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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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12 July 1985

USSR REPORT

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INTERNATIONAL

U. S. PRODUCTION, USE OF BACTERIOLOGICAL ARMS ALLEGED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Apr 85 p 3

[Article by A. Konstantinov: "Humanity-- Inside Out"]

[Text] The Convention on Banning the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Supplies of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxic Weapons and on Their Destruction entered into effect 10 years ago. This international agreement was an important step on the path to eliminating one of the most barbarous types of weapons. The United States, however, has avoided fulfilling the provisions fixed in the convention and continues intensive development of biological weapons of destruction.

The American magazine NATION has published an article which says that the U. S. military department intends to demand and obtain 1.4 million dollars for "work with large quantities of deadly biological aerosols" within the framework of the program for developing chemical and biological weapons at the Dugway Proving Grounds (Utah).

The development of ways to employ bacteriological and chemical weapons has been placed on a scientific basis in the United States. Of course, it is difficult to call this occupation a science. However, there are quite a few "theoreticians" in the United States who seriously defend the legality, necessity and even the "humanity" of biological weapons. A graphic example of this is the book "Oruzheye zaftrashnego dnya" [Tomorrow's Weapons] by Geo. Rothschild, the former chief of the Chemical Branch. The retired general writes: "... It is difficult to understand why we must reject the use of any weapon which could give us maximum advantage." The author's reference to the fact that toxic weapons are used to carry out death sentences in several states in the United States serves as one of the conclusions in favor of the "humanity" of using them. As (Rotshil'd) thinks, the fact that the use of biological weapons will not lead to destruction, of course, serves as a substantial "plus."

After becoming acquainted with such "theories", the motives for the cynical deal, which was concluded after the world war between the American administration at the time and the group of Japanese war criminals from "Detachment No 731",

who had been engaged since the Thirties in developing bacteriological weapons, become understandable.

The "experience" in using plague, cholera, yellow fever, and typhus bacteria, which had been acquired by "Detachment No 731" during inhumane experiments on Mongol, Chinese, Soviet, and American civilians, was brought to the United States. Complete complexes for the mass production of deadly pathogenic organisms and toxins were built there. More than a dozen of these centers are known, including Edgewood and Fort Detrick in Maryland, Pine Bluff in Arkansas, Rocky Mountain in Colorado, Redstone in Alabama, and others.

The American army made wide use of biological weapons during the war in Korea. According to the testimony of the Japanese writer S. Morimura, the U. S. command developed and had begun to implement a plan for the complete contamination of the central part of the Korean peninsula with insects -- carriers of malaria, typhus and plague. They were released from airplanes over thickly settled areas, and lakes and rivers were contaminated with them in order to cause epidemics among the peaceful population. The employment methods for toxic weapons were improved during the "dirty war" in Indochina. A branch of Scientific Research Institute No 408 was transferred to Vietnam for this purpose.

Instances of the use of biological weapons by the United States during peacetime are also known. Cuba is among the countries that have experienced the effects of these barbarous actions. As the magazine ACTION has reported, plans for bacteriological subversive activity were developed in the CIA and the Pentagon immediately after the victory of the revolution on the island of freedom. In 1979, the "blue mold" disease (not previously encountered on Cuba but known in the United States since the Thirties) destroyed more than 85 percent of the tobacco crop; and in 1981 "sugar-cane rust" destroyed almost a third of all the areas sown with sugar-cane. The epidemic of "dengue-2" tropical fever, which spread through Cuba during the middle of 1981 carried away many human lives. There were more than a hundred children and old people among those who perished. According to the testimony of the American journalist S. Hirsch, the Pentagon and the CIA had conducted beforehand a number of experiments with dengue pathogenes in the laboratories of Fort Detrick and the W. Reed Institute in Washington.

According to data in the magazine BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS, 15 projects for creating new components of biological weapons are now being worked on in American research centers, private laboratories and universities. These evil measures contradict the obligations of the United States under the permanent international convention on banning the development, production and stockpiling of reserves of bacteriological (biological) and toxic weapons and their destruction, which entered into effect in 1975 and which U. S. representatives have also signed.

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CSO: 1807/266

INTERNATIONAL

U.S. ALLEGEDLY USING BRITISH MERCENARIES IN NICARAGUA

LD182341 Moscow World Service in English 1900 GMT 18 Jun 85

[Text] Reports from Costa Rica say the authorities are holding British mercenaries who were arrested at a base of terrorists trained for operations against Nicaragua. Nikolay Gorshkov comments:

Not so long ago a story in the OBSERVER said the Americans were recruiting mercenaries for the undeclared war against Nicaragua in London. They claimed they were acting on their own initiative, using private contributions, and had nothing to do either with American or British authorities. The report appeared before the United States Congress permitted the White House to provide \$27 million in aid for the anti-Nicaraguan terrorists within the next 9 months.

Perhaps some people believe the dogs of war, even though there had been reports that the White House had long been encouraging and coordinating the activities of private organizations that financed terrorist actions against Nicaragua. According to ASSOCIATED PRESS, many of these organizations have now moved from financial backing to direct involvement in the war against the people of Nicaragua. While their agents are openly recruiting former British servicemen and members of the National Front, now with American government money, the government in London--according to the OBSERVER--is helping the White House to strangle Nicaragua with the help of an economic and financial embargo. What is on hand is not the private initiative of semilegal, profascist organizations but a well-coordinated government policy--a policy, in the words of THE NEW YORK TIMES, drenched in human blood.

Both American and British laws forbid the recruiting of mercenaries. Nevertheless both Washington and London are conniving up these unlawful actions against a sovereign country. In this situation, says THE NEW YORK TIMES, the honor of the United States seems to rest in the military case of a terrorist. The question however is, whether the United States is alone to risk its honor.

CSO: 1812/265

INTERNATIONAL

ARTICLES ON ROOSEVELT RECALL SOVIET-U.S. WARTIME COOPERATION

USA Institute Aide

PM150918 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Apr 85 First Edition p 5

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Radomir Bogdanov, deputy director of the United States and Canada Institute: "The Great Idea of Coalition. International Affairs Scientist's Deliberations on the Lessons of Soviet-American Cooperation"]

[Text] The approaching 40th anniversary of the great victory over Hitlerite fascism makes us think seriously: Has everything been done to prevent a new war with all its terrible consequences? Is there some kind of fatal predestination in the slide toward the abyss, or do grounds for optimism actually exist? History, and actually the history of the not so distant past, contains quite a few instances of victory by common sense, instances when the common danger hanging over the earth's inhabitants has produced some unique phenomena. They include the anti-Hitler coalition, which provided the framework for active cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union and the other states fighting against Nazi Germany. The coalition was born out of the awareness that a deadly threat had been posed to the freedom and independence of peoples not only in Europe but also in the western hemisphere.

