviet-Bolivian Relations"]

[Text] 18 April marks 40 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bolivia and the USSR. In connection with this noteworthy date, the editors of this magazine approached Raul Selada Covarrubias, interim envoy for Bolivian affairs in the USSR, with a request that he share with us his opinion on the status and prospects for development in Soviet-Bolivian ties.

This year Bolivia and the USSR -- two countries which have long been bound by ties of friendship -- commemorate the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between them, coinciding with celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory over fascism, an event of worldwide historical significance. Today all of progressive and peace-loving humanity remembers the heroism of Soviet people with gratitude.

Bolivia, just as many other countries, joined the anti-Hitler coalition in order to prevent the expansion of fascism and the establishment of fascist regimes on our continent. The date 9 May 1945 had a tremendous effect on world politics. On the eve of this date, on 18 April 1945, the government of Bolivia, headed by General Guaberto Villarroel, responding to the aspirations of the people to strengthen friendly ties with the fraternal Soviet people, established diplomatic relations with the USSR. Thereby popular reason triumphed over the prejudices of rightwing forces, which saw some kind of "threat" to our continent in the establishment of diplomatic relations with a socialist country.

Until 1969 diplomatic relations were of a formal nature on the part of Bolivia: during this period no ambassadors were actually accredited. Until 1952 rightwing parties and governments, gripped with fervent anti-Sovietism, prevented the signing of an agreement concerning the exchange and opening of diplomatic missions. The April Revolution in 1952 gave rise to the hope among the Bolivian people of closer convergence with the USSR: workers continually presented the demand that relations be normalized. University circles also advanced similar demands. In 1959 and 1962 the Bolivian National Congress, under pressure from progressive forces, adopted a resolution to petition the

government for normalization of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. However, this and other friendly overtures by the Bolivian people did not result in success. The absence of relations with the USSR was regarded by Bolivian reaction as a demonstration of loyalty to the USA and the ideals of so-called Western democracy.

The military putsch by General Rene Barrientoz Ortuño, who remained in power from 1964 until 1969, again established a reactionary regime in the country.

However, the struggle by progressive forces and the government in previous years had not been in vain. When General Alfredo Ovando Candia came to power the country's foreign policy changed substantially. Its basis was the principle of maintaining diplomatic and economic relations with all the countries of the world without regard to their political membership in one social system or another. On the basis of this international principle, on 16 November 1969 the government of Bolivia signed an agreement with the Soviet government concerning the exchange and setting up of diplomatic missions, including the exchange of ambassadors at the very beginning of 1970. Edgar Camacho Omiste, Bolivian minister of foreign affairs, played an important role in the normalization of diplomatic relations with the USSR. Presently he is in charge of the ministry of foreign affairs under the government of Democratic People's Unity, which is headed by Siles Suaso, a famous Latin American fighter for democracy.

In 1969 there began a qualitatively new stage in the history of relations between the USSR and Bolivia, a stage characterized by continually growing collaboration in the realms of the economy, science and technology, culture and education.

Technical collaboration with the USSR has given a significant impulse to the development of the mining and metallurgical industries in Bolivia. Shipments of modern machines and equipment on credit were new evidence of the fruitfulness of this collaboration, which played an important role in improving the leading sectors in Bolivia's economy. A mixed commission on trade and the economy is constantly at work. Presently, negotiations are underway concerning the installation of new industrial enterprises in Bolivia.

The Soviet Union renders Bolivia significant assistance in the training of Bolivian personnel, which is of great significance in resolving the country's socioeconomic problems.

Cultural and sports ties are continually expanding. An exchange of artistic groups and sports delegations is held, and the organization of movie festivals is being arranged. An agreement has been signed concerning collaboration in the field of television.

Contacts at the parliamentary level are beginning to be practiced. Visits by Bolivian parliamentary members to the USSR and by their Soviet counterparts to Bolivia are evidence of the fact that relations between the countries are acquiring a new content.

The people of Bolivia have a high regard for the results of collaboration with the Soviet Union; it has permitted them to increase the competitiveness of their mining products and, as a result, to strengthen the country's economy.

At the same time, by no means all possibilities for expanding economic collaboration have been utilized as yet. The prospects for further development of economic ties should not be limited to just the traditional sector of the Bolivian economy -- the mining and metallurgical industries. Collaboration could also extend to the sphere of agricultural production; improvement in this area is a primary task of the government of Democratic National Unity.

The agreement of the positions of Bolivia and the USSR on many of the most important international problems, and similar foreign policy principles (noninterference in internal affairs, no application of force, peaceful coexistence etc.) will in the future as well be a guarantee for the strengthening of ties between both states, for the benefit of their peoples.

I would like to take advantage of the opportunity given me by the magazine LATINSKAYA AMERIKA to briefly present my personal impressions of your country, in which I had the occasion to receive higher education 15 years ago. Impressions gathered in those student years are vivid even today. But there have also been new ones -- in the course of 15 years' time tremendous achievements in the economic and social life of the Soviet people have taken place.

In conclusion I would like to wish the Soviet people new successes and once again emphasize that the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the USSR over fascism is an event which the Bolivian people connects with the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, relations which have today attained a high level of development and which are opening up new prospects for cooperation.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ON VENEZUELA, FIFTH IN LATIN AMERICA SERIES, REVIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 4, Apr 85 pp 140-142

[Review by M. M. Gurvits under the rubric "Bookshelf": "Venesuela: Tendentsii Ekonomicheskogo i Sotsial'no-Politicheskogo Razvitiya" ["Venezuela: Tendencies in Economic and Sociopolitical Development"]; editor-in-chief Yu. A. Zubritskiy, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1984, 328 pages]

[Text] The collective monograph which is here reviewed, dedicated to the memory of Simon Bolivar and timed to coincide with the 200th anniversary of his birth, is the fifth book in a series of comprehensive research on the socioeconomic and political problems of individual Latin American countries. The series is being prepared by a collective from the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute for Latin America (ILA).^{*} Eight authors participated in work on the book: the foreword, the introduction, a paragraph on Indians and the conclusion were written by Yu. A. Zubritskiy; V. L. Semonov, Venezuelan expert S. A. Taborda, A. V. Bobrovnikov and E. Kh. Gavrilova examined individual aspects of the country's economic development; the section on sociopolitical problems is from the pen of E.S. Dabagyan; I. M. Pakhomov and A. I. Sizonenko concentrated their attention on Venezuela's foreign policy ties.

The undisputed service of the authors lies in the broad scope of the problems which they research, the depth of the analysis of individual aspects of national development and the strictly scientific style of presentation, which nevertheless remains accessible to a broad range of readers. The timeliness of the work under review is also obvious: it has been eight years since the latest Soviet publication dealing with similar problems was released.^{**}

The research collective's task was to analyze the socioeconomic, political and ideological tendencies which define the "birth of the contemporary model of Venezuelan society" (p 18) -- a task which was by and large carried out. It seems, however, that in the introductory section, which examines the basic stages in the historical development of Venezuela from the pre-Columbian era to 1963, one could have outlined the range of problems facing the country in its present stage of development as well.

* Previous volumes in the series were devoted to Argentina, Peru, Mexico and Brazil.

** Yu. Kozlov, B. Tkachenko, "Venesuela", Moscow, 1976.

In the first section of the book the authors succeeded in revealing the basic reasons for the structural flaws in the Venezuelan economy. Among these is the expenditure of government funds, received primarily from oil exports, "for the benefit of the needs of the ruling classes and foreign capital, to the detriment of the country's national interests" (p 22). It is no coincidence that the authors consider "the deep penetration of foreign monopoly capital and the high degree of state interference" (p 127) to be among the most important characteristics of the country's economy.

This section convincingly demonstrates that the deforming effect of dependence on foreign capital makes itself felt in all sectors of economic activity: it makes stable development of agriculture difficult, is an obstacle to the establishment of a unified national industrial complex and leads to increased technological dependence of the most modern sectors of the economy and increased foreign indebtedness of the country. This dependence cannot help but make itself felt in the economic policy of the Venezuelan state as well. An analysis of the forms and methods of state interference in the economy, particularly the 4th, 5th and 6th plans for national development (1970-1985) give a clear picture of this.

Nevertheless, the investigation of the evolution of the country's economic model is not exhaustive. Explanation of the succession of stages in the state's economic course, for example, is limited to external factors; this presentation does not give any idea of the deep-seated socioeconomic causes of this transformation. The facts of intensification of the state sector after nationalization of the oil industry in the mid-1970's, and thereafter the transition to encouragement of the activity of the private sector at the beginning of the 1980's are noted, but not given their proper theoretical foundation. Examination of the state's general strategy with regard to industrialization which entails imports is handled separately from efforts to reduce dependence on foreign capital. The failure of this attempt, which became quite evident at the beginning of the 1980's and was expressed primarily in a sharp decline in the growth rate of gross internal product and a colossal increase in indebtedness, also lies beyond the bounds of the range of questions dealt with by the authors.

It is characteristic that "agro-industrial," "trade," and "market" monopolies are constantly mentioned in the economic section (pp 29, 35, 41, 43), as are "monopolistic factions of international capital" (p 57), "tendencies toward increasing monopolization of the economy" (pp 69, 85) etc. Nevertheless, the question of the development of capitalism in this country into its monopolistic stage, which has already been elaborated by Venezuelan communists for years, is touched upon in the economic section of the monograph only in the chapter on agriculture. Obviously one can explain this circumstance by a certain amorphousness of the general conclusion concerning the "level of capitalist development, which is relatively high for the Latin American region and developing countries as a whole" (p 127). The vagueness of such an evaluation presents researchers with the tasks of further studying and elaborating criteria for characterizing the present stage in the development of capitalism in Latin America.*

*An important step in this direction was the appearance in 1983 of "Kapitalizm v Latinskoy Amerike. Ocherki Genezisa, Evolutsii i Krizisa" [Capitalism in

The individual shortcomings in the first section of the book, which on the whole do not lower its scientific significance, are compensated for in the socio-political section. A profound conceptual analysis of the evolution of Venezuela's party political system over the past five decades, the ideological doctrines of the country's basic reformist parties -- the Democratic Action (AD) and the Social Democratic COPEI Party, problems in relations between leftist parties, the position of Venezuelan communists on various aspects of national development and changes in the social structure: all this gives a complete picture of sociopolitical life in present-day Venezuela. It is supplemented by an important chapter on the status of the workers' and trade union movement. The consistency of the presentation of the material and the detailed examination of the most important elements of the sociopolitical structure in the dynamics of their development permit one to make a number of important theoretical generalizations and weighty conclusions.

In this section it is noted that a decisive role in establishing and reinforcing the system of "representative democracy" which was set up in 1958 was played by the two reformist parties: the AD and the COPEI. The evolution of the political development model from a multiparty to a two-party system allowed the ruling parties to establish stable control over the state and state apparatus. The state sector was the economic instrument for implementing the political plan of the AD and COPEI. In the late 1970's and early 1980's this was the strongest state sector in Latin America (p. 201). The social basis for stabilization of the system of "representative democracy" was a merger of the dynamic strata of the industrial bourgeoisie, technocratic factions and the reformist trade union leadership with the state and party apparatus of the AD and COPEI, and the formation of a new ruling bloc on this base, a bloc in which local monopolistic groups occupied the dominant position. The heterogeneity of this bloc made it possible for the party political elite to maintain a temporary balance of power between its individual components. "The interrelation of the private sector with the party and state sector was characterized by complex and frequently contradictory phenomena. It was hallmarked by both cooperation and acute confrontation" (p 204).

On the basis of profound understanding of these processes, the highly important conclusion is made that "in Venezuela, as opposed to such countries on the South American continent as Brazil, Chile and Uruguay, the formation and merger of elements of state monopoly capitalism took place under conditions of a regime of "representative democracy" (p 214).

The introductory chapter of the third part of the monograph is devoted to the evolution of Venezuelan foreign policy concepts from the time of Miranda, Bolivar and Beldo to the Betancur Doctrine and reevaluation of the country's international course after the accession to power of the government headed by R. Calderi, on the basis of "pluralistic solidarity" (p 220). A detailed summary of the fundamental aspects of the relations between Venezuela and the

(cont.) Latin America. Summaries of Its Origin, Evolution and Crisis], by an ILA research collective. For a review of this work, see: LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, 1984, No 9, pp 133-140.

developed capitalist countries and states of Latin America, and the socialist commonwealth, and illumination of the country's position at the UN, along with Chapter Four in the first section, give a comprehensive impression of the country's course on the world scene.

The book here reviewed represents an important contribution to the study of the problems of present-day Venezuela.

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REGIONAL

SOVIET MINISTER OF GAS INDUSTRY VISITS TURKMENISTAN

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 5 Apr 85 p 1

[Turkmen INFORM article "Concerning the visit to Turkmenistan of V.S. Chernomyrdin, USSR minister of gas industry"]

[Text] From the 1st to the 3rd of April V.S. Chernomyrdin, USSR Minister of Gas Industry, was in Turkmenistan.

He visited gas drilling and extraction enterprises of the All-Union Production Association "Turkmengazprom", spent time at gas deposits, acquainted himself in detail with the work of the largest condensed gas deposit Sovetabad, and talked with representatives of local party and soviet organizations. In the course of his visit the USSR Minister of Gas Industry was interested in the work of enterprises and organizations, the solution of questions concerning the social and economic development of collectives; he attentively examined all questions presented, and gave valuable recommendations for raising the efficiency of the industry.