Many eminent statesmen were involved in the birth of the coalition. For the Soviet Union, which perceived the danger of fascism long before the start of World War II and strove to mobilize all peace-loving forces against the bloody carnage, the coalition was the logical culmination of the foreign policy line it had followed for many years. Other members of the coalition, however, preaching anticommunism and anti-Sovietism and using them to push the realities of the international situation into the background, had to travel a complex and contradictory path. The peoples had to pay a high price for the class narrow-mindedness of many bourgeois politicians. It hindered any prompt collective efforts to prevent war.

The spring of 1985 makes us look back at the events of 40 years ago. U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, one of the leaders of the anti-Hitler coalition, passed away 12 April 1945. All this time his personality and activity have symbolized such abiding assets in the sphere of Soviet-American relations as the will and ability to overcome differences for the sake of the common goal, the all-round strengthening and development of mutual trust.

The opponents of Soviet-American cooperation are making considerable efforts to discredit the Roosevelt line of postwar cooperation with the USSR. On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the great victory they are striving with particular zeal to cast suspicions on the late president's actual views and present him as a figure who was "disappointed" with the Russians and was thinking in terms of a hardline policy toward the USSR. Nevertheless, according to the testimony of U.S. Historian W. Campbell, 1 day before his death, in other words on 11 April 1945, Roosevelt personally drafted a document addressed to Churchill. It said that problems in mutual relations with the Soviet Union had usually been settled and should not be exaggerated.

Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's closest friend and adviser, expressed the president's thoughts as follows in the draft of a book he was planning to write: "...Russia's interests, to the extent we are able to foresee, present no reason for serious differences between us in foreign affairs.... We know that it is easy to do business with the Russians.... I am confident that they not only have no desire to fight us but are actually fully determined to take up their position in world affairs.... And first and foremost they want to maintain friendly relations with us."

Roosevelt's line in relations with the Soviet Union was in total harmony with the American public's feelings at that time. A far-sighted representative of his own class, he also represented something else. And this was Roosevelt's strategic long-term view of the world: In the postwar world it would be in the United States' interest to have not a state of total confrontation but relations of cooperation with the Soviet Union. The upper hand in the frame of mind of influential U.S. circles at the time had been gained by political realism, by the understanding that the coalition's postwar unity would serve not only as a guarantee of the war's successful conclusion but also as a basis of durable and stable peace. The document "Unity in the Organization of Peace as in the Conduct of War" approved at the Yalta conference seemed to be looking decades ahead. Essentially it provided confirmation of the principle of peaceful coexistence as the basis of international relations in the future. This is, without any doubt, the major political and politicoeconomic idea of our time.

Nevertheless, as often happens in politics, it proved easier to formulate a principle in words than to apply it in daily international practice. Throughout the course of World War II there was a harsh confrontation within the U.S. ruling circles between different viewpoints regarding the content of U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union and the postwar structure of Europe. There were several reasons why a strong and growing influence was enjoyed by those who perceived the possibility of building a "Pax Americana." President Roosevelt's death resulted in the considerable strengthening of overtly aggressive forces within the democratic party and the even greater activation of imperialist warriors among the republicans. Old refrains about reviving the "sanitary cordon" along the USSR's borders and implementing a "hardline" and "firm" policy toward the former ally began to be heard loudly. As a result of this the advocates of "Pax Americana" cast mankind into the turmoil of "cold war" intermingled with bloody campaigns against national liberation movements and the forces of democracy and progress.

Certain circles in the United States have gone further than just taking on board the worst aspects of policy toward the USSR and the postwar structure in Europe. They adhere to the decrepit theory that it is much more important to create fear than to create trust. Describing the republicans' policy, famous U.S. Journalist J. Reston wrote recently: "We have a strategy of war, but we do not have a strategy of peace." He also pointed to the emergence of the new doctrine whereby the United States will support any state and any grouping acting against "communist domination" anywhere in the world. What is this if not a continuation of the notorious Truman doctrine?

The results of the Yalta conference are being subjected to particularly zealous attacks on the eve of the 40th anniversary of victory. Doubts are being raised even about the reputation of President Roosevelt, whom "cunning" Stalin supposedly twisted round his little finger. The Yalta decisions have become the basic target for attacks by those who are aiming to prepare and unleash World War III. And this is only to be expected. After all, Yalta has become synonymous with realism in politics, with the skill of state leaders to find coordinated solutions under the most complex conditions. It was in Yalta that the formula of the stability of political realities and the inviolability of borders--this fundamental condition for the preservation of peace throughout the world--was born.

Contrary to common sense and the spirit of the times, people in present-day Washington, as before, are gambling on strength in seeking military superiority over the Soviet Union. The statements made by F. Ickle, U.S. undersecretary of defense for policy, are extremely typical. Addressing the U.S. National Academy of Sciences 19 March, he declared that, despite the latest data on the catastrophic consequences of nuclear war, the administration "sees no reason to change its military policy." "We are going in the right direction," Ickle said, calling on the participants in the conference to join in research work on the "star wars" program. Ickle described as a "mistake" the approach which led to the conclusion of disarmament treaties and agreements during the past decade.

The U.S. administration's stubborn line of substituting psychological warfare and confrontation in international relations for the historical competition between the two opposite social systems is a problem poisoning Soviet-American relations. This essentially indicates the absence of constructive ideas for the future. This is why the only thing counterposed to the forces of peace and progress is an arms race of unprecedented magnitude and cost. Now they intend to extend it into space.

These actions creating a grave threat to mankind's future are camouflaged by false arguments about the "Soviet military threat" allegedly stemming from the antagonism of the opposed systems. Yet memory takes us back to something else. The opposite nature of the systems was no hindrance to the late Roosevelt in the cause of establishing relations of alliance and combat cooperation between the states in the anti-Hitler coalition. The experience of the seventies, in its turn, convincingly proved to the peoples that constructive cooperation between states with different social systems is not only possible but also necessary.

There is no alternative to living with one another. In view of this, it is better to live not in an atmosphere of hostility and fear but in peace, observing certain civilized norms in mutual relations.

The Soviet side is not lacking in good intentions. "A real improvement in relations between the USSR and the United States," Comrade M.S. Gorbachev stressed during his conversation with the speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, "requires **POLITICAL WILL** [printed in boldface] by the leaders of these countries. Such will does exist on the Soviet side. If it is displayed also by the American side, a solution will gradually begin to be found to many questions which now divide our countries." Our country sincerely wants Soviet-American relations to return to the tracks of normal mutually advantageous cooperation and is striving to reach constructive agreements in Geneva. Today, just as many years ago, there is a great need for a new coalition. An antinuclear coalition of the peoples in which there is room for all. It is a commandment of the time.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Article

PM151034

[Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 April 1985 carries on page 3, under the rubric "Historical Fact," a 1,500-word article by Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Fursenko pegged to the 40th anniversary of F.D. Roosevelt's death and entitled "Policy of Realism."

Fursenko begins:

"An important stage in the development of Soviet-American relations is linked with the name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Coming to power in 1933, Roosevelt put an end to the policy of nonrecognition by establishing diplomatic relations with the USSR. And during World War II he followed a course of cooperation with the Soviet Union in the interests of crushing the aggressive forces of fascism and reaction."

The author then turns to Roosevelt's 1945 visit to Yalta where, he says, "The U.S. president held talks with I.V. Stalin, chairman of the USSR Council of People's Commissars, and British Prime Minister W. Churchill which ended with the adoption of decisions aimed at the speediest conclusion of the war and the creation of guarantees for postwar peace."

Fursenko goes on to describe Roosevelt's impressions from his trip and his high opinion of the Soviet Union and writes about his illness. Quoting Roosevelt's physician and biographers to the effect that the president "felt well" in Yalta. This, he claims, "provides a convincing rebuttal of subsequent attacks on Roosevelt for allegedly making too many concessions to the USSR because of his poor state of health."

According to Fursenko, "When U.S. Ambassador A. Harriman arrived at the Kremlin at 0200 hours on 13 April to report the sad news [of Roosevelt's death] the head of the Soviet government met him in mournful silence and responded with a prolonged handshake of condolences."

The author then reviews the deterioration of Soviet-American relations in the postwar years and recent "attacks on Roosevelt's policies and the agreements he signed during the war," briefly praises the achievements of detente in the seventies, and concludes:

"The lessons of wartime cooperation are still alive today, when the danger of nuclear war is hanging over mankind. If, despite all the contradictions that divided them, the USSR and the United States managed to find a common language and to unite under the conditions of the deadly clash with fascism, this task is no less urgent today, because we are talking about delivering our planet from nuclear death." No further processing planned. 12 Apr

Broadcast to North America

LD120232 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Excerpts] April 12th marks 40 years since the death of an outstanding statesman, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt of the United States. We now present a story about President Roosevelt written by a Soviet historian, Dr (?Ivan Krasnov).

The name of the 32d President of the United States is known to every Soviet citizen. It's during the presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt that the United States and the Soviet Union established diplomatic relations, that was in 1933. Also the Soviet people associate Roosevelt's name with the joint struggle of the USSR and the United States against fascism in World War II. Franklin Delano Roosevelt died 26 days before the long awaited victory. Josef Stalin expressed deep condolences over his death on behalf of the Soviet government and on his own behalf, indicating that with the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt the American people and the United Nations lost a great politician of a global scale and a herald of the organization of peace and security after the war.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was one of the few statesmen with a realistic attitude to relations between countries with different social systems. He believed that cooperation between them was both possible and indispensable. He advocated cooperation of the great powers fighting against the common enemy fascism. Franklin D. Roosevelt gave a high appraisal to the decisions adopted by the leaders of the three great powers at their conference at Yalta in February 1945. [passage omitted quoting Roosevelt's message to Congress on those decisions] But Roosevelt's course towards cooperation in American-Soviet relations did not suit certain quarters in the United States and in Britain. That course was subject to fierce attacks, especially after the Yalta conference. The stake was on dividing the anti-Hitler coalition, on opposing the United States and Britain to the Soviet Union and on holding separate Anglo-American talks with the Nazi command. [passage omitted noting that Nazi forces on the Western front offered just about no resistance to the allies, while they fought fiercely against Soviet forces]

The death of President Roosevelt marked the start of a new policy of the United States with regard to the Soviet Union. Vice President Truman, who became president, addressed the two chambers of the United States Congress, promising to

carry out Roosevelt's program. [passage omitted] In reality the course was set towards establishing world domination for the United States, sharpening American-Soviet relations and dumping Roosevelt's policy of promoting cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union. Truman said this: The Russians will soon be put in their place and then the United States will take the lead in running the world in the way that the world ought to be run. The way against Nazi Germany and imperialist Japan was not over yet when the Truman administration outlined a course towards cold war against the USSR, America's ally who made the crucial contribution to saving the world, including the American continent from the danger of being enslaved by the Nazis. [passage omitted]

There are some in the United States today who want to cross out all the major American-Soviet agreements signed by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the president who led his country out of the grave economic and war trials of the 1930's and the 1940's. Roosevelt's inauguration speech at the start of his fourth presidency on 20th January 1945 was his political will. The president addressed Congress and the American people, saying this: And so today, in this year of war 1945, we have learned lessons at a fearful cost and we shall profit by them. We have learned that we cannot live alone at peace, that our own well being is dependent upon the well being of other nations far away. We have learned that we must live as men and not as ostriches nor as dogs in the manger. We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community.

CSO: 1807/356

INTERNATIONAL

RADIO 'FREE AFGHANISTAN' SEEN AS NEW VOICE OF U.S. PROPAGANDA

LD141650 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT 14 Jun 85

[Text] Moscow June 14 TASS--TASS Political News Analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

The Senate of the U.S. Congress has just approved a legislative amendment providing for the establishment of a new subversive radio station under the pretentious name "Free Afghanistan." A little earlier, last May, a radio centre sacrilegiously called "Radio Marti" began beaming into socialist Cuba from Florida, USA. It has also come to public knowledge that the Israeli leaders allowed their Washington allies and backers to build in Israeli territory transmitters for the piratic radio centres "Liberty" and "Free Europe."

All these facts show that the U.S. leaders, trampling underfoot the commonly recognised norms of international law, are carrying on and escalating their propaganda aggression against socialism and the other forces of peace and progress.

Being unable to justify its line of wrecking everything positive that was achieved on the international scene during the 1970s, the Washington administration is seeking to "back" with slander and lies its imperial and hegemonistic foreign policy course and to provide a propaganda cover for it. Ideological subversion has been institutionalised as state policy in Washington. Billions of dollars are spent by the USA every year for propaganda directed outside the country, and more than 350,000 personnel are employed in that field.

It is the White House, the Department of State, the Pentagon and the CIA that are now laying down guidelines and framework for noisy anti-socialist propaganda campaign and that orient U.S. propaganda to attacks on the national liberation movements, to the incitement of the cold war and the instigation of enmity and hatred among nations. The U.S. Information Agency, USIA, is the headquarters of Washington's misinformation specialists.