A meeting took place in the Turkmenistan CP Central Committee between M.G. Gapurov, First Secretary of the Turkmenistan CP Central Committee and V.S. Chernomyrdin. In the course of the discussions, questions concerning the work of the republic's gas industry during the present five-year plan and also developmental trends of this branch in the 12th Five-Year Plan were examined.

V.F. Zhulenev, S.A. Niyazov, and A.I. Rachkov, members of the Turkmenistan CP Central Committee, also took part in the discussions.

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REGIONAL

USUBALIYEV SPEAKS AT 18 MAY KIRGHIZ CP CC PLENUM

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 21 May 85 pp 2-3

[KirTAG report "The Tasks of the Republic Party Organization in Fulfilling the Decisions of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and Greeting the 27th CPSU Congress in a Worthy Manner. The Report of Comrade T.U. Usubaliyev at the 18 May 1985 Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Comrades. Like the rest of the country, the communists and workers of Soviet Kirghizstan have greeted with enthusiasm and warm approval the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum, which considered matters of great political importance.

At the plenum, CPSU Central Committee general secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev presented a report entitled "On the Convocation of the 27th CPSU Congress and Tasks Connected with Preparing for and Holding It."

The CPSU Central Committee plenum also considered organizational questions.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum transferred Viktor Mikhaylovich Chebrikov from the position of CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member to full member, and elected CPSU Central Committee secretaries Yegor Kuz'mich Ligachev and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov as full members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The plenum elected CPSU Central Committee member and USSR minister of defense Sergey Leonidovich Sokolov to the position of CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, and CPSU Central Committee member Viktor Petrovich Nikonov was elected to the post of CPSU Central Committee secretary.

Having heard and discussed the report presented by CPSU Central Committee general secretary M.S. Gorbachev, the plenum decreed that the next, 27th, CPSU Congress will be convened on 25 February 1986.

The agenda for the congress was confirmed. Norms for representation at the congress, the procedure for election of delegates, and time periods for the holding of accountability and elections campaigns in party organizations were established.

The CPSU Central Committee April Plenum confirmed with new force the continuity in the strategic course outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, noted the positive changes in all fields of the country's public life, and with Leninist principledness revealed the reasons for existing shortcomings and omissions and outlined ways and means for overcoming them, along with current and long-term tasks.

The significance of the upcoming 27th CPSU Congress, which will become a major milestone and an outstanding historical event in the sociopolitical life of the party and people, was comprehensively revealed at the plenum.

All work at the plenum took place in an atmosphere of unanimity and cohesion in the central committee and was permeated with a spirit of unshakable loyalty to the immortal behests of Lenin and his great teaching, which has been and remains a true compass in determining the strategic and tactical activities of the party. As comrade M.S. Gorbachev emphasized at the plenum, "it is with Lenin and his great ideas that today we arrange our affairs and plans; it is according to Lenin's behests that we live and work."

The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee plenum, imbued with Leninist concern for further developing Soviet society and improving the material well-being and spiritual growth of Soviet people, have evoked a powerful upsurge of labor and political activeness among all workers in the republic. They have been filled with the high patriotic desire to augment their contribution to the strengthening of the motherland's economic and defensive might and to mark the 27th CPSU Congress with new labor accomplishments.

The report presented by CPSU Central Committee general secretary comrade M.S. Gorbachev is a developed, combat program of action for each communist and for all labor collectives to greet the party congress in a worthy manner. The sweeping content, deep analysis and precise postulations in comrade M.S. Gorbachev's report are arming the party and the people with specific landmarks in the economic, organizational and political work to be done both in the pre-congress period and in the long term.

The communists and workers of Kirghizstan wholly and fully share and support all the propositions and conclusions set forth in the report of Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev, and they are taking them as a basis for undeviating guidance.

Comrades. The republic party organization faces major and crucial tasks in preparing for the 27th CPSU Congress.

In accordance with the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum, meetings in party groups and shop party organizations in the republic are to take place in August and September; meetings will be held in the primary party organizations in September and October; and conferences of rayon, city and oblast organizations will take place in November and December.

The central committee buro is proposing to the plenum that the next, 18th, Congress of the Kirghiz Communist Party take place on 23 January 1986. All matters connected with preparations for and the holding of the congress have been set forth in detail in the draft resolution distributed to the central committee members. I would like to deal with these matters now.

The accountability-and-election meetings, conferences and congresses of the union republic communist parties are designed to promote in every possible way the further activation of internal party life and to reinforce organizational and political work among the masses.

The CPSU Central Committee April Plenum obliges party committees to show the maximum concern for insuring that accountability and the elections take place in a businesslike manner and in an atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism and that any manifestations of ostentation or idle talk be excluded.

Guided by this instruction, at the accountability-and-election meetings and the conferences of oblast, city and rayon party organizations, and at the 18th Kirghiz Communist Party Congress, there must be a deep and comprehensive examination of the work done to fulfill the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and the Kirghiz Communist Party's own decisions, and a thorough and businesslike discussion of questions of party leadership in economic and cultural building and the status of organizational-party and ideological activity.

Bolshevik frankness, a spirit of realism, a businesslike approach, a sense of principle, and party demandingness and exactingness--these are the things that should characterize the reports and speeches made at the meetings and conferences. There should be no place at the meetings and conferences for empty logomachy or the uncritical assessment of the state of affairs.

The accountability-and-election campaign should provide a new stimulus in mobilizing the efforts of party organizations and labor collectives for the successful completion of plans for the current year and for the five-year plan as a whole. Communists must consider in depth such key questions in the development of the economy as production intensification, introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, and strengthening discipline, organization and procedures.

During the course of accountability and the elections it will be necessary to form the leading party organizations, insure a further improvement in cadre placement, and fill their ranks with fresh blood. When analyzing cadre work it is essential to focus attention so that each party committee and each primary party organization undeviatingly fulfills the CPSU Central Committee requirement that Leninist principles be most strictly observed in the selection, placement and indoctrination of cadres. It is essential to raise exactingness toward cadres in every possible way, first and foremost toward leading cadres, and, as the central committee teaches us, they must be assessed not according to their statements and assurances but according to their specific deeds.

During the period of the accountability-and-election campaign it is essential to display special concern for the makeup of the secretaries of the primary party organizations. The secretaries should be authoritative people with a high political standard and moral purity, who are capable of handling affairs, and who through their personal example carry along communists and nonparty people alike. It is essential to strive for a situation in which each communist makes his own personal contribution to the preparations to greet the 27th Congress in a worthy manner.

One important task in the accountability-and-election campaign is the further strengthening of party leadership in the soviets, trade unions, Komsomol and other public organizations, and over all work to develop Soviet democracy and the initiative and activeness of the workers.

As was stressed at the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum, the leitmotif of the preCongress meetings and of all work to prepare for the 27th CPSU Congress should be the chief slogans of the day--creative labor, initiative, responsibility, trust and exactingness. And the communists should be an example here.

Comrades. The instructions of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum all laid the foundation for the practical activity of the republic party organization in preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress. The Communist Party of Kirghizstan--one of the CPSU's combat and loyal detachments--has grown even more in recent years, been strengthened ideologically and organizationally, been enriched with new experience of party leadership in economic and cultural building, and has significantly replenished its ranks with representatives of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia, and it now unites more than 142,000 communists.

Taking into account the ever growing tasks involved in the building of communism, constant improvements are being made in the structure of the republic party organization, and its influence on all aspects of socioeconomic, political and cultural life in Kirghizstan is being strengthened.

The vanguard role of the communists in the preCongress socialist competition is growing. The overwhelming majority of CPSU members working in the sphere of material production are showing themselves to be real models of shock labor and are acting as pioneers in these fine undertakings. More than 99 percent of communists successfully fulfilled their targets for the fourth quarter, and 99.5 percent have fulfilled their plans for the first quarter of this year.

Thanks to the selfless and initiative-filled labor of all communists, the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, the purposeful work of party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and the constant support of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet government, during the period since the 26th CPSU Congress, within the republic social production has been dynamically developed and its efficiency is improving. On the whole, the tasks of the five-year plan are being successfully fulfilled for all the most important indicators.

Over the four-year period national income increased more than 20 percent, which is above the five-year target. During the same period the global social product rose 19 percent.

During the four-year period output worth R508 million was produced above the five-year plan targets. The January-April plans for this year have been over-fulfilled by most enterprises in terms of production volumes and sold output. It is expected that over the five-year period the growth rates for output volumes will be 125 percent against 121 percent in the plan.

Workers in the agro-industrial complex are also working at stepped-up rates. Over the four-year period they sold the state above-plan livestock and farming produce worth R75 million. This quarter's targets for purchases of meat, eggs and milk have been exceeded.

The scales of capital construction are growing even more. Over the last four years some R4.9 billion of capital investments have been made, or R600 million more than during the same period in the 10th Five-Year Plan. Fixed capital to the tune of R4.7 billion has been commissioned, R800 million more than the level reached during the last five-year plan.

The successes in developing the economy are exerting a favorable effect on the people's living standard. Real per capita incomes have risen, and since the start of the five-year plan the public consumption funds have grown more than 20 percent.

As throughout the country, within the republic an extensive social program is being implemented. Over the past 4 years more than 400,000 Kirghiz have celebrated their move to new housing; this is more than at any other time during a similar period. Schools with 57,000 students places were handed over, or 101 percent of the plan, and polyclinics and outpatient departments equipped for a patient throughput of 3,500 per shift were commissioned, or 14 percent more than the five-year plan targets. Vocational and technical schools with places for 4,700 students were commissioned, which is 24 percent above the plan. Transportation, communications, trade and public catering, public health and other consumer sectors were further developed.

The results achieved in the last 4 years and 4 months of the current five-year plan in developing the national economy instill us with the confidence that the five-year plan tasks will be successfully fulfilled both in industry and in agriculture.

The selfless labor of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia and the purposeful organizational and political-indoctrination work by the republic party organizations in mobilizing the workers in the struggle to fulfill the five-year plans have been highly assessed by the motherland. From the results of the 1984 all-union socialist competition the Kirghiz SSR was awarded a challenge red banner of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee.

The greatest contribution to the republic's overall success was made by the communists and workers in Osh Oblast and the cities of Frunze and Tash-Kumyr and Uzgenskiy rayon, and also by many of the labor collectives. They have all been awarded a high award from the motherland. We note with satisfaction that the struggle to improve economic efficiency is becoming a matter of real party concern in many of the party organizations.

Thus, in the Osh Oblast party organization, in recent years they have been carrying out increasingly active educational work in the labor collectives and paying more attention to the correct placement of communists, strengthening party influence in decisive sectors of production, and enhancing the responsibility of cadres for their assignments.

Purposeful organizational and ideological-indoctrination work to improve production efficiency is also being done by party organizations in the republic's capital. Instructive experience has been added to the arsenals of other party organizations.

However, when evaluating what has been achieved from the heights of the requirements imposed by the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum we clearly see the major shortcomings and unutilized opportunities that are reducing the results from our efforts. Suffice it to say that during the first 4 months of this year plans for the sale of industrial output were not fulfilled by 37 enterprises, including the Ministry of Construction Materials (comrade Fisher) and the Ministry of Local Industry (comrade Tverdokhlebov), (each with four enterprises), and the Kirgizelektrodivigatel Plant (comrade Morozov), the Electronic Machinebuilding Plant (comrade Novak) and others.

Analysis shows that the main reason for plan disruption is the irrational use of technical, material and labor resources. This is certainly shown, is it not, by the fact that at those same Kirgizelektrodivigatel and Electronic Machinebuilding plants the shift coefficient for equipment utilization has dropped sharply and equipment is not being used for even one-and-half shifts?

We must also make serious claims against the collegium and party organization of the Ministry of Local Industry and its minister, comrade Tverdokhlebov. Within the sector no switch has yet been made to intensive methods, and engineering support remains at a low level. The minister and his deputies do scant work on long-term questions and are losing sight of many key problems in the development of local industry; their work lacks any businesslike approach or sense of the immediate. And the party organization in the ministry is not showing the proper exactingness toward the communists in the apparatus for the unsatisfactory state of affairs.

During the first 4 months of this year, within the republic deliveries under the terms of contracts were not fulfilled by 75 enterprises, including 6 belonging to the Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry (comrade Tynaliyev), 7 belonging to the Ministry of Light Industry (comrade Tentiyeu), and 19 enterprises of all-union subordination, including the Kaindy Kirgizkabel Plant (comrade Kazachenko), the Vtorchermet Association (comrade Kartanov), and the Osh Pump Plant (comrade Dzhakypbekov).

More than one-third of enterprises that have failed to meet their obligations to clients are located in Frunze. And of course, as is known, the remarkable movement "All Deliveries for the Fraternal Republics on Time and of Outstanding Quality" was at one time initiated in that city. But evidently, in recent times the party gorkom (comrade Moldobayev) and the party raykoms (comrades Tumenbayeva, Poluektova, Kazantsev, and Sapelkina) have slackened their organizational and political-indoctrination work in the labor collectives as far as strengthening contract discipline is concerned.

During the first 4 months of the year 67 enterprises failed to reach the planned level for labor productivity growth, including 4 belonging to the Ministry of Motor Transport and Highways (comrade Orozaliyev), and 7 each belonging to the Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry (comrade Kanimetov) and the

Ministry of the Food Industry (comrade Ryspayev), and the Kirgizmebel Association (comrade Biryukov), the Mayli-Say Electric Lamp Plant (comrade Zhakypov) and others.

The directors of these enterprises evidently do not understand that raising labor productivity is a major question in economics and the basis of production intensification. Only incompetent managers who have no feeling for what is new could display inactivity in resolving this key problem. The question of their right to head up labor collectives inevitably arises.