Washington assigns the main role in a "crusade" against socialism and the forces of peace and progress launched by it to the Munich-based radio centres "Liberty" and "Free Europe." There are no slander and lies that those radio stations, staffed with turn-coats, defectors, former Nazi hirelings and down-right criminals, would be too ashamed to float. It is they that are used as a model by the new "radio voices" set up by the Washington misinformers.

INTERNATIONAL

KOKOSHIN HITS JAPANESE WW II 'TREACHERY' TOWARD USSR

PM180824 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Jun 85 Second Edition pp 2, 3

[Candidate of historical sciences A. Koshkin article under the rubric "On the Fronts of the Ideological Struggle": "How History Is Falsified in Japan"]

[Text] For many years now Japanese reactionary historians and propagandists, crudely distorting the actual events of the World War II period, have been stubbornly implanting in the Japanese people's minds downright false theses about the "Russians' treachery," the "violation of the neutrality pact by the Soviet Union," and the "conquest of Japanese territory." They are trying to convince their population that during the war Japan supposedly remained faithful to the pledges made in the Soviet-Japanese pact, followed a "peace-loving" policy toward the USSR, and sincerely desired to prevent war with the Soviet Union.

Presenting militarist Japan almost as a peace-loving state and contrary to obvious facts, Takushiro Hattori, one of the best known apologists of Japanese militarism and a former Japanese general staff officer, wrote: "Japan, having confidence in the Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact, took a course of conscientiously observing it and retained its principled position of maintaining tranquility in relations with the Soviet Union. This policy remained unaltered from the very beginning right until the end...."

Public opinion polls conducted in Japan show that such attempts to hide from the public the facts of Japan's clearly expressed aggressive policy toward the Soviet Union during the war have not failed to yield results. Many of those polled repeat the false theses implanted by Japanese propaganda about the alleged "violation of the neutrality pact by the USSR."

But this is not sufficient for the Japanese reactionary circles. They have taken it upon themselves to introduce a distorted interpretation of the history of Soviet-Japanese relations also into school textbooks. Ministry of Education officials are trying to assert that "the explanation of Japanese policy in 1931-1939 to school children as anti-Soviet is biased and incorrect." Disputing the conclusions drawn by Japanese scientists who uphold the positions of historical truth, reactionary historians and government officials demand the exclusion from textbooks of all mention of militarist Japan's active preparation to attack the USSR in World War II. They want to convince the growing Japanese generation that "the Kwantung Army was exceptionally weak and could in no way be compared with the Soviet Army," that "Japan felt constantly threatened by the Soviet Army

with its overwhelming superiority," and that "Kantokuen" (the plan for Japan's treacherous attack on the USSR) was allegedly defensive, in no way offensive, and not contrary to the Japanese-Soviet neutrality pact.

While school textbooks previously explained that "the Soviet Union gave Japan advance notice of the non-extension of the Japanese-Soviet neutrality pact and declared war on Japan according to the Yalta agreement," now they read: "The Soviet Union annulled the Japanese-Soviet neutrality treaty and declared war on Japan."

There is a desire to sow mistrust and hostility toward the Soviet Union among the country's present generation and to "justify" the noisy propaganda campaign of illegal claims on Soviet far eastern territory currently underway in Japan by references to falsified history.

But the historical truth is not to be extinguished by the Japanese falsifiers' ill-intentioned claims. The Tokyo trial of Japanese war criminals fully proved the facts of Japan's comprehensive preparation for aggression against the USSR, which lasted right until 1943. This conclusion is confirmed by secret Japanese government, high command, general staff, and war ministry documents published in the postwar years.

The facts indicate that, after the major Japanese ground forces formation which had invaded Mongolia's territory was routed by Soviet-Mongolian troops in August-September 1939, Japan's ruling circles had in no way abandoned the plans for aggressive war against the USSR which were being hatched in the thirties, as many Japanese bourgeois historians claim. War Minister Hata told the Japanese parliament frankly in the fall of 1939: "The blood shed in the fields of Naimoko (that is, Khalkhin-Gol) will under no circumstances turn out to have been shed in vain." By early 1940 the Japanese general staff had elaborated a new operational plan for aggressive war against the USSR which envisaged the armed conquest of vast Soviet territory "right up to Lake Baykal." Japan's Kwantung Army, which was intended to attack the USSR, was actively preparing for the implementation of this plan: its numbers were swelling and its divisions were being supplied with the latest weapons.

In the summer of 1940 the Japanese government and armed forces command elaborated two scenarios for Japan's entry into the war: the "southern," against the United States and the West European states, and the "northern," against the Soviet Union. The solution of the "northern problem" was postponed until Hitlerite Germany's attack on the USSR, which Japan's ruling circles were certain was inevitable. Since the pooling of war efforts with fascist Germany for the sake of crushing the Soviet Union met the basic requirements of the Japanese strategy for anti-Soviet war, in September 1940 the Japanese militarist leadership concluded a military political alliance, the so-called "tripartite pact," with Germany and Italy. Revealing the basic content of the pact, Japan's Foreign Minister Matsuoka declared at a session of the secret council: "Japan will support Germany in the event of its going to war against the Soviet Union, while Germany will help us in the event of a clash with the Soviet Union."

In the spring of 1941 the Japanese government already knew of Germany's preparations for war against the USSR. During Matsuoka's meeting with Hitler and

Ribbentrop in Berlin in March the German leaders informed the Japanese minister of their intentions. Under the prevailing circumstances Tokyo deemed it expedient to start talks with the Soviet government on the conclusion of a Japanese-Soviet neutrality pact. Japan's main objective in this was to secure maximum advantage for itself and to create prerequisites for a surprise Japanese attack on the USSR.

The USSR-Japan neutrality pact was signed in Moscow 13 April 1941. It provided that in the event of one of the contracting parties becoming the target of war operations by one or several third powers, the other contracting party would observe neutrality for the whole duration of the conflict.

In concluding this pact the Soviet government proceeded from the sincere desire to improve mutual relations between the USSR and Japan and thus ease tension in the Far East, limit the extent of the spread of World War II, and use all possibilities to resolve existing differences by peaceful diplomatic means.

The Japanese leaders made a different assessment of the pact. In the course of a conversation with Ribbentrop Matsuoka declared that the Japanese-Soviet pact would become invalid immediately in the event of a German-Soviet war. Returning to Tokyo from Moscow, Matsuoka explained to the German ambassador: "No Japanese prime minister or foreign minister will be in a position to force Japan to remain neutral in the event of a conflict between Russia and Germany. In such an event Japan would be forced out of necessity to attack Russia on Germany's side. No neutrality pact would be of any help there." Prime Minister Tojo, who came to power a few months later, said it even more clearly: "Regardless of the pact, we will continue even more actively our preparations for war against the USSR."