Leaders in the Ministry of the Food Industry have been repeatedly criticized for the fact that the sector is oriented predominantly on quantitative indicators to the detriment of qualitative indicators, and we have repeatedly heard their assurances that the situation will be rectified. However, no changes for the better have yet occurred. How much longer must we wait?

Devotion to the old method in management, an uncritical assessment of what has been done, and the desire to justify plan failures by various kinds of allegedly objective factors are also being shown by certain leaders in the rayons and farms. Within the republic many kolkhozes and sovkhoses together had first quarter shortfalls of 980 tons of meat and poultry, almost 3,500 tons of milk, and more than 800,000 eggs. In Issyk-Kul Oblast (comrade Masaliyev) 20 farms failed to meet their targets for the sale of milk, and in Naryn Oblast (comrade Sydykov) 10 kolkhozes and sovkhoses remained debtors in terms of meat, and 11 in terms of milk. In Kalininskiy, Tyupskiy (comrade Sitchikhin), Dzhungalskiy (comrade Mambetaliyev) and Kirovskiy (comrade Kadatskiy) rayons the plan for sales of milk to the state was not fulfilled at all during the first quarter.

The shortcomings in capital construction are being eliminated only slowly. During the first 4 months of the year, for the republic as a whole the shortfall in construction and assembly work totaled more than R14 million. As before, enterprises in consumer domestic services and trade are lagging.

I ask you, comrades, is it possible to find more convincing examples of the gap between words and practical deeds? We can no longer tolerate this. Whoever permits failures in work and does not support his words with concrete results should carry strict party and state responsibility, regardless of the post that he may occupy or what services he has rendered. It is essential to decisively eradicate idle talk, slackness and irresponsibility. This is the demand of the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum.

In this connection all party organizations must develop criticism and self-criticism in every possible way as an important means of eliminating shortcomings. It is essential to react correctly and in a partylike way to criticism. Even the slightest attempt at suppressing or hushing up criticism is quite intolerable. It is necessary to promote the development of criticism "from below" "to the top." It is no secret that it moves mainly in one direction--"from above" "downward." For example, if it is a question of successes in an oblast, city or rayon, the help and support of the central committee and council of ministers are often mentioned. But when we talk about shortcomings, neither the central committee nor the council of ministers gets a mention. This is quite wrong. To assert that no omissions are made in the work of the central committee and its departments would be stiff-necked [samouverenno], to say the least.

There are failures in completing work, and many of them. And why should the lagging at industries belonging to the above-mentioned ministries not be the responsibility of those ministries and of the corresponding departments of the central committee, especially the Industry Department (comrade Perfil'yev), the Transport and Communications Department (comrade Sultanov), the Light Industry and Consumer Goods Department (comrade Rysmendiyeu), the Construction and Municipal Services Department (comrade Plakhikh), the Agriculture and Food Industry Department (comrade Muratalin), the Trade and Consumer Services Department (comrade Kydykova), the Economic Department (comrade Malabekov), and also the departments of the council of ministers? If for their part they had exercised systematic control over the work of the ministries and made strict demands of personnel, then the number of enterprises and sovkhozes and kolkhozes that fail to cope with their plans would be much smaller.

In the crucial pre-congress period the party committees, soviets and public organs must deeply and thoroughly study the state of affairs at each lagging enterprise and farm and provide the necessary assistance in closing the gap that has been allowed to appear in task fulfillment. They are obliged to do this under the terms of the instructions issued by the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum--to successfully complete the year and the five-year plan and to fulfill everything that has been planned.

Moreover, as was stressed at the plenum, the 1985 plan must be fulfilled without amendments. It is essential to decisively cut short any attempt to gain task reductions.

In 1984 the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Bureau considered the question of instances of unjustified amendments to set plans, and a sharp and principled assessment was made of leaders who fail to observe state and plan discipline. It should be noted that the situation has now somewhat improved. Whereas during the first quarter of last year plans were amended for a total of R50 million, this year the figure is R4.8 million.

Notwithstanding, the practice of plan amendment has not been finally eliminated. During the first quarter the plan was amended downward by 10 enterprises of the Ministry of Light Industry, 6 belonging to the Ministry of Local Industry, and 5 belonging to the Ministry of Construction Materials. In all, 30 enterprises did this.

It is essential to intensify even more the struggle against the worthless practice of making amendments to set tasks. Pre-congress competition should take place under the banner of every possible strengthening of plan and state discipline. This is an indispensable condition in intensification.

The speaker stressed that the party is moving to the forefront the fundamental acceleration of scientific and technical progress as a main strategic lever in the intensification of the economy and the better utilization of available potential. Definite work in this direction has been done in the republic.

At machine-building enterprises alone, since the start of the five-year plan dozens of sections and shops have been comprehensively mechanized and automated,

and about 2,000 new lines, installations and units and more than 300 robots, manipulators and NC machine tools and more than 900 progressive technological processes have been introduced, and more than 5,000 new kinds of articles have been assimilated.

The persistent work of party committees to implement plans for new equipment and goal-oriented comprehensive programs has made it possible to reach the boundaries of the 11th Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule for labor productivity growth in industry. During the last 4 years and 4 months the labor of more than 8,000 people has been saved and 80 percent of the growth in industrial output, or R721 million above the plan, is attributable to this.

However, we can in no way be complacent about what has been achieved. This is only the beginning of great and large-scale work over the long term. It requires a radical restructuring of managers' economic thinking and a deep understanding by everyone that scientific and technical progress is an imperative need dictated by life itself. There is simply no other way for us to intensify the economy.

Unfortunately, not all managers recognize this. During the first quarter plans for the development of science and technology were unfulfilled at enterprises in the industrial construction materials industry, the meat and dairy industry, and motor transportation.

The goal-oriented program to raise labor productivity is also not being implemented in full measure. For example, since the start of the five-year plan, at enterprises of the Ministry of Construction less than 60 percent of planned measures have been implemented, while in the Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry the figure is only 50 percent. It is not happenstance that the level of manual labor in these sectors remains intolerably high.

Many party organizations are exercising only weak control over the fulfillment of programs for scientific and technical progress and labor productivity growth, and they make inadequate demands of managers for a decisive switch to intensive economic methods. Reports from managers on these questions, presented at meetings of the party obkom, gorkom and raykom buros are still a rare phenomenon.

The CPSU Central Committee April Plenum set the task of radically retooling all sectors of the national economy on the basis of the modern achievements of science and technology. Today it is a question not of partial modernization of equipment and improvements in existing technologies, but a switch to basically new technological systems and to the latest generations of equipment that enable production efficiency to be raised many times over.

And in this matter great responsibility is placed on the scientists of the academy of sciences (comrade Imanaliyev) and the republic sector scientific research institutes and the republic VUZ's. In recent years the link between science and production has indisputably been strengthened and become more fruitful. In 1984 the academy institutes conducted 85 sets of research work on assignment from industry and agriculture, and they introduced more than 130 developments that provide an annual savings of more than R20 million. Development work to the tune of R5 million has been done by the Frunze Polytechnical Institute, and R1 million by the Kirghiz State University.

It is very important that scientists in the republic participate in work on key problems that insure scientific and technical progress in the most important sectors of the national economy, namely machine building, power engineering, mining, nonferrous metallurgy, hydroelectric power and irrigation construction. This year the scientific collectives have concluded almost 350 contracts with enterprises and farms for scientific and technical cooperation.

Notwithstanding, the republic's scientific potential is still not being utilized in the best way. The efforts of scientists are sometimes dissipated in solving questions that can have no effect on qualitative shifts in production. On the other hand, work on many important problems in the intensification of the economy is unjustifiably delayed. This complaint may be addressed, in particular, to the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Inorganic and Physical Chemistry (director comrade Imanakunov), which has failed to insure the timely preparation of technology for the production of iron powders from tailings in ferrous metallurgy.

Work in the struggle to deal with brucellosis in cattle, which has been underway at the Institute of Biochemistry and Physiology (director comrade Yakovlev), has still not been completed, even though a special laboratory has been set up. No practical return in solving this serious problem has been forthcoming from the research done by scientists and specialists at the Kirghiz Institute of Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Science (director comrade Botbayev). Meanwhile, brucellosis is doing enormous harm to the republic's livestock economy.

The republic Central Committee, Council of Ministers and Gosplan must precisely coordinate scientific research, direct efforts and research by scientists primarily toward work on key problems in the national economy, and introduce more extensively the most effective forms for combining science and production.

In light of the demands of the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum, the work of the councils for scientific and technical progress that have been set up under the party committees, must be filled with new content. They must determine precisely which of the latest achievements of science and technology need to be realized in production, and they must help in overcoming interdepartmental barriers and improving the forms for the practical introduction of scientific developments.

In this connection, instructive experience is available in Novosibirsk Oblast, where a territorial system that has been named "Science, Production, and Efficiency" is successfully operating. Why could we not do this?

The speaker went on to note that there can be no question of intensification until the proper order has been brought to every enterprise, every construction site and every farm, and, moreover, without delay and in the shortest possible time, in the utilization of everything that we have at our disposal--equipment, raw materials, materials, fuel, in short, all resources and the entire production potential.

The party organizations must decisively cut short attempts by managers who try to advance parochial, narrow departmental interests by obtaining a few more machine tools and machines, while at the same time not making full use

of capacities already available. Modern equipment often sits as "dead weight" in the warehouses. As of 1 April 1985, within the republic equipment worth more than R46 million had been stockpiled. The latest equipment sometimes stands idle while obsolete machine tools are being used in the shops. Let me cite some facts and figures.

At enterprises of the Ministry of Consumer Services (comrade Aldasheva) more than 220 units of the latest equipment have not been installed. At the same time the proportion of obsolete and worn-out units and mechanisms in footwear shops is 30 percent, while in sewing shops it is 23 percent and in woodworking shops 26 percent. It is not happenstance that in 1984 some 20 enterprises failed to cope with labor productivity plans, as a result of which consumers experienced a shortage of personal services worth almost R1 million.

Comrade Usubaliyev went on to deal with the acute question of railroad freight car utilization. This winter, as we recall, showed most graphically what results from a careless, or more accurately irresponsible, attitude by some managers to the development of access tracks and the mechanization of loading and unloading operations. During the first quarter alone, this resulted in 24,000 freight cars being held in the republic for periods exceeding the norms; and as a result fines totaling more than R200,000 had to be paid.

This is also explained by the fact that many party, soviet and economic organs are not paying proper attention to railroad transport. The chief of the Frunze department, comrade Soodonbekov, and his deputies are not displaying any sense of purpose or persistence in eliminating the shortcomings in this work. They have offered no solutions to the union ministry [of railways] and are making no attempt to solve the urgent questions of railroad development within the republic.

The struggle to further improve production efficiency and make rational use of material resources, it was stressed in the report, is inseparably linked to radical improvement in capital construction. Unfortunately, this sector is still lagging.

During the past 4 years the shortfall against annual plans has been R110 million in construction and assembly work. The construction organizations in Issyk-Kul and Talas oblasts and in rayons of republic subordination are working in a particularly unsatisfactory way.

A number of party committees, ministries and administrations are failing to pay proper attention to housing construction. In Issyk-Kul Oblast, since the start of the five-year plan the shortfall in the commissioning of housing has been 71,000 square meters; in Talas Oblast the figure is 86,000 square meters.

The construction of children's preschool establishments and public health projects is also lagging. During the current five-year plan the shortfall has been children's preschool establishments with places for 1,000 children, and 320 hospital beds.

The republic's chief contractor--the Ministry of Construction (comrade Isanov)--is operating in a most unsatisfactory way. Last year, the increase in the

volume of construction and assembly work was only 4.5 percent instead of the 16 percent according to the plan. Most of the ministry's trusts failed to cope with the tasks for improving labor productivity.

The main reason for the lagging is that within the contract organizations of the Ministry of Construction the level of organization and discipline is low, and inefficient use is made of labor and material resources.

The chronic shortage of manpower is also exerting an adverse effect. Even in Frunze, with its population of more than 600,000, this remains an acute problem. The Ministry of Construction construction administrations there have an average of 130 people. How can such poorly manned administrations insure the fulfillment of plans for construction and assembly work?

The Frunze Party Gorkom and the Gorispolkom are not giving the proper attention to questions of manpower for the Ministry of Construction organizations. Within the city almost every other project is being handled by construction workers from other ministries and administrations.

The party gorkom (comrades Moldobayev and Tokarev) and the raykoms and city ispolkoms (comrade Iskakov), and the rayon soviets must exercise constant party control over training for construction workers and properly man the city's contract organizations.

Questions of strengthening the material-technical base and of engineering work done for construction production must be given more attention on the part of the party, soviet and economic organs. There are many bottlenecks here, and this is largely instrumental in holding back construction rates and is having an adverse effect on work quality.

Complaints must also be addressed to the Kirghiz Komsomol Central Committee and the oblast, city and rayon Komsomol committees. The fine movement that they initiated several years ago under the slogan "Komsomol Concern for Construction Work" has essentially run out of steam.

The Komsomol committees have markedly slackened their patronage over the shock construction sites in the republic. Many of the young men and women sent out on Komsomol authorizations do not have the necessary training in construction work, and such training is not being given. The republic Komsomol Central Committee (comrade Abdykalykov) must draw the most serious conclusions from this, and must use the efforts of youth, in deeds not in words, to underpin one of the decisive sectors of the national economy--capital construction.

The speaker noted that, as emphasized at the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum, the problem of quality and the technical level of production should be at the center of economic policy.