The claims about the pact's "defensive" nature and about Japan's desire to use its conclusion to secure "the northern flank" during its move to the south, which are currently circulating in Japan, are nothing but crude and barefaced falsifications of historical facts.

The treacherous attack on the USSR by fascist Germany whetted Japan's aggressive appetites and encouraged its policy of conquest against the Soviet Union. The Japanese ruling circles considered that a German victory over the USSR would be inevitable and speedy, and assumed that it would offer Japan a convenient opportunity to implement its aggressive plans against the Soviet Union and conquer Siberia right up to Irkutsk.

On 2 July 1941 the emperor's conference adopted the "program of the empire's national policy under changed circumstances." Policy toward the USSR was formulated as follows: "...If the German-Soviet war develops in a direction favorable for the empire, the empire, resorting to armed force, will resolve the northern problem and secure a stable situation in the north."

The hypocrisy and treachery of Tokyo's diplomacy in that period were truly boundless. On 1 July, on the eve of adopting the "program of the empire's national policy under changed circumstances," the Japanese government composed a message addressed to the USSR government in which it falsely declared its "sincere desire to maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Union, hope for a

speedy conclusion of the German-Soviet war, and interest in ensuring that the war does not spread to the Far East regions." The supreme command of the Japanese armed forces cynically described this message as "diplomatic prelude to the start of war." It was considered that this diplomacy should be activated a week before the attack on the USSR.

On 2 July Matsuoka told the Soviet ambassador in Tokyo that Japan intended to strictly observe the neutrality pact. He then immediately hastened to inform the German ambassador that "the reason behind this formulation of the Japanese statement to the Soviet ambassador was the need to confuse the Russians or at least keep them in a state of uncertainty."

The Japanese government's false assurances that "the Japanese-Soviet neutrality pact remains in force" could not hide the specific measures implemented by the Japanese military-political leadership in the summer of 1941. According to a 2 July decision by the emperor's conference, Japan's general staff and war ministry elaborated a package of extensive measures aimed at speeding up preparations for the conduct of offensive operations against the Soviet Union's armed forces in the Far East and Siberia. The codename given to it in Japanese secret documents was "Kantogun Tokubetsu Ensyu" (that is "special maneuvers by the Kwantung Army"), abbreviated as "Kantokuen." The imperial high command sent a special directive to the Kwantung Army in July indicating that the objective of the "maneuvers" was to step up readiness for action against the Soviet Union.

The fact that the Kwantung Army was getting ready not "to repulse a strike by the Red Army," as the Japanese falsifiers of history are trying to claim, but for an unprovoked attack on the USSR from the east is proved by the timetable drawn up by the general staff for the conduct of an anti-Soviet war: decision to start war operations 10 August, start of war operations 29 August, end of war by mid-October. The "Kantokuen" plan envisaged the crushing of Soviet military might in the Far East and Siberia within this period and the annexation of these regions.

The emperor sanctioned the mobilization of Japanese troops for war against the USSR 7 July 1941, and it was conducted during July and August. As a result the numerical strength of the Kwantung Army doubled to about 700,000 soldiers and officers. A total of 850,000 soldiers and officers were concentrated in Manchuria and Korea during the mobilization. Three fronts--eastern, northern, and western--were formed for the implementation of offensive operations. The 5th Fleet was formed specifically to take part in operations against the Soviet Union.

The plans for the Japanese occupation regime which was intended to be introduced on captured Soviet territories, which militarist Japan's ruling circles had elaborated in detail, provide incontrovertible proof of the preparation for aggressive war against the Soviet Union. They provided for the physical extermination of Soviet people, the settlement of Japanese colonizers on USSR territory, and the total economic plunder of Siberia and the Far East. The contents of these plans testify most clearly that the Japanese ruling circles were in no way planning a "defensive war against Bolshevism," as the modern apologists of Japanese militarism claim, but imperialist aggression constituting a most important component of the struggle waged by Japanese imperialism for world domination.

The fact that the aggression did not take place is not the result of Japan's observance of the neutrality pact but the consequence of the Japanese militarists' fear to act against the Soviet armed forces, which had maintained their might in the Far East and Siberia. It was a fact of fundamentally great importance that the heroic Soviet army and the whole Soviet people, under the CPSU's leadership, wrecked Hitler's "blitzkrieg" plans and, as a result of subsequent victories, left the Japanese ruling circles totally devoid of any hope that the eagerly awaited "favorable moment" to take part in the rout of the Soviet Union would arrive.

This is admitted by serious Japanese scientists, who point out that a Japanese attack on the Soviet Union did not take place due to the absence of the necessary conditions, and not as a result of Japan's observance of the neutrality pact.

The breach of the neutrality pact by militarist Japan was not limited to just the concentration of the Kwantung Army near the Soviet borders, tying down the Soviet Union's forces and facilities which were so much needed on the Soviet-German front. It was proved at the Tokyo trial that during the war the Japanese militarist leadership sent to Berlin secret information, obtained by Japanese intelligence, on the USSR's economic and military potential and the distribution of its troops. Japan supplied Germany with the strategic materials it needed to continue the war.

Crudely breaching the neutrality pact, the Japanese military organized numerous violations of the Soviet border involving the use of guns and waged an undeclared war against the USSR at sea, illegally detaining 178 and sinking 18 Soviet merchant vessels.

Finally, the Japanese militarist leaders carried out intensive preparations to strike against the Soviet Union and other countries using bacteriological and chemical weapons, which were banned by international agreements. According to subsequent admissions by Japanese generals, these weapons, stockpiled in vast quantities, were not used only as a result of "the Soviet army's swift advance in Manchurian territory" in 1945.

Thus, the Soviet government was fully justified in announcing its denunciation of the Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact 5 April 1945. It was pointed out in the statement that the pact was signed prior to Germany's attack on the USSR and prior to the start of war between Japan on the one hand and Britain and the United States on the other hand. The text of the statement ran as follows: "The situation has changed radically since that time. Germany attacked the USSR, while Japan, Germany's ally, is helping it in its war against the USSR. Furthermore, Japan is at war with the United States and Britain, which are allies of the Soviet Union. Under these circumstances the neutrality pact between Japan and the USSR has lost its meaning and the continuation of this pact has been rendered impossible."

The Japanese leadership's refusal to capitulate on the basis of the Potsdam declaration made the USSR's entry into the war in the Far East inevitable. The Soviet Union declared war on Japan strictly in accordance with the agreement reached at the Yalta conference. Thus the end of World War II was brought nearer.

INTERNATIONAL

CREATION OF NAMIBIAN 'INTERIM GOVERNMENT' SCORED

Government's Failure Predicted

PM201454 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 85 First Edition p 5

[Sergey Demidov "Observer's Opinion"]

[Text] The scenario for the Windhoek farce was written in a repetitive fashion. By swearing in eight "ministers" from the so-called Namibian "transitional government" headed by someone called (D. Bezuidenhout), the South African racists have done nothing but loose another set of puppets on the political stage. The apartheid regime had already tried back in the mid-seventies to replace a real settlement of the Namibia problem with a neocolonialist substitute. At that time they used as their "trump card" the "Turnhalle Democratic Alliance" [TDA], knocked together--like the present "domestic parties"--from African chieftains who are "loyal" and obedient to Pretoria. But that venture collapsed completely. The South West African People's Organization [SWAPO] rejected the conspiracy hatched in Windhoek's "Turnhalle" sports center. Eventually the appeasers quarreled among themselves and the TDA fell apart in 1983.

The new production in the political "puppet theater" has not been staged without the participation of Washington strategists. Engaged in "constructive cooperation" with the racists, the U.S. administration encourages and supports by all possible means the tricks by Pretoria, which is dragging out the granting of independence to the Namibians. In actual fact, imperialism's methods are well known and are not distinguished by any particular inventiveness. In Namibia it is trying to push through an option that is almost identical to the one which failed in the late seventies in Zimbabwe, where it had counted on the Muzorewa puppet regime.

It is impossible to resolve the Namibia problem without free democratic elections or without the participation of SWAPO, which has been recognized by the United Nations as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. There is no doubt that an inglorious end awaits the "transitional cabinet."

Criticism of Solidarity Committee

LD200616 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Jun 85

[Text] Moscow, 19 June (TASS)--A press conference was held today by the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in connection with the creation of a so-called "interim government" in Namibia.

Eminent Soviet public and political figures described this latest maneuver by the South African apartheid regime as a step toward wrecking the process of granting real independence to the people of Namibia. It was noted that the creation of the puppet "interim government" from representatives of the collaborationist "internal parties" and the white minority is yet another attempt to settle the Namibian problem outside the framework of the UN decisions, to impose a neocolonialist variant of independence on the Namibians, and to remove SWAPO, the sole lawful representative of the Namibian people, from the process of a political settlement.

There is no doubt that, like all its predecessors, this attempt at deceiving the Namibians is also doomed to failure. A government deprived of the powers of implementing state activity in all the most important spheres of foreign and domestic policy looks truly ridiculous. However often the names of the show and the actors in Windhoek may change, the purpose of this political masquerade has invariably been and remains the same--to safeguard the economic interests of the RSA and NATO member countries in Namibia.

Representatives of the Soviet public condemned the hypocritical censure of Pretoria by the Western countries, stressing that it is precisely the United States that is behind the policy of forcible pressure on SWAPO and the frontline countries. It is common knowledge that a hardening of the colonialist regime in Namibia occurred after the advent of the present administration to the White House and with the beginning of the U.S. policy of "constructive engagement" with the Republic of South Africa. It is precisely the U.S. allies who are hampering the use of the most effective means of influencing the racist regime--namely, comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the RSA.

It was emphasized at the press conference that the Pretoria rulers have been forced to maneuver under the onslaught of the resistance movement inside Namibia and the increased international solidarity with the Namibian people. This is also evidence of the deep political and economic crisis that is affecting the Pretoria regime as a result of its policy of apartheid and its vast expenditure on waging a colonialist war in illegally occupied Namibia.

The representatives of the Soviet public resolutely condemned the maneuvers by the apartheid regime, which are directed at granting a fictitious independency to Namibia. The Soviet representatives confirmed their militant solidarity with the just struggle of the Namibian patriots led by SWAPO, stating that a solution of the Namibian problem is possible only on the basis of the well-known UN decisions in their totality, including UN Security Council Resolution 435.

The firm conviction was expressed that the just cause of the Namibian patriots will triumph and the people of that country will acquire genuine independence.

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INTERNATIONAL

IZVESTIYA PREVIEWS 'PACEM IN MARIBUS' OCEANS FORUM

PM030718 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 May 85 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Doctor of Juridical Sciences A. Kolodkin, chairman of the Soviet Association of Maritime Law, and Candidate of Juridical Sciences V. Kotlyar, member of the Soviet Association of Maritime Law Executive Committee: "For Peace at Sea"]

[Text] The 14th international "Peace at Sea"--"Pacem in Maribus-XIV"--conference is due to open in Moscow. It will be attended by politicians, scientists, and experts from the socialist, developing, and capitalist countries and from a number of international organizations. The conference, which is being held by the Soviet Association of Maritime Law in conjunction with the International Ocean Institute, will be attended by about 400 people.

The International Ocean Institute is a nongovernmental organization whose task includes researching the legal and other aspects of the peaceful use of the oceans and their resources. Annual conferences are held under the institute's auspices to discuss these problems. The 14th conference will be concerned with the legal and economic aspects of maritime transport and international shipping.

In adopting the proposal on holding the conference, the Soviet Association of Maritime Law was acting on the basis that its motto--"Peace at Sea"--symbolizes the peoples' desire for peace and cooperation in the sphere of peaceful utilization and study of the World Ocean. And this desire fully reflects the very essence of the USSR's approach to the solution of the problems of the World Ocean: They must be solved exclusively by peaceful means, on the basis of multilateral cooperation among states, and not by unilateral or other separate and sometimes arbitrary actions. The desire to ensure genuine peace at sea and create an atmosphere for fruitful cooperation among all states fully accords with the spirit and principles of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union which, as was stressed at the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum, is pursuing a Leninist course of peace and peaceful coexistence and advocates a smooth and correct interstate relations based on genuine respect for the norms of international law.

The comprehensive development of international shipping and maritime transport and utilization of the resources of oceans and seas are possible only in conditions of peace. That is why the USSR has repeatedly proposed reducing naval armaments, limiting naval activity, and reaching agreement on confidence-building

measures in various areas of the World Ocean, especially where the busiest sea routes are to be found or where there are conflicts or tension. In particular, the Soviet Union has been consistently advocating the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. The USSR has made well-known specific proposals on this: not to send major naval formations to the Indian Ocean, not to conduct military exercises, not to expand and not to modernize the military bases of those nonlittoral states which have bases.

Practice shows that even complex questions connected with the use of the World Ocean and affecting states' vitally important security interests can be solved successfully given the political will. This is indicated, in particular, by the example of the conclusion in February 1971 of the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof.