Many of the articles produced in the republic enjoy a fine reputation among consumers. But there are also many articles that do not meet the standards of technical and economic aesthetics--all of which are consumer requirements--and sometimes obvious trash is being produced.

In the first quarter of this year alone substandard output worth more than R1.5 million was excluded from the accounts for plan fulfillment. In particular, economic sanctions were imposed against the Kirgizavtomash Association (comrade Muraliyev), which was fined R125,000; and against the Frunze Footwear Association (director comrade Mamatov), which was fined R100,000.

The innovative nature and technical features of articles depend on the design organizations. However, the Frunze "Kormmash" Design and Technological Institute (comrade Zhurov), and the Scientific Research Institute of Electrical Machine Building (comrade Alymkulov), and the design subdivisions of some associations and enterprises are working without the necessary creative enthusiasm and engineering quest. Development workers at the "Kormmash" Institute, for example, have already spent several years working to update the PS-1.6 pickup attachment, but without success.

Many substandard consumer goods are still being produced. At the end of last year fabrics from the Kirghiz Worsted-Cloth Combine (comrade Sinyavskiy) worth R15 million had been warehoused because they do not enjoy consumer demand. Almost R6 million of fabrics from the Osh Silk Combine (comrade Yusupov), more than R400,000 of articles from the "1 Maya" Sewn Goods Association (comrade Esenalieva), and more than R200,000 of goods from the Sewn Goods Association imeni VLKSM (comrade Duyshaliyeva) were also warehoused.

In order to satisfy consumer demand more fully it is necessary to renew the range of output quickly and to improve production standards and the organization of labor. It is also necessary to eliminate the interruptions in the supply of raw materials, materials, and subsets of articles.

These questions should be resolved on an operational basis by the ministries and administrations. The republic Council of Ministers (comrade Duysheyev) and Gosplan (comrade Begaliyev) must persistently champion the need to reconstruct old enterprises when dealing with the appropriate all-union organs.

The Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee and Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers recently issued a decree on the development of the "Quality" goal-oriented republic program for the 12th Five-Year Plan. It is aimed at bringing the technical and economic indicators of the most important articles up to the level of the best world models, and at meeting the requirements of the national economy and of consumers for high-quality output.

Of course, this program cannot be brought into effect just by itself. In a number of cases it requires a break with ingrained habits and incorrect attitudes toward things, the strengthening of personal responsibility on the part of executors, and the strengthening of technological, labor and production discipline. And here, the party organizations have a great responsibility.

It was stressed in the report that improving the supplies of foodstuffs for consumers occupies a very important place in the social program with which the party is moving forward to meet its 27th Congress. And this is linked to the further improvement of work in the agro-industrial complex, the more complete utilization of opportunities, and a considerable increase in the production of foodstuffs. Such opportunities do exist at every farm and in every processing enterprise.

Agriculture in the republic now possesses adequate material resources making it possible to insure a significant increase in gross agricultural output. However, the average annual volume during the current five-year plan has not topped the R1.5-billion mark.

In order to reach higher limits it is necessary to make more extensive use of intensive technologies for growing agricultural crops, be more active in introducing up-to-date methods of labor organization, and make rational use of land, equipment, mineral fertilizers, manpower and financial resources. In short, it is necessary to decisively switch all sectors of the agro-industrial complex onto the path of intensive development. Party, soviet and economic organs must have a proper and profound sense of their own responsibilities in resolving this key task in the economy, and must focus their efforts on better utilization of the production and scientific and technical potential created in the countryside.

This year, more than 200,000 hectares were sown with grain crops, vegetables and other crops using intensive technologies. This, of course, is not enough.

All winter grain and a large proportion of the vegetable plantings should be grown using progressive methods. For this it is necessary for the brigades and links switching to intensive technologies to be fully supplied with mineral fertilizers, water for irrigation, equipment and other material-technical means.

It is very important to conduct extensive training for personnel and specialists at farms so that they can make proper use of all that is new and progressive. It is also necessary to restructure and alter the style and method of work in the Ministry of Agriculture (comrade Savitakhunov), the Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry (comrade Tynaliyev), and the State Committee for the Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture (comrade Boyko), decisively renounce the creation of excessive paperwork and speechifying and petty tutelage, and encourage initiative, the businesslike approach, and socialist initiative at the local level.

The switch of agriculture onto the rails of intensification is making high demands of the scientific-production associations for livestock farming (comrade Botbayev) and crop farming (comrade Shayykov), and the Institute of Pastureland and Fodders. They are called upon to act as conductors for scientific and technical progress and carry out extensive studies of and test and introduce the best models of intensive and energy-saving technologies. Meanwhile, we do not feel the active effect of agricultural science on production, and it is inadequately linked with practical work and the effectiveness of scientific developments remains low. This situation must be radically changed.

Another exceptionally important task on whose resolution it is necessary to focus the efforts of party, soviet and economic organs, is the development of a reliable fodder base for public livestock farming. Here, the line toward every possible increase in coarse and succulent fodders and reduction in the use of grain for fodder, as laid down by the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet government, must be firmly and persistently implemented. Good opportunities exist within the republic for doing this. Within the structure of crops sown we are now able to insure optimum proportions of high-quality fodder crops

such as alfalfa, peas, corn, legume-and-cereal mixes and others, and on this basis achieve a significant improvement in livestock productiveness and the quality of products.

This year we have set ourselves a task of enormous importance: to create a 1.5-year reserve of coarse and succulent fodders. This is the specific and practical conclusion that we have drawn from the present overwintering, which took place in conditions of incredible complexity.

The kolkhozes imeni XXI parts'yezda in Sokulukskiy rayon, the kolkhoz imeni Engels in Moskovskiy rayon, the "Progress" kolkhoz in Chuyskiy rayon, the "Kzyl-Dzhar" sovkhos in Dzhany-Dzhol'skiy rayon, the "Kara-Suu" sovkhos in Kara-Suyskiy rayon, the "Dzhergetal'skiy" sovkhos in Talasskiy rayon, and the Kirghiz Cotton Test Station have been the initiators in competition to create a 2-year reserve of fodder [furazh]. And Sokulukskiy, Panfilovskiy, Moskovskiy, Kalininskiy, Aravanskiy, and Leninpol'skiy rayons have pledged themselves to procure a 1.5-year fodder reserve. This initiative must be widely supported in the republic.

The struggle to strengthen the fodder base for public livestock farming should become a national matter. It requires unremitting control on the part of the party organizations, and it is here that the patronage assistance of the urban population is essential.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev recently once again drew our attention to the need to take decisive steps to create a reliable fodder base.

Comprehensive programs for fodder production have now been drawn up in all rayons and farms in the republic and they have been discussed in each labor collective, and specific reserves have been determined for fulfilling the high pledges. Everywhere, rural gatherings are taking place at which questions of providing fodder not only for public livestock farming but also for individual cattle are being considered.

Unfortunately, nature often makes amendments to the plans. This time, the recent frosts have done considerable damage to the sowings, orchards, vineyards and vegetable plantings. But it is not the bolshevik way to sit passively before difficulties. We are obliged to show a good sense of organization and exert all our efforts to eliminate the consequences of this natural calamity more quickly. The shortfall in the harvest from viticulture and fruit and vegetable growing must be made up by increasing the output of other farm produce, and also from livestock farming. It is possible to do this.

At the same time we must decisively condemn the attempts of leaders in some rayons and farms to take a rebate from the elements by lowering earlier pledges for fodder. Only politically immature workers can act in this way. It is essential to mobilize all reserves to the maximum. One decisive factor under these conditions is the time factor. But not everyone values this.

The first mowing of alfalfa has now taken place. It would seem that it is essential to complete the harvest quickly and without losses and thus create

a stock prepared in advance of a second additional mowing. Unfortunately, this is not being done everywhere. On many farms the work is delayed and not done round the clock. The essential everyday conditions for fodder workers have not been created; in particular hot meals have not been organized. All this, of course, is having an adverse effect on people's labor productivity and in the final analysis, on the harvest.

We are obliged to do everything possible to reach the proposed targets for fodders. And it is only on that basis that we shall be able to insure resolution of the task set for use by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary comrade M.S. Gorbachev, namely to bring the milk yield per cow in the republic up to 3,000 kilograms and thus significantly increase our contribution to realization of the Food Program.

This is not an easy task but it is realistic. Livestock farmers in rayons of republic subordination have pledged themselves to achieve a per cow milk yield of 3,200 kilograms. This will be their labor gift for the 27th CPSU Congress. And workers in Osh Oblast have resolved to increase the per-cow milk yield to 2,710 kilograms, an increase of 300 kilograms against last year.

We do have those from who we can learn and take our example. Within the republic eight milkmaids are obtaining more than 6,000 kilograms of milk from each cow, and 67 masters of machine milking are obtaining more than 5,000 kilograms, while about 2,000 milkmaids have already passed the 3,000-kilogram mark. The experience gained by the best masters of milking must be made generally available. It will help all farm workers to successfully fulfill their high pledges.

The speaker went on to emphasize that the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum again focused attention on the need for tireless improvements in all political-indoctrination and ideological work and to insure that it is closely linked with life.

A special mention should be made of the role and responsibilities of leading cadres in ideological-indoctrination work. One effective form for linking the party organizations with the labor collectives is managers' reports. The Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee has studied the status of this work in the republic and issued a special decree, which was recently published in the press.

In many cities and rayons and sectors of the national economy the managers' reports have become a fine tradition and a school of education and of self-management. Over the past 4 years almost 86,000 of these meetings have taken place, attended by a total of more than 7 million people. Each year about 30,000 people have addressed these meetings, offering valuable proposals aimed at improving production and labor and everyday conditions and strengthening discipline, and offering criticisms. Many of them have been implemented.

At the same time this work does not fully meet the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee. In individual collectives there is no well-organized and clear-cut system of accountability and poor control is exercised over managers' statements. Many managers do not render their accountings in front of the workers and are incapable of speaking the language of truth with people. It

is essential to display maximum concern to insure that managers' reports are always given in a businesslike manner, in an atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism, and that they help in better recognizing people's affairs, needs and moods.

And here we should learn from the CPSU Central Committee, which systematically informs the party and people about its own activities, draws up recommendations with consideration of proposals from the general public, and always takes counsel with the people on all questions in our life. The meetings in the CPSU Central Committee with the leaders of labor collectives, specialists and scientists, and the detailed knowledge shown by CPSU Central Committee general secretary Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev of the affairs and lives of the workers in the Proletarskiy rayon of Moscow, and also in Leningrad, are graphic and convincing examples of this democratic practice.

The party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms must direct the efforts of party organizations and economic leaders so that educational work with people is inseparably linked with plan fulfillment, further labor productivity growth, enhancement of work quality, and improvements in the workers' labor, everyday and leisure conditions.

In short, ideological work should be carried out in a businesslike and specific manner. Fewer words and more deeds--this is what should form the foundation of this work.

Meanwhile, individual party committees still evaluate ideological activity by the number of measures and meetings rather than from the labor and political activeness of the masses. For example, at accountability and information meetings in the Przheval'skiy party gorkom (comrade Orlov), impressive figures are cited about the numbers of lectures, study sessions and seminars, but they have little effect on the actual state of affairs. A check has shown that at the electrotechnical plant and other enterprises in the city there is systematic absenteeism and embezzlement and drinking bouts at the work places. In ideological work it is necessary to decisively eradicate sensation, ostentation and formalism.

Active use must also be made of all opportunities in the struggle against drunkenness, hooliganism, and violations of labor and state discipline. There should be no place here for liberalism or all-forgiveness. It is primarily the managers of the labor collectives who carry the personal responsibility for the state of discipline, and they should be dealt with strictly and in a principled manner. Many party committees restrict themselves merely to collecting information about violations of discipline and to general admonitions. For example, compared with the same period last year, during the first quarter of this year, losses of working time increased several times over at enterprises in Mayli-Say. But the party gorkom (comrade Tkachik) utterly failed to react to this.

The campaign approach to the struggle to strengthen labor discipline has still not been eradicated. Periodic sudden inspections and checks cannot replace serious and purposeful work to bring about the necessary order. This work should be done all the time, unremittingly and constantly.

It is especially necessary to intensify the struggle against the abnormal and antisocial phenomenon of drunkenness. CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council

of Ministers decrees, and also a ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dealing with measures to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism have been published.

The overwhelming majority of Soviet people have greeted these documents with warm approval, and they unanimously support the steps taken by the party and government to eradicate the social evil of hard drinking. The struggle against hard drinking must be waged along a united front through the well-coordinated efforts of party and public organizations and the economic organs. Each communist should through his own personal example affirm the sober way of life. An atmosphere of intolerance and general contempt must be created around the drunkard, and the party ranks must be decisively purged of them.

In the struggle against drunkenness full use must be made of the strength of public opinion and of the extensive rights afforded under the law to the labor collectives. This struggle must assume a mass and truly national character.

The speaker then went on to deal with questions involving the further improvement of labor indoctrination for youth. Within the republic, as throughout the country, the school reform is underway and, as was emphasized at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, its significance for the country's future is difficult to overestimate. Its aim is to combine education with productive labor and improve the quality of training for working cadres in the vocational and technical schools.

Training shops and sections and work places must be created for schoolchildren at the enterprises and farms. However, this is not being done everywhere. Over the past year only about 1,000 work places have been created for students, and more than 39,000 must be created over the next year. These questions are being unsatisfactorily resolved in the ministries and administrations of the agro-industrial and construction complexes and in Issyk-Kul, Naryn and Talas oblasts, where the party, soviet and economic organs are evidently waiting for some kind of additional instructions.