The constructive Soviet proposals are particularly topical at a time when the Washington administration is increasing its naval armaments and seeking to use the World Ocean for military purposes and to restrict and obstruct freedom of navigation. Essentially the United States wants to arrogate to itself the right to establish in sea areas and in the airspace above them a procedure governing the passage of foreign merchant ships and aircraft, acting as if the waters and the airspace were under U.S. jurisdiction. Washington's aggressive actions off Libya and Grenada, in the Persian Gulf, and off Nicaragua graphically demonstrate that the U.S. administration is seeking to use the World Ocean as an integral part of its global strategy which is stepped in the dangerous ideas associated with achieving world domination. This tendency was reaffirmed by what Reagan himself said recently to graduates of the U.S. Naval Academy.

In these conditions the efforts of the peace-loving states and peoples aimed at the genuinely peaceful use of the seas acquire special significance. The conference participants will be discussing a wide range of problems associated with this objective--from present-day trends in the development of maritime transport and the provisions of the 1982 UN convention on the Law of the Sea relating to shipping to scientific research and the technical, economic, and legal aspects of the use of space for navigation at sea. Protection and conservation of the marine environment will be a special theme at the conference.

The Moscow forum is taking place in a year that sees the 40th anniversary of the United Nations, whose activity in the sphere of the codification and progressive development of maritime law would be hard to overestimate. As a result of its efforts there have been three UN conferences on the Law of the Sea. As a result of many years' work the third conference adopted in 1982 an all-embracing UN convention on the Law of the Sea.

The USSR and the other socialist countries have made a substantial contribution to the elaboration of progressive norms of international maritime law. In particular, a number of important provisions of the 1982 convention which accord with the interests of all countries were elaborated on the initiative of the USSR and the other socialist community countries. It was at the USSR's suggestion that the provisions on a 12-mile territorial waters limit and outer limit of the continental shelf were approved. The Soviet Union has done a great deal to consolidate freedom of navigation on the high seas and to work out a fair

balance of the interests of all countries on questions of safeguarding the right of peaceful passage through territorial seas, preserving the acknowledged freedoms of the high seas, within an economic zone, safeguarding littoral states' sovereign rights in respect of the zone's resources, and ensuring passage for ships and aircraft through straits used by international shipping. The USSR made a significant contribution to the elaboration of the 1982 convention's provisions on the procedure relating to deep-water areas of the seabed, on scientific research in the World Ocean, and on the protection and conservation of the maritime environment.

The seas have served as a means of peaceful communication since ancient times. Today the significance of the World Ocean is many times greater--both for international trade and as a reserve of most valuable resources. The task is to ensure peaceful cooperation among the peoples in the rational utilization of the world's seas and oceans. The 14th "Peace at Sea" conference to be convened in Moscow has the job of promoting this noble goal.

CSO: 1807/357

INTERNATIONAL

BLOC THEORETICAL CONFERENCE ON ROLE OF PARTY IN SOCIETY

Conference Opens

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 17 Apr 85 p 1

[AzerINFORM: "The Immortality of a Great Endeavor: Opening of International Scientific-Theoretical Conference in Baku"]

[Text] The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the vanguard of the working people, the highest form of political organization of the working class and of all workers. In solidifying the unit of society, the Party thereby assures a planned, scientifically substantiated development of its political system. The Party is main bearer of the principles of socialist democracy and the guarantor of their successful implementation. This was underscored at the international scientific-theoretical conference "The Marxist-Leninist Theory of a Political System and Its Embodiment in the Activity of the Ruling Marxist-Leninist Parties," which opened on 16 April in Baku at the Higher Party School. The conference was dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism, and was organized by the Academy of Social Sciences, The Baku Higher Party School, the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences, and the Scientific Coordinating Council of Central Committees of the Fraternal Parties of Socialist Countries on the Problem "Socialist Democracy."

The conference was opened by First Secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee K. M. Bagirov. On behalf of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the republic's Council of Ministers he extended a warm welcome to the hospitable land of Azerbaijan to Soviet scholars, scholars from the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Republic of Cuba, the Mongolian People's Republic, and all of the participants in the international scientific-theoretical conference.

K. M. Bagirov noted that it is profoundly symbolic that the conference is taking place on the eve of the 115th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth. Alongside that date is another -- the 65th anniversary of the triumph of Soviet rule in Azerbaijan.

The remarkable virgin soil of Soviet Azerbaijan, as is the case with each fraternal republic of the entire Soviet Union, convincingly attests to the implementation of the Leninist design, the powerful creative force of socialism, and constitutes irrefutable proof of the fact that Marxist-Leninist theory is vitally embodied in the practical operations of the Communist Party.

"As all of our experience has shown," said comrade Bagirov, "social relationships cannot be improved without a broad development of initiative and activism on the part of the masses or without their active participation in the resolution of key problems of governmental and public life. The Communist Party views socialist democracy as an inexhaustible source of future forward movement, and a powerful factor of economic and social progress. As was noted at the March Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "the Party views the future improvement and development of democracy and the entire system of socialist popular self-government as one of the fundamental tasks of internal policy." These tasks are multi-faceted. Quite a bit is being done in this regard. We have in mind here a heightened role of the soviets, the activization of the trade unions, the Komsomol, the People's Control, and the labor collectives. We have pressing work ahead of us both with regard to projects already outlined and in new directions."

In noting that the conference is taking place on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism, K. M. Bagirov emphasized that the war demonstrated the solidity of the new social system and the vitality of socialism and its economic, social, and political foundations. The Soviet political system survived the severe test of war, and through that system the Party organized and rallied the masses for the sacred battle against fascism.

Under present-day conditions the Party's role as a leader of society is steadfastly growing. This is one of the basic objective laws in the development of a genuine people's democracy. The duty of scholars is to elaborate persistently means and methods for the development of socialist self-government and raise the operational efficiency of the organs of state rule and assist in the consistent realization of their potential.

In his concluding remarks, K. M. Bagirov expressed his conviction that the conference will give new impetus to scholarly creative quests and will be an incentive for new scholarly projects. He once more wished the conference participants success in their complex and important work with the aim of strengthening fraternal socialist cooperation, solidifying the global system of socialism, and the triumphant cause of peace and social progress.

The dean of the Academy of Sciences, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor R. G. Yanovskiy, welcomed the conference participants on behalf of the Academy. "In recent years," he said, "cooperation among the fraternal parties of the countries of the socialist community in research on important trends of Marxist-Leninist theory has been growing, strengthening, and becoming increasingly diversified." Quite promising in this regard is the discussion of vital problems concerned with Party leadership of the development of a socialist political system that was begun at the Baku conference. In noting that such conferences are an indispensable form of joint theoretical activity and lively scholarly communication, the speaker emphasized that similar meetings are useful and essential. They allow us to show each other our experiences, compare viewpoints, and exchange opinions. "I hope," he said, that the participants of the Baku conference will make full use of this opportunity."