It is also necessary to improve the quality of training for work cadres and to strengthen the material base base of the vocational and technical schools and enlarge the network of these schools. Along with the organs of vocational and technical education, a decisive role here belongs to the base ministries and administrations and their labor collectives. The party committees must establish strict control over the implementation of the plans outlined for the reform.

A special mention should be made of mass information and propaganda media. Under the leadership of the party committees, the press and radio and television exert considerable influence on the resolution of national economic tasks and on campaigns such as the overwintering of cattle, fodder procurement and so forth. Everywhere, the attention given to regional press is growing. However, on the pages of these newspapers we still see much dissipated, nonspecific material that suffers from triviality of subject and linguistic impoverishment.

The party committees must make more extensive use of the press and radio and television as an important means of publicity in the struggle against shortcomings

and phenomena that are alien to us and our way of life. Each serious statement should be discussed in the party organizations and labor collectives and serve as an incentive and stimulus for improvements in the matter.

At the CPSU Central Committee plenum note was made of the enormous role of literature and art in enriching the spiritual life of society and in the ideological and moral uplifting of the Soviet person. It is the high patriotic duty of the artistic intelligentsia to use the means of art to actively affirm the norms of communist morality and to indoctrinate people in a spirit of loyalty to the cause of the party and people.

Our paramount task is to rear patriot-internationalists who place national and state interests above all others.

Within the republic a definite system of military-patriotic and international indoctrination for the workers has been set up. It has been especially enriched and extended in recent years. The organizational-political and ideological measures carried out in connection with the 60th anniversary of the Kirghiz SSR and Kirghiz Communist Party and the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War exerted a great educational influence.

The opening of the "Pobeda" memorial complex in Frunze city during the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the great victory became an event of great significance. This complex is helping to shape lofty patriotic and internationalist sentiments among the workers.

The people of Kirghizstan celebrated the jubilee of the victory extensively and joyously, along with all Soviet people and all progressive mankind. In those for us unforgettable days, the great and indestructible unity of the party and the people was demonstrated with new and convincing force. The report by CPSU Central Committee general secretary comrade M.S. Gorbachev presented in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, and the appeal of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers "To the Peoples, Parliaments and Governments of All Countries" evoked among all Soviet people a feeling of pride in their socialist motherland and our great Soviet people--the victor-people and creator-people--and the patriotic aspiration to work even better, more productively and more efficiently.

The speaker noted that the preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress have acquired a truly nationwide character. They are distinguished by the growing creative initiative and energy of the masses and the new scale of socialist competition.

The efforts of those competing should be directed first and foremost toward the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of plan tasks in the final year of the five-year plan and the five-year plan as a whole. And here the experience of the right-flankers in competition is called upon to play a major role. Here in the republic we have 16 production leaders who have each fulfilled two five-year plans, and about 26,000 people who have coped with their five-year plans ahead of schedule. The labor achievements of the innovators should provide a solid foundation for bringing up those who are lagging, and for improving all work. Their experience must be disseminated extensively and in a businesslike manner in every collective.

The communists are being called upon to take the lead in the pre-congress competition. Party duty obliges all members of the CPSU to show themselves as worthy examples of esprit de corps and discipline and a creative attitude toward their assigned sectors of work.

Communists should be activated even more by their accountability reports at the party meetings and the meetings of the party committees and bureaus. Over the past 4 years, within the republic more than 73,000 communists, or almost half, have presented their reports.

We think that it is particularly necessary to enhance the significance of communists' accountability reports during the pre-congress period. It is essential to have a situation in which each member of the CPSU renders his account to his party comrades, describing the labor affairs in which he is involved in order to greet the 27th Congress of our Leninist party.

Practice has shown that these accountability reports exert a profound educational effect, promote the development of criticism and self-criticism, enhanced responsibility and strengthened discipline, and enhance the combat readiness of the entire party organizations and pull up those who are lagging. For example, the number of communists who in 1984 failed to fulfill their plan tasks was more than halved compared with 1981.

As has already been noted, the overwhelming majority of party members are coping successfully with their personal plans and pledges.

But is this enough? The responsibility of a communist must be considered in a rather broader context. A communist should answer not only for himself and for his own production success, but also for his comrades working alongside him, for the brigade, the shop, the entire plant, and the economy of the rayon, oblast and republic. This is the imperative of party duty, the imperative of party conscience. And it is precisely this kind of responsibility that is demanded from each communist during the period of preparation for the congress.

In conclusion, comrade T.U. Usubaliyev said, permit me on your behalf to assure the Leninist Central Committee of the CPSU and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo headed by CPSU Central Committee general secretary comrade M.S. Gorbachev, that the communists and all the workers of Soviet Kirghizstan, having adopted for undeviating action the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, will greet the 27th CPSU Congress with shock, selfless labor, high public activeness, and new accomplishments.

9642
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REGIONAL

GAPUROV SPEECH IN HONOR OF 60TH KOMSOMOL ANNIVERSARY

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 2 Apr 85 pp 1-2

[Speech by M.G. Gapurov, first secretary of the Turkmenistan CP: "The Banners of Revolution are True"]

[Excerpts] Respected comrades! Dear Komsomol members:

The 60th anniversary jubilee of the Leninist Komsomol of Turkmenistan is being observed at a protentous time when working people of Turkmenistan, Komsomols and youth of the republic, as well as the entire Soviet people amidst high political and labor enthusiasm and with excellent training prepare worthily to meet the upcoming 27th CPSU Congress, the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945.

By a ukase Presidium of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet, a large group of republic Komsomol workers and activists were presented honorary awards of the Presidium of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet.

Allow me, on behalf of the Turkmenisatn CP Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Turkmen SSR, as well as personally to congratulate you and through you all Komsomol members and the youth of Turkmenistan on the 60th anniversary and on the deserved awards and to wish you health, Komsomol fervour and enthusiasm, great successes in work, in studies, and in all your affairs.

Comrades! In these days we are all still under the lasting impression of the extraordinary March Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The results of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the unanimous election of Mikhail Sergeyeovich Gorbachev as General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee was a confident affirmation of the succession and stability of the Leninist strategic course of our party.

Communists, Komsomol members, youth, and all workers of Soviet Turkmenistan and of the entire country unanimously support and approve the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee Extraordinary March Plenum, the internal and external policy of the CPSU, the fundamental provisions of which were set up by comrade

M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the Plenum and which are the militant program of concrete actions of the party and the people.

Comrades! The Communist Party is devoting unremitting attention to the education of Soviet youth, displays concern for the Leninist Komsomol which is the reliable helper and reserve of the party. The strength of our Komsomol is in its leadership by the Communist Party. This Leninist precept is the guiding principle in the work of all party organizations in the business of the further improvement of the party leadership of the Komsomol in increasing its role in the communist education of youth.

The entire path of the Komsomol is the ardent striving of youth to fulfill V.I. Lenin's legacy as well as possible, the tasks of the Communist Party.

The heroic history of the Turkmenistan Komsomol, the fighting detachment of the All-Union Komsomol, and the achievements of the present generation again and again convince us of this. With a firm step and a sure stride the Komsomol of the republic has come to its 60th anniversary, writing more and more new pages in the chronicle of the limitless devotion to the business of the party and of communism.

From the first days of the formation of Turkmen SSR and the Turkmenistan CP, the party and the government of the young republic displayed attention and concern about youth and entrusted to them responsible sections of work. The Komsomol of the republic deserved with honor the trust of the Turkmenistan communists.

At all stages of the socialist development of Turkmenistan, whether it was the years of bloody skirmishes with the class enemies or the years of peaceful creation, the Komsomol honorably carried out its role as the conduit of the party's ideas to the masses of youth and was its guide and organizer. They were the ones who first stormed the bastions of difficulties in economic and cultural construction, who erected the buildings of plants and factories, who built canals and reservoirs, who established kolkhozes. They were the ones, who not fearing the kulak-abisky bullets, elevated the peasantry in the struggle for the new life, opened schools aimed at eliminating illiteracy, and established socialist relations in the family and daily life.

Many from Turkmenistan fought in partisan detachments. The holy war against the fascist aggressors has forever strengthened by blood the fraternal ties of our peoples. We paid for victory with a dear price. Only in our republic, more than 50,000 soldiers did not return to their native homes. Eternally remember the heroes who fell in battles for our native land!

Komsomol members and the youth of Turkmenistan also selflessly labored in the rear. They were initiators of many patriotic undertakings: they introduced methods for building tank columns, air squadrons and other fighting technology; they prepared and sent packages to the front for the soldiers; they served in evacuation hospitals; they took part in the collection of scrap metal; young girls made gold and silver national decorations. It is difficult to recount all that our remarkable young people did in our country's difficult times.

Allow me, dear veterans of the party and the Komsomol, of the war and labor, to congratulate you from the bottom of my heart on the Komsomol jubilee of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the republic Komsomol. We are glad that you are on duty today; make your contribution to the communist education of the young generation, transmit to it your knowledge and rich life experience. Good health to you, and I wish you all the best.

Comrades! We have lived under a peaceful sky for 40 years now. Both in the difficult postwar years and in the period of developing the virgin and fallow lands, at the construction of the Karakum Canal imeni Lenin and at the All-Union essential Komsomol Shack construction projects of the BAM and Nechernozem'ya, in Tyumen' and Krasnoyarsk, Taganrog and Rostov, the Komsomol members of our republic together with their peers from all the other fraternal republics displayed the ideals of shock labor and wrote new pages in the chronicle of Komsomol glory.

The Communist Party has presented larger and responsible tasks for the contemporary stage of the development of our society. It is necessary to achieve a decisive turn-around in the transition of the economy to the track of intensive development, to emerge in a short time to the most advanced scientific-technical position and to raise the productivity of societal labor to the highest level.

We lay great hope for the solution of these problems on you, dear comrades, on the half-million army of Komsomols of Turkmenistan, who by their selfless labor activity participate in the fulfillment of communist construction plans.

The results of work show that the economics of the republic are developing dynamically, in accordance with the decrees of the 26th Party Congress. Further, M.G. Gapurov touched upon the accomplishments of the republic in economic and social development for the 4 years of the five-year plan and the year 1984. A confident start has been made this year also.

Komsomol members and youth of the republic are greeting their jubilee with shock selfless labor. More than 2,500 young workers and more than 50 Komsomol-youth collectives have fulfilled their personal five-year tasks.

By far the greatest contribution is of young workers from the village. One thousand two hundred sixty-seven Komsomol-youth brigades in agricultural production have already fulfilled tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan; more than 37,000 Komsomols-villagers work against the future five-year plan.

Young scientists and specialists, literary and artistic people, health care workers and educators, all our youth are working remarkably well.

Comrades! In all the variety of the complex economic tasks the Komsomol organizations and all the youth of Turkmenistan must find the point of application of their efforts.

In all areas of the economy it is necessary to persistently and consistently be occupied with the introduction into production of the advanced accomplishments of science and technology, with the reconstruction and technical retooling of production, the renewal of basic resources, and with the mechanization and automation of labor.

It is also necessary to maintain the rational, high-efficiency use of an already created production potential. It is surely not a secret that at many enterprises they produce fewer products than their production capacities would allow for and not everywhere has the second shift become a Komsomol shift. Komsomol members barely participate in the certification of work places.

It is necessary to more energetically develop and raise the effectiveness of brigade and other progressive forms of organization and stimulation of labor, to introduce a concrete contribution into the business of strengthening the economy, a proprietary, zealous relationship to the use of material and labor resources, and in practical matters answer to the call of the party to work not less than two days per year with economized resources.

Turkmenistan Komsomol sponsorship of the all-union, republic urgent Komsomol constructions, branches of industry and the republic's agriculture is yielding positive results. Furthermore it is also important to continue this work with the greatest persistence and with Komsomol fervour and to direct to the shock constructions the best representatives of the Komsomol and youth of Turkmenistan.

The movement of youth into agriculture production as part of the Komsomol "shock" detachment has proven itself well. On the initiative of the Komsomol of the country supported by the CPSU Central Committee, detachments of young cattle-breeders will be sent to farms and complexes during the current year. The task of the Komsomol organizations consists of exhibiting a constant concern about the conditions of labor, everyday life and leisure of volunteers. We have a right to expect more energetic measures from the Komsomols of the republic for the widespread introduction of industrial technology, better use of the soil, the obtaining of higher harvests of cotton, corn, grapes, vegetables and all varieties of agricultural products. The business of young people is to step out as pioneers of socialist competition in the village.

Komsomol organizations should activate the sponsorship of the scientific-technical work of youth, should increase the exactingness for young scientists and specialists and Komsomol-youth creative collectives and should direct their activity to the creation and widespread introduction of new research and development.

We await from the Komsomol more active work in carrying out social tasks, concrete steps for strengthening the cultural and service construction in the village, and the actualization of measures in connection with the conducting of reforms of general education and vocational schools.

Comrades! In carrying out the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, of the recent plenums of the Central Committee of our party, and the 19th All-Union Komsomol Congress, Komsomol organizations of Turkmenistan have made a worthy contribution to further improving completion of the ideological-political, moral and military-patriotic education of youth. The adoption of the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the further improvement of the party leadership by the Komsomol and the raising of its role in the communist education of youth" also promoted this.

In its questions of the party leadership of the Komsomol, the urgent problems of contemporary life of youth and all the links in our political system under conditions of the improvement of developed socialism are interrelated.

The multi-plan tasks of the economic and social development of the country, the military danger in the world which is growing because of imperialism, and the sharp political, ideological opposition of the two social systems makes the further improvement of the upbringing of Komsomol members, and young men and women of our country in the revolutionary, fighting and labor traditions of the Soviet people an urgent necessity. A significant role in this business belongs to the Komsomol.