Department director of the Academy of Social Sciences, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences D. A. Kerimov presented a paper "The CPSU's Development of the Theory of a Socialist Political System and Its Embodiment in the Practical Building of Communism."

"The elaboration of the concept of advanced socialism as a special objective stage of the first phase of a communist socioeconomic formation," he said, is an outstanding contribution by the CPSU and the fraternal parties of the socialist countries to the theory of scientific communism." One of the central places in this concept belongs to the theory of the political system which is the result of a profound and thorough analysis of the experience gained by the countries of the socialist community and a summarization of the actual practice of political evolution.

"In preparing ourselves for the forthcoming 27th CPSU Congress," the speaker noted, "Soviet scholars are actively working on the further development of the theory of a socialist political system and the strengthening of the ties between theory and practice and life's

requirements. In this sense definite hopes are being placed upon this conference. The addresses made by its participants, the exchange of experience, the formulation of positive resolutions must all play a fruitful role in enriching the theory and practice of political development in the countries of the socialist community. "It is only by collective efforts," the speaker emphasized, "that we shall reach the results expected of us by the central committees of our fraternal parties."

Various aspects of the Marxist-Leninist theory political system and its practical implementation were addressed in statements made by member of the Cuban CP Central Committee, Cuban representative in the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALISMA [Problems of Peace and Socialism] Valdez Vivo, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, professor at Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov S. T. Melyukhin, pro-rector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the Polish United Workers' Party Adolph Dobeszewski, Deputy Director of the Institute of Philosophy and Law, Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, doctor of juridical sciences T. M. Kafarov, Department Chief of the Institute of Social Sciences of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Peter Schmidt, Deputy Director of the Institute for the Theory of Government and Law, GDR Academy of Sciences, Karl-Heinz Reder, Professor of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, doctor of juridical sciences G. V. Mal'tsev, Deputy Chief Editor of the journal NOVA MYSL of the Czechoslovak CP Central Committee Ladislav Tomasek, full member of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences A. S. Sumbatzade, Professor of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, doctor of juridical sciences N. G. Kobets, and Deputy Department Chief of the Higher Party School of the Viet-Nam CP Central Committee Chen Kuok Ton.

Participating in the work of the conference were Secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee R. Z. Mekhtiyev, Deputy Chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers F. G. Akhmedov, and department chiefs of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee A. F. Dashdamirov and R. D. Mamedov.

The conference will continue its work.

In paying tribute to the memory of the leader of the Great October Revolution, the conference participants placed flowers at the monument to V. I. Lenin on the square which bears his name. A wreath was placed at the memorial to 26 Baku commissars who were glorious knights of the revolution.

Conference Closes

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 18 Apr 85 p 2

[AzerINFORM: "[Need to] Develop Socialist Democracy: International Scientific-Theoretical Conference in Baku"]

[Text] One of the fundamental tasks being examined by the CPSU and the communist and workers' parties of the fraternal socialist countries is the further improvement of democracy and the system of socialist public self-government. The resolution of these problems is inseparably tied to the development of the socialist political system. The practice of global socialism is continuously being enriched and collective experience in the development of democracy and building government is being accumulated. This experience is common property, and each socialist state is truly making an invaluable contribution to that experience. This was once again confirmed by the International Scientific-Theoretical Conference "Marxist-Leninist Theory of Political Systems and Its Embodiment in the Activity of Ruling Marxist-Leninist Parties" which continued its work in Baku on 17 April.

Addresses were made at the concluding session of the conference by Department Chief of the Higher Party School of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Halas Iozher, departmental professor at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, doctor of juridical sciences G. V. Atamanchuk, Professor of the Academy imeni Sh. Georgiu of the Romanian CP Central Committee Florya Ion, departmental director of the Rostov Higher Party School Yu. R. Dogadaylo, departmental chief of the Higher Party School of the Mongolian People's Republic Central Committee Ts. Baasanzhav, the director of the Center for Scientific Information in the Social Sciences of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences A. A. Zargarov, scientific associate at the Institute of Social Sciences of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party D'yerdya Soboslay, and senior instructor at the Baku Higher Party School A. Yu. Veliyev.

The results of the conference were summed up by Department Chief of the Institute for Government and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, professor B. N. Topornin. He extended thanks to the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan CP and the republic's Council of Ministers for the excellent facilities made available for the fruitful work of the conference and for the cordiality and warm reception.

The conference participants attended a reception given by Secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee R. E. Mekhtiyev. He told the visitors about the history and present-day situation of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic which marked its 65th anniversary on April 28, and about the considerable work now in progress in the republic for realizing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 30th Congress of the Azerbaijan CP, and the preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress.

The conference participants were then introduced to the sights of Baku and they were shown documentary and travelogue films made by the Azerbaijan Film Studio. The guests saw the ballet "One Thousand and One Nights" by Fikret Amirov at the Palace imeni V. I. Lenin.

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CSO: 1807/310

12 July 1985

INTERNATIONAL

SOVIET-AMERICAN OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY TRADE UNION SEMINAR

Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 May 85 p 3

[Article by I. Mikhaylov: "Soviet-American Seminar: Participants in Moscow discuss topic 'Unions and Labor Safety. Rights and Methods of Work'"]

[Text]

A combined delegation of departmental leaders and experts from USA trade unions on industrial safety arrived in the Soviet Union to participate in a seminar. The delegation was headed by the Secretary-Treasurer of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Industry Workers Eugene Glover.

The seminar was opened by Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions A. P. Biryukova. She noted that the current meeting was taking place at a very noteworthy period -- on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism. "We know," said A. P. Biryukova, "that the International Machinist and Aerospace Workers Union, headed by its president, Vice-President of the AFL-CIO William Winpisinger, supports international cooperation, dialog, mutual understanding, and the development of official contacts between the trade unions of the USSR and the USA."

"The trade unions of the USSR and USA," she declared, "operate under different political systems, and therefore their methods and forms of work are different. However, their main purpose, that of improving working conditions and preserving the peace, is closely identical."

"We know," said the secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, "that in spite of considerable propaganda which in a number of cases included a slanderous campaign against the Soviet Union, American workers and trade unions are showing growing interest in establishing and expanding ties with the workers and trade unions of our country, in developing a dialog and a mutual exchange of experience and information on specific occupational problems. This is convincingly evident by the visits

to the USSR of official trade union delegations from the USA, the growing specialized tourism within whose framework many American workers, teachers, medical personnel, economists, and industrial safety specialists have come to the USSR at the invitation of Soviet trade unions during the years 1981 - 1984. In the process of developing these contacts we have come to know each other better, and this means that the conditions are becoming more favorable for establishing relations at the trade union centers level as well."

A. P. Biryukova acquainted the guests with the basic directions of Soviet trade