The entire glorious history of the Turkmenistan Lenin Komsomol, and its remarkable achievements all bear witness to the fact that the youth of the republic are on the right path and have our great respect, authority and faithfulness.

Comrades! With a steady step and firm stride we are proceeding toward the 27th CPSU Congress and the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan. It is portentous that on the eve of these most important events the 12th All-World Festival of Youth and Students is taking place in Moscow, dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the Victory. An important contribution during the period of preparation for the All-World Forum of the Planet's Youth was the 3rd Republic Festival of the Youth of the central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan, which is presently taking place in Ashkhabad.

We are glad to welcome today delegations from the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee headed by Secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee A.V. Zhuganov, from the city of Moscow headed by First Secretary of the Kunstsevskiy Komsomol Rayon Committee S.P. Tumanov, from Uzbekistan headed by the First Secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee the Uzbek SSR B. Allamuradov, from Kazakhstan headed by Second Secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee of Kazakh SSR S.A. D'ykachenko, from Kirgizstan headed by First Secretary of Komsomol Central Committee of the Kirghiz SSR O. Aabykalykov, and from Tadjikistan headed by Secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee of Tadjik SSR A. Normatov, who had come for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Jubilee of the Lenin Komsomol of Turkmenistan. In this we see a positive witness to the indissoluble international unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Comrades! The party organization of Turkmenistan values highly the activity of the republic's Komsomol, sees in it a reliable reserve, a true helper, a worthy follower and successor of the glorious deeds and accomplishments of Komsomols of all generations.

In conclusion M.G. Gapurov again congratulated the Komsomol members and youth of the republic on their glorious jubilee and their honorary award, and wished them good health, new accomplishments in the struggle for carrying out the majestic outline of the party and a worthy meeting of the 27th CPSU Congress, and the 23rd Congress of the CP of Turkmenistan.

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REGIONAL

AZERBAIJAN CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENUM

Speakers Noted

Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0105 GMT 19 May 85

[Report on 18 May 1985 Plenum of Azerbaijan CP Central Committee]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee held its regular plenum on 18 May. The following issues were discussed during the convocation:

1. The results of the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum and the duties of the republic's party organization regarding the preparations made for the 27th CPSU Congress.

2. The situation of the realization of the organizational and political measures established by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee for the fulfillment of the decisions adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress and the 30th Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress.

Comrade Kyamran Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, read a report on the results of the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum and the duties of the republic's party organizations regarding the preparations underway for the 27th CPSU Congress.

A debate was held on the report. Comrades Musayev, first secretary of the Baku City Party Committee; Mustafayev, first secretary of the Nakhichevan Oblast Party Committee; Kevorkov, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Party Committee; Gubatov, first secretary of the Ali-Bayramly City Party Committee; Zhuk, an electrical welder in the Kirovabad Machinery Assembly Administration affiliated with the Caspian Petrochemical Trust; Dzhamalova, first secretary of the Lenkoran City Party Committee; N. A. Aliyev, first secretary of the Salyany Rayon Party Committee; Mektiyev, first secretary of the Ismailly Rayon Party Committee; Golovina, Artemneftegaz machinery operator; Guliyev, vice president of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences; Gasanova, a brigade leader in the S. Vurgun Sovkhoz in Zakataly Rayon; N. M. Aliyev, minister of the petroleum refining and petrochemical industry in the Azerbaijan SSR; Aslanova, a brigade worker in the Sabyrabad Rayon cottongrowing sovkhoz named after the 26 Baku Commissars; M. I. Aliyev, minister of land reclamation and water resources of the Azerbaijan SSR; and

Mamedov, minister of the food industry of the Azerbaijan SSR, addressed the debate.

Comrade Vasiliy Konovalov addressed the convocation on the second issue. Relevant discussions were held on the matters discussed.

Comrades Shapko, a responsible functionary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Kosov, a member of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, participated in the work of the plenum.

Bagirov Speech

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 19 May 85 pp 1,2,3

[Report by AZERBAIJAN INFORMATION AGENCY of speech delivered by K. M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, at the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee's 18 May 1985 Plenum: "On the Results of the CPSU Central Committee's April (1985) Plenum and the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organizations in Preparing for the 27th Party Congress"]

[Excerpts] K. M. Bagirov said in his report that the CPSU Central Committee's 23 April 1985 Plenum was a major political event in the life of the party and country. It dealt with the question "On Convening the Regular 27th CPSU Congress and the Tasks Connected With Preparing and Holding It." The report was given by M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Like our entire party and the entire Soviet people, Azerbaijan's communists and working people greeted the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee's April Plenum with great enthusiasm and took the tasks set forth in Comrade M. S. Gorbachev's report as a battle plan for action, and they unanimously support the domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party and Soviet state. Together with all Soviet people, the republic's working people ardently endorse the energetic, purposeful and fruitful work of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee's Politburo.

The preparations that have been launched everywhere for the Leninist party's 27th congress have evoked a new wave of political and labor upsurge. Responding to the party's appeal to fill the months remaining before the congress with intense creative labor, workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia are expressing their resolve to mark them with new accomplishments in all sectors of communist construction and to make a worthy contribution to the further strengthening of the country's economic and defense might.

Widespread work is under way in the republic to publicize, study and explain the materials of the CPSU Central Committee's April Plenum. Party, Soviet and economic-management personnel, the thousands-strong ideological aktiv, and the mass news media have been enlisted in this work. Utilizing all forms of explanatory and upbringing work, it is necessary to convey the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee's April Plenum to the minds and hearts of every working person and every communist and to direct efforts toward the in-depth

assimilation and practical implementation of the plenum's instructions and requirements.

In accordance with the dates that the CPSU Central Committee's April Plenum approved for the report and election campaign, meetings in the republic's primary party organizations will be held in September through November, rayon and city conferences--in November and December of this year, and oblast conferences--at the end of December 1985. The Central Committee Buro is submitting a proposal to convene the 31st Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party on 29 January 1986.

K. M. Bagirov said further that the chief sphere of the constructive activity of the party and people was and remains the economy. Our country has achieved great successes in all areas of economic and social life, and a mighty scientific-technical and industrial potential has been created. The USSR holds the leading positions in the world in many areas of the development of production, science and technology. The Soviet people's material and cultural living standards have risen immeasurably.

While noting the successes that have been attained in the country's economic development, the plenum pointed in a candid and partylike principled fashion to the unfavorable trends and difficulties that have arisen in recent years. In addition to the effect of natural and external factors, the reasons for them consist in the fact that changes in the objective conditions of the development of production, the need to speed up its intensification and the process of changing economic-management methods were not duly taken into account in a timely fashion and--what is especially important--persistence was not shown in developing and implementing large-scale measures in the economic sphere.

As is known, Soviet Azerbaijan's economy has been developing dynamically and at fast rates. Plans and socialist commitments have been fulfilled and overfulfilled, and the republic's contribution to the country's unified national-economic complex has been growing from year to year. In the first four years of the 11th Five-Year Plan the national income [of the republic] increased by 21.5 percent, and the rate of growth of industrial production amounted to 24.3 percent, which is higher than five-year plan targets. The effectiveness of socialist production rose, and labor productivity in industry increased by 17.8 percent. The volume of production output in the highest quality category increased by a factor of 1.5. The agrarian sector of the economy has been developing steadily. Gross agricultural output rose by one-third in comparison to the previous five-year period. Positive advances have been made in construction, transportation and other spheres of the economy. Concrete measures have been implemented for improving the people's well-being.

On the whole, the republic's working people have been working successfully since the beginning of this year. The plan for the first four months for the production and sale of industrial output was fulfilled ahead of time. Production volume rose by 5.4 percent, and labor productivity rose by 4.0 percent, which is above plan. Despite the late and protracted spring, spring floods and hail storms, the workers in the fields and livestock sections

have, on the whole, been carrying out the entire complex of agricultural work in an organized fashion. The planting of spring crops was completed, and work is being carried out in the fields, orchards and vineyards within the optimal time period in terms of recommended agricultural methods. comparison to the previous wintering, procurements of livestock and poultry have risen by 12 percent, procurements of milk--by four percent, and procurements of eggs--by seven percent. The number of livestock and the productivity of livestock have increased.

At the same time, all sectors of social production still have considerable reserves and great possibilities, the tapping of which will make it possible to make much better use of the republic's existing production and scientific-technical potential. The republic party organization must do intensive work to ensure continued economic growth on the basis of intensification, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, improvement of output quality, the rational utilization of fixed assets and all types of resources, the improvement of management, and the restructuring of the economic mechanism and of structural and investment policy.

The strengthening of organization and discipline everywhere is an extremely important condition for meeting the party's demands. This means that at every workplace and in all spheres people must take a conscientious attitude toward their jobs and must work at full strength.

Guided by the instructions and recommendations of the CPSU Central Committee, party committees, Soviet and economic-management agencies, and trade-union, Komsomol and public organizations have carried out specific measures to reduce losses of work time, establish order and improve organization in all sectors of social production. At enterprises and in organizations, increased attention is being given to questions of creating organizational and economic conditions aimed at evening out the pace of production and reducing nonproductive losses. As a result, during the past year total losses of work time were cut to five-eighths: in industry, by 20.9 percent in construction, and by 31.5 percent in automotive transport. The amount of overtime was reduced, and personnel turnover was cut by 10 percent in industry and 17 percent in construction. Many enterprises and organizations are setting an example of a high degree of organization. More than 600 of them have had virtually no violations of labor discipline.

However, we still have not succeeded in establishing the proper order and discipline everywhere. There are a considerable number of enterprises and associations, collective farms and state farms, and some individual cities and rayons that have not been fulfilling established plans, have realized low growth rates, are lagging behind the five-year plan assignments and have been doing a poor job of raising efficiency and labor productivity and improving quality. Not all economic managers show constant concern for improving the organization of production and creating conditions for highly efficient work. Losses of work time are high at enterprises in light industry, the fruit and vegetable industry and automotive transport, and in organizations of Glavbakstroy [Chief Administration for Construction in Baku], the Ministry of Industrial Construction, the Ministry of the Construction Materials

Industry and others. At certain enterprises in Baku, the Nakhichevan ASSR, and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, work to retain personnel in production and create stable labor collectives has been weak. The Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Buro has made a detailed analysis of the entire complex of issues connected with the further strengthening of socialist labor discipline. Reports from executives of the ministries and departments and of the Central Committee departments have been heard. Additional measures have been outlined for enhancing this work in production and the services sphere, in public and everyday life and in every labor cell, every city and every village.

An extremely important question of accountability and discipline is the fulfillment of contractual commitments. The strict observance of assignments for the delivery of output in specified amounts and according to the specified products mix is regarded by the party as the basic criterion for evaluating the economic performance of associations and enterprises.

Lately, as a result of measures taken in the republic, the number of enterprises failing to meet their commitments to customers has declined. However, not all executives have drawn the proper conclusions from repeated criticism that has been leveled at them, and some of them continue to regularly fail to fulfill delivery plans. This pertains primarily to the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the State Committee for Viticulture and Winemaking, the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry, and enterprises of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems, the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the Administration of Nonferrous Metallurgy and others. Since the beginning of the year the percentage of fulfillment of contract obligations has been 98 percent for industry as a whole, and more than 78 million rubles' worth of output specified in contracts has failed to be delivered. The indices for the fulfillment of delivery plans by industry have been lower than the republic average in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the cities of Sumgait, Ali-Bayramly, the Nasiminskiy and Nizaminskiy rayons of the city of Baku, and Masallinskiy, Imishlinskiy, Tauzskiy and a number of other rayons.

As analysis shows, in a number of branches, associations and enterprises, indices of the use of production assets have been declining, and rated capacities fail to be reached for long periods of time. The shift coefficient has not been rising fast enough, and mechanized production lines and automated lines are not being used to full capacity. According to the figures of a 24-hour survey, in machine building alone more than 1,600 units, or eight percent of all equipment, are out of operation for various reasons. Despite the steps being taken to reduce uninstalled equipment, the amount of it remains substantial.

It is intolerable that at such extremely important facilities as the EP-300 complex at the Sumgait Synthetic Rubber Plant and the Polymer-120 production facility in the Organic Synthesis Association, tens of millions of rubles' worth of equipment, a substantial amount of which is imported, has piled up because of serious shortcomings in the organization of construction, the failure to put capital investments to use, the failure to commission

facilities on schedule, and negligence on the part of both builders and their clients.

The Ministry of Industrial Construction, the Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work, client enterprises and the Sumgait City Party Committee must take prompt steps to concentrate material, technical and labor resources at these facilities and ensure the timely commissioning of facilities.

Extensive losses occur because of the poor organization of the shipment, storage and use of cement, timber and other building materials, fuel, mineral fertilizers, agricultural products and foodstuffs. There are considerable losses of this sort in the Ministry of Procurement, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry, Azersel'khozkhimiya [expansion unknown], the State Committee for Gas Supply, Aztransgaz [expansion unknown] and the construction ministries and departments. Secondary resources and local materials are not being used efficiently enough. Many enterprises, organizations, collective farms and state farms have not established proper record keeping and oversight to ensure the rational use of raw materials and other materials. A large number of enterprises have failed to meet the established limits for material outlays per ruble of commodity output and have not achieved planned savings of fuel and energy resources and other types of resources. According to last year's results, one in every eight of the republic's industrial enterprises failed to fulfill assignments for reducing the unit-cost of output.

The party is placing the fundamental acceleration of scientific and technical progress in the foreground as the main lever for the intensification of the economy, continued K. M. Bagirov.

The need to shift the economy to the tracks of intensive development places higher demands on the machinery industry. Lately this branch has been growing at priority rates in the republic. In the current five-year plan period alone, production volume in it will increase by a factor of 1.6. The highest rates are found in the electronics and radio-equipment industries and other progressive subbranches. The priority rate of the machinery industry's development must continue to be ensured in the future. In this connection it is extremely important to more vigorously accomplish the tasks of the mechanization and automation of production, the introduction of robot complexes, microprocessors and microcomputers, and the widespread utilization of automatic manipulators, and to accelerate the shift to the production of new generations of machines and equipment that are capable of bringing about the introduction of progressive technologies, raising labor productivity many times over, reducing materials intensiveness, and increasing the return on assets.

The questions of intensification and improvement of the economy's efficiency are inseparably bound up with the improvement of product quality. As was noted at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, the utmost improvement of quality should be at the center of economic policy. Despite the steps being taken the republic has not succeeded in achieving a radical turnaround in this area. Many enterprises continue to produce output with low consumer

properties and deviations from standards and normative and technical specifications. A number of types of machines, equipment, machinery aggregates, instruments, manufactured rubber articles, petroleum products, mixed feeds and building materials produced in the Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, the Ministry of Procurement, the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, the Soyuzneftemash [All-Union Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Machinery], Azrezinotekhnika [Azerbaijan Rubber Engineering] and Khimprom [Chemical Industry] associations and at synthetic rubber plants, mills for the processing of nonferrous metals and other plants fail to meet requirements. The quality of garments, footwear and a number of foodstuffs evoke justifiable consumer complaints.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum subjected the state of affairs in capital construction to harsh criticism. The shortcomings that were noted fully apply to our republic, as well.

A number of projects have been under construction a long time, substantially exceeding normative construction periods; as a result of this, considerable items of material value are frozen and the expansion of capacity is being held up. The technical level of construction production is considerably below par, equipment is used irrationally, most mechanisms are operated for a single shift, and the proportion of manual labor is high. There have been delays in the construction of facilities of paramount state importance that have been scheduled for start-up. In the first four months of the year the annual plan for the commissioning of fixed assets has been fulfilled by only 12 percent.

Executives of the Ministry of Industrial Construction, the Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work, the Ministry of Agriculture, Glavbakhstroy and other contract organizations and client ministries and departments, and the local party and Soviet agencies should take decisive steps to rectify the existing situation and eliminate the lags that have occurred before the results of the first six months are in.

Ensuring the even-paced and efficient functioning of the economic complex requires a substantial improvement in the work of all types of transportation, and especially rail transportation. It is necessary to establish order and strengthen discipline in all links of the transportation conveyor, to hold officials strictly accountable for any manifestations of mismanagement and inefficiency, and to enhance the role of the transportation subdivisions' own party organizations in all these matters.

The executives of the ministries, departments, enterprises and organizations that make use of transportation services must put their sidings into the proper condition, raise the level of the mechanization of loading and unloading operations, and provide greater practical assistance to the transportation organizations in the repair of railroad cars and containers.

Taking the past harsh winter's lessons into account, we must do a great deal of work on the timely preparation of rolling stock. Right now, well in advance, everything necessary should be done to ensure the stable performance

of both rail transportation and automotive transport in the upcoming winter period.

The plenum singled out implementation of the Food Program as one of the urgent tasks requiring special attention.

An important area of work in implementing the Food Program is developing the agro-industrial complex's processing branches and bringing their enterprises closer to the collective farms and state farms. Considering the high rates of growth in the volume of agricultural output, this problem has special significance for our republic. On the one hand, there is insufficient capacity; on the other, the capital investments that have been allocated are not being fully put to use, and deadlines for the commissioning of facilities for the storage and processing of agricultural products regularly fail to be met. However, strange as it may seem, no one is held accountable and punished for this.

In light of the decree recently adopted by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the Council of Ministers, the State Planning Committee and the party committees must work out specific measures for accelerating the development of the material and technical base of the processing branches of the agro-industrial complex and exercise effective oversight to ensure the implementation of these measures in order that existing disproportions can be eliminated during the 12th Five-Year Plan.

A great deal must be done to improve land reclamation and ensure the rational utilization of water resources. We examined this problem at a Central Committee plenum last year. And the task consists in stepping up work on implementing the measures that were outlined. At the same time, I would like to dwell on a matter that is of no small importance to us. I am referring to the establishment of the proper order in the drilling of sub-artesian wells and in the economical use of fresh underground waters. As studies have shown, many wells are drilled without authorization and with deviations from project plans and technical norms and are not coordinated with local hydrogeological conditions. A good number of them belong to no one in particular. All this may lead to a sharp reduction in reserves of underground water and have a ruinous effect on the environment. I think that it would be correct for the republic Council of Ministers to examine the progress in implementing the 1980 decision "On Measures for Regularizing the Utilization and Protection of Underground Waters" as a set of interrelated measures and to establish order in this area.

The Central Committee plenum noted the need for a serious improvement in management and the economic mechanism as a whole and spoke out for an expansion of the rights and independence of enterprises and the introduction of economic accountability and, on this basis, an increase in collectives' accountability for and interest in the end results of their work. It is known that some of the republic's enterprises are now working under conditions of the economic experiment, which opens up new possibilities for collectives and exercises a positive influence on the growth of production efficiency and improvement of work quality. The enterprises of the Ministry of the

Electrical Equipment Industry, the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, the Soyuzneftemash [All-Union Petroleum Machinery] All-Union Industrial Association and the Ministry of the Food Industry that have been working under the conditions of the experiment have completely fulfilled their commitments for deliveries of output and have also improved other technical and economic indices.

The task of the party committees and ministries and departments is to see that the experience that has been gained finds broad application in other branches of the economy and that progressive methods of economic operation and management are more boldly and creatively introduced into practice. Record keeping and reporting must be improved, and the number of instructions, regulations and required methods, which sometimes fetter enterprises' independence, must be sharply reduced.

Management of the agro-industrial complex and the structure of it must be further improved. We still have a great deal to do to establish the rayon agro-industrial associations as fully empowered proprietors in the countryside, and we must step up the search for and implementation of effective means of enhancing the rayon agro-industrial associations' role in and accountability for fulfillment of the Food Program and the management, planning and financing of the agro-industrial complex as a unified whole. Greater initiative should be granted to agro-industrial associations by local party committees.

In the attainment of high end results, a special place belongs to the brigade form of organizing labor. At the present time it encompasses more than 60 percent of all workers in industry. Nearly one-half of them use the coefficient of labor participation. The vanguard role of communists in brigades is growing; 3,000 additional party groups have been set up, and the number of party-Komsomol groups and party organizers has increased. The brigade contract is receiving development in agriculture too.

At the same time, the executives of some ministries and departments, especially the agricultural ones, and of associations, enterprises and rayon agro-industrial associations, as well as local agencies, have still not fully grasped the economic essence and social significance of the contract and economic accountability, are not displaying purposeful work to introduce them, and are sometimes guilty of formalism and, in some cases, false show.

The ministries and departments, the State Committee for Labor, the Azerbaijan Council of Trade Unions, the city and rayon party committees and the primary party organizations should substantially step up their work in this area, seriously analyze the state of affairs in each labor collective, and bring the principles of economic accountability to all primary labor cells and every worker. A great deal remains to be done in the rationalization and certification of workplaces.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum reaffirmed the unalterability of the party's course of steadily improving the people's well-being and the need for consistently implementing the policy of enhancing social justice. In the republic the population's real income has been growing, and its housing and

living conditions and medical and cultural services have been improving. Measures are being taken to strictly implement the principle of payment according to the quantity and quality of work and to ensure that labor productivity grows at a faster rate than earnings. However, in light of the party's instructions we must take more effective steps to purge the distributive mechanism of leveling and unearned income, and to ensure that the material situation of every employee and every collective is directly dependent on the results of their labor.

In the complex of measures for improving well-being, a considerable place is being devoted to increasing the quantity and improving the assortment and quality of consumer goods. Positive changes are observable here. At the same time, the problem of more fully satisfying consumers' demand for goods and saturating the market with the necessary output remains acute. A large number of enterprises have not been fulfilling plans for the production of consumer goods, and there are frequent violations of contracts that have been concluded and specified assortments that have been agreed upon with trade. The trade organizations have not been orienting industry in good time toward the restructuring of production in accordance with market conditions. As a result of all this, a substantial portion of goods sits around in warehouses. Can this possibly be called a diligent, state approach to matters, comrades?

We must work more persistently to resolve the questions of ensuring that the population's growing monetary income is covered by goods and various types of services. Unfortunately, the failure to fulfill plan assignments for commodity turnover and consumer services for a number of years has upset the balance of the population's monetary income and expenditures.

Executives of the Ministry of Trade, Azerittifak [expansion unknown], the Ministry of Consumer Services and other ministries and departments that provide trade and consumer services have been extremely slow in restructuring their work and are still not filled with a sense of high responsibility for the sector entrusted to them. Instead of taking effective steps, they seek all sorts of alibis. And today one would like once again to warn that the demand on appropriate executives for establishment of the proper order and the fulfillment of plans in this extremely important sphere will be the very strictest.

It is necessary to create favorable opportunities for utilization of the population's monetary income for the improvement of housing, cultural and general living conditions, and to develop tourism and other paid services at accelerated rates. Here there is a large share of work for both economic executives and local party, Soviet and trade-union organizations.

Take, for example, the question of providing the population with building materials. The Azerbaijan CP Central Committee receives letters from working people with reproaches for the shortage of lumber, lime, cement, building stone, brick and tiles. Studies have shown that the existing situation can be attributed to a considerable extent to the failure to deliver adequate amounts of these materials to the market, the lack of a

well-ordered system for the sale of them, and the inadequate development of the network of specialized stores. The planning agencies, industrial ministries and departments and trade and supply organizations have been doing a poor job of dealing with these matters. The Central Committee Buro, after examining this matter, assigned the Council of Ministers to take appropriate steps for the maximum satisfaction of consumer demand for building materials.

K. M. Bagirov said further: Accomplishment of the tasks connected with preparation for the 27th CPSU Congress requires a further improvement of the style, form and methods of party work. Today many of the republic's city and rayon party committees typically show a creative and enterprising approach to matters, purposefulness and consistency in accomplishing the tasks of economic and social development and the upbringing of the working people, and an ability to ensure high end results.

One problem area in the work of a number of party committees continues to be oversight over the implementation of adopted decisions, which is frequently reduced to sporadic, superficial checkups and done without a close study of the work of specific individuals; this unquestionably lowers their personal accountability for their assigned sectors. Matters should be set up in such a fashion that not a single party organization or single employee remains without oversight. Such is our party's Leninist directive, which should be unswervingly carried out. Oblast, city and rayon party committees should hear reports from party, Soviet and economic executives more often and should hold them more strictly and demandingly accountable for the failure to implement decisions and party instructions.

Questions of strengthening primary party organizations are assuming special importance in light of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee's April Plenum. The republic now has 9,860 primary party organizations with a total membership of more than 370,000 communists. Most of them work in a business-like fashion and strive persistently to increase communists' vanguard role and their responsibility for the affairs of collectives and for fulfillment of the requirements of the CPSU Statutes.

At the same time, many primary party organizations still do not show enough militancy, concreteness and keenness in their work, or principle and consistency in exercising supervision over the activities of management and resolving the urgent questions of developing production and improving people's working conditions, everyday life and recreation.

The question of the selection, assignment and upbringing of cadres is exceptionally important to raising the level of party committees' entire organizational and political work. Today the party requires continued adherence to the line of ensuring the stability of the party leadership and correctly combining experienced and young officials. The state of affairs in this area was analyzed in depth at the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee's recent plenum, where concrete tasks were defined for further improving the entire system of cadre work in the republic. It is the party agencies' paramount duty to implement the party's decisions on matters of cadre policy.

In the course of preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress, as was noted, reports and elections are an important event in the life of the party and country. In the course of this important campaign, the efforts of party organizations and labor collectives must be concentrated on the successful fulfillment of state plans and the enhancement of organization, discipline and order at all levels of the economy.

It is the duty of party committees to display the maximum concern that meetings in party organizations take place in a businesslike fashion in an atmosphere of principle, criticism and self-criticism, and Bolshevik candor; that in place of empty verbal disputes, appraisals are made of what has been done, urgent questions in the life of collectives are discussed, and ways are outlined for eliminating everything that interferes with work. An atmosphere must be created in which every party member can take full advantage of his statutory right to submit proposals and voice criticism, and to criticize any persons whatsoever, regardless of the positions they hold. All of communists' valuable recommendations and critical observations should be attentively and solicitously generalized, and measures for acting on them should be set forth.

Upcoming rayon, city and oblast party conferences should be marked by a highly businesslike and exacting attitude. There should be no place at them for eulogies, compliments and attempts to conceal the essence of matters behind generalities and to place the blame for shortcomings on so-called objective causes or the lack of interdepartmental coordination.

An extremely important matter is the formation of party executive bodies. They must be replenished with fresh forces; efforts must be made to get more workers, women and specialists employed in the economy in elective party bodies; and promising young officials must be advanced more boldly.

In the course of the report and election campaign, attention must be called to questions of further enhancing party guidance of the Soviets, trade unions, Komsomol and other public organizations; cases in which their functions are usurped, their forces dispersed and duplication occurs in their work must not be permitted; and efforts must be made to increase the accountability of communists elected to executive bodies.

Members and candidate members of the Central Committee, members of the Azerbaijan CP Auditing Commission, members of local party elective bodies, and executives of the ministries and departments and city and rayon bodies should directly take part not just in the party conferences but also in meetings of primary party organizations and their lower-level units.

In light of the CPSU Central Committee's decree "On Measures for Overcoming Drunkenness and Alcoholism" that was published yesterday, the campaign for a healthy lifestyle for the working people and for overcoming harmful habits, vestiges of the past, and abuses of alcoholic beverages should become a part of future organizational and ideological-political work.

31 July 1985

Oblast, city and rayon party committees, local Soviet executive committees, party, trade-union and Komsomol organizations, economic executives, the medical service and public-health agencies must work out and implement a complex of comprehensively substantiated organizational and upbringing measures aimed at decisively stepping up the anti-alcohol campaign and improving its effectiveness.

This work, as the party demands, must be given a mass nature; an atmosphere of intolerance toward drunkenness must be created in every labor collective; and party members and, especially, executives who avoid direct participation in the campaign against this evil must be held more strictly accountable.

Allow me to ensure the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo, said K. M. Bagirov in conclusion, that Azerbaijan's party organizations, having launched extensive organizational and political work among the masses, are mobilizing the working people's efforts to accomplish the tasks that have been set, will ensure the successful implementation of the decisions of the Central Committee's April Plenum, and will greet the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in a worthy fashion.

Plenum Resolution

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 19 May 85 p 4

[Resolution of the Plenum of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee on Convening the Regular 31st Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and the Dates for Conducting Reports and Elections in the Republic Party Organizations]

[Text] 1. To convene the regular 31st Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party on 29 January 1986.

2. To confirm the following agenda for the congress:

--Report by the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, to be given by Comrade K. M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee.

--Report by the Azerbaijan CP Auditing Commission, to be given by Comrade M. Ya. Kaziyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan CP Auditing Commission.

--On the CPSU Central Committee's draft "Basic Guidelines for the USSR's Economic and Social Development in 1986-1990 and in the period Up to the Year 2000," for the 27th Party Congress. The report on this is to be given by Comrade G. N. Seidov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers.

--Elections of executive bodies of the Azerbaijan CP.

--Elections of delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress.

3. To establish the norm for representation at the 31st Azerbaijan CP Congress as one delegate per 250 party members.

4. Delegates to the 31st Azerbaijan CP Congress are elected according to party Statutes by closed (secret) voting at oblast, city and rayon party conferences. Elections of delegates to the 31st Azerbaijan CP Congress from

the Baku and Kirovabad City Party Organizations are held at rayon party conferences.

Communists who belong to party organizations of the Soviet Army, Navy and internal and border forces elect delegates to the 31st Azerbaijan CP Congress together with the appropriate territorial party organizations in oblast, city and rayon party conferences.

5. To hold the report and election campaign preceding the 31st Azerbaijan CP Congress on the following dates: meetings in primary party organizations--in September-November 1985; rayon and city party conferences--in November-December 1985; oblast party conferences--at the end of December 1985.

6. At the report and election meetings and conferences, to examine in depth and comprehensively the work that has been done to implement the decisions of the 26th Party Congress, subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the 30th Azerbaijan CP Congress; to discuss in detail questions of party guidance of economic and cultural construction, and the state of organizational party work and ideological work; and to give a principled appraisal of the work of elective party bodies and define their tasks for the future.

The attention of meetings and conferences should be focused on questions of the work of party organizations in mobilizing communists and all working people for the successful completion of 1985 and the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole, the utmost intensification of production, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the further increase of labor productivity, the improvement of planning and management, and the enhancement of organization, discipline and order at every workplace and in every production unit.

Party meetings and conferences should be held in an atmosphere that is marked by a businesslike attitude, principle and a self-critical approach to the appraisal of the party organizations' work. Reports and elections should contribute to the further strengthening of Leninist norms of party life, the development of intraparty democracy, the development of criticism and self-criticism, the growth of communists' activeness and initiative, and the enhancement of their accountability for the affairs of their organizations and the party as a whole.

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REGIONAL

AZERBAIJANI OFFICIALS OBSERVE 65 YEARS OF SOVIET POWER

Report on Meeting

[Editorial Report] Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 28 April 1985 carries on page 1 an 1100-word Azerinform report on a meeting held on 27 April at the Lenin Palace in observance of 65 years of Soviet power in Azerbaijan. Participants included representatives of party, soviet and social organizations, and of the Baku garrison. Among the meeting's presidium members were K.M. Bagirov, G.A. Gasanov, A.S. Denisov, S. Ch. Kasumova, V.N. Konovalov, I.A. Mamedov, R.E. Mekhtiyev, F.E. Musayev, G.N. Seidov, K.A. Khalilov, Z.M. Yusif-Zade, B.S. Kevorkov, D.M. Muslim-Zade, N.E. Mustafayev, L. Kh. Rasulova, G. Sh. Efendiyev, and the following deputy chairmen of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers: D.M. Asanov, F.G. Akhmedov, A.D. Lemberanskiy, A.N. Mutalibov, G.V. Shcheglov. The meeting was brought to order by N. Kh. Akhmedov, chairman of the Baku City Soviet Executive Committee, and a report was read by Z.M. Yusif-Zade, Buro member of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee and Azerbaijan SSR KGB chairman.

Speech by KGB Chairman

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 28 Apr 85 p 2

[Speech delivered by Z.M. Yusif-Zade, Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Buro member and Azerbaijan SSR KGB chairman, at meeting observing 65 years of Soviet power in Azerbaijan]

[Text] Sixty years ago the crimson banner of freedom was raised above the ancient Azerbaijan land. The first workers and peasants state in the East--Soviet Azerbaijan--was born, and in a historically brief period has transformed itself from an economically backward outlying area of tsarist Russia into a blossoming republic with a highly developed economy, advanced science and a distinctive culture.

Under the leadership of the party of the bolsheviks, turning the masses' awakening creative energies to constructive historical activity of unprecedented scale, the workers of the republic have laid a solid and reliable

foundation of a happy life both for current and future generations, and for our successes of today. We mark the 65th anniversary of Soviet Azerbaijan immediately following the 115th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin, and on the eve of International Workers Solidarity Day--May Day. There is profound meaning in the proximity of these holidays: heroic, proletarian Baku and the workers of Azerbaijan continue, as in the past, to lift high the Lenin banner of internationalism. They have always, in the most difficult times, been united both with revolutionary Russia and the emerging peoples of the East. As Sergo Ordzhonikidze said so expressively, "the beam of proletarian solidarity" has always shone brightly in Baku. These days our country's entire life is being expressed in full scale preparation for the 27th CPSU Congress. Workers of Azerbaijan join all Soviet people in unanimously supporting and approving the domestic and foreign policy of Lenin's party, which is confidently leading the Soviet people on the path of constructiveness and peace. Having taken the directions of the CPSU Central Committee's April Plenum as an urgent program of action, the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia of the republic are firmly resolved to strengthen the economic and defensive might of the socialist Homeland through continued intensive labor.

The entire history of the Azerbaijan people's revolutionary struggle is inseparably linked with the name of V.I. Lenin and the party of the Bolsheviks. Vladimir Il'yich was the inspirer of the creation of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, and the struggle of its working masses for victory and consolidation of Soviet power and the socialist reconstruction of the region. The international solidarity of the workers of Soviet Azerbaijan, their brotherhood and friendship with all peoples of our country, bequeathed by the great Lenin and the ardent strugglers for the revolutionary cause, bearers of the banner of proletarian internationalism in the Transcaucasus--the 26 Baku commissars--grow stronger and more monolithic from year to year.

This brotherhood has deep roots. We shall never forget how the XI Red Army by order of V.I. Lenin came to the aid of the working masses of Azerbaijan who had risen in rebellion. We shall forever remember how, during the incredibly difficult crop failure of 1921, when Russia herself had not yet recovered from the ruin of war and intervention, with the Volga region in famine, Vladimir Il'yich called for "increased attention and concern for Baku". This brotherhood was vividly expressed by the second day after the victory of Soviet power in Baku, when Azerbaijan oil-industry workers ceremoniously sent four tankers filled with oil to Russia.

The Azerbaijan SSR during the years of the first Five-Year Plan provided an impressive example of devotion to the friendship and fraternity of Soviet peoples, and to the ideals of internationalism, which has become a standard of our lives. These ideals were gloriously expressed during a time of great trial for our Homeland, when the Azerbaijan people, together with all peoples of the land of the Soviets, forged a victory over the hated enemy on the front and in the rear area. Azerbaijan became one of the Soviet Army's most powerful arsenals, providing continuous supplies of fuel.

The development of all aspects of the life of Soviet Azerbaijan in the postwar period, and particularly at the stage of developed socialism, has been marked by progressive ascent. During the ninth, tenth and eleventh Five-Year Plans, for which the republic received the Order of the Red Banner, significant

advances were made in the economy and culture. Political and community life became richer and more diverse. These years of far-reaching constructive achievement occupy a prominent place in the chronicles of the republic. The period is marked by vigorous and sustained rates of growth in all areas of the national economy, the elimination of lags in some areas, and overall accelerated development.

Over the past 15 years, the overall volume of industrial production in Azerbaijan has increased by a factor of 3, labor productivity by a factor of 2.2. Fundamental changes have occurred in agriculture, where gross production increased by a factor of 2.8 during the period.

The years of the 11th Five-Year Plan displayed the highest indicators of social and economic development. Bringing to life the decisions of the 26th congress, the November (1982) and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the workers of Azerbaijan successfully carried out the plans and socialist obligations of 1984 and four years of the Five-Year Plan.

Rural workers have achieved great success in implementing the party's agrarian policy. Average annual gross agricultural production increased by a factor of 1.4 over that of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. The agrarian sector of the republic's economy is developing dynamically, making an ever growing contribution to realization of the country's Food Program.

A broad program to upgrade the material and cultural level of workers' lives is being successfully implemented.

The science of Azerbaijan conducts research in areas ranging from the bowels of the earth to the heights of space, ever increasing its contribution to the national economy. Developing on a rich national base, in close contact and with mutually rewarding ties with our country's entire multinational culture, the culture of Azerbaijan has achieved significant success. Its leaders actively participate in the Party's multifaceted work in cultivating a harmoniously developed identity, forming feelings of social responsibility, moral steadfastness, Soviet patriotism and internationalism. The CPSU's Leninist national policy, uniting the peoples of the Soviet Union into a single fraternal family, infuriates our ideological foes--the ideologists of imperialism. The building of socialism and communism in Soviet Azerbaijan is also disturbing to them. In it they see dangerous example (from their point of view) for the peoples of the world who are struggling against imperialism and neocolonialism. This is precisely what guides those falsifiers among radio broadcasters and "sovietologists" who attempt to belittle our accomplishments by constantly harping on the long discredited theory of the so-called forced sovietization of Azerbaijan. These ill-fated antisoviets are also taking aim at the powerful friendship of the peoples of the Transcaucasus, nurtured and cherished by many generations of its best representatives. The vain attempts of these ideological enemies are futile: internationalism has always been and remains our powerful weapon in the communist counter-propaganda system.

The Azerbaijan party organization has accumulated a great deal of experience in all areas of social, political and economic life. The solution of crucial tasks placed before the Party and the entire country by the April Plenum of

the CPSU Central Committee requires that we work toward a substantial acceleration of social and economic progress through broad use of achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and forms of socialist management suitable for modern conditions. We must in the future continue the struggle to reinforce labor, state and plan discipline, to ensure strict order in all work places, and to develop the creativity and initiative of the masses.

Socialist competition with the workers of the fraternal republics of Georgia and Armenia is an important factor in Azerbaijan workers' struggle to carry out Party decisions and to fulfill the tasks of the five-year plan ahead of time. This traditional labor rivalry, each year taking on greater scope and depth, is a true school of friendship, internationalism, and close cooperation, a well of initiative and inspiration.

Communists and workers of Azerbaijan are resolved to mark the upcoming 27th CPSU Congress with achievements worthy of our Lenin's party, attesting once more to their monolithic solidarity in its support and to their readiness to devote all their strength to the struggle to build communism.

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REGIONAL

BRIEFS

NEW YEDINETSKIY RAYKOM CHIEF--A plenum of the Yedinetskiy party raykom which discussed tasks of the rayon party organization in light of the decisions of the April (1985) CC CPSU Plenum took place on 4 June. M. I. Snegur delivered a report. An organizational question was examined at the plenum. The plenum relieved M. I. Snegur of his duties as first secretary and member of the raykom buro in connection with his election as a secretary and member of the Moldavian CP Central Committee buro. G. P. Cherba, who had been chairman of the Ryshkanskiy rayon kolkhoz council, was elected first secretary and member of the Yedinetskiy raykom buro. The second secretary of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, V. I. Smirnov, gave a speech at the plenum. [ATEM report "Plenums of Party Committees"] [Excerpt] [Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 5 Jun 85 p 2]

FOOD INDUSTRY CHIEF IN MOLDAVIA--The USSR Minister of the Food Industry V. P. Lein was in the republic for three days. He held discussions with the leaders of ministries and departments of the republic agro-industrial complex. The minister visited a series of industrial and agricultural enterprises, production and agro-industrial associations, and new buildings of the Food Ministry and the Ministry of Viticulture and Winemaking. MSSR CP Central Committee First Secretary S. K. Grossu and Chairman of the Republic Council of Ministers I. G. Ustiyani accompanied V. P. Lein. [ATEM report "The Minister's Stay"] [Excerpts] [Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 6 Jun 85 p 1]

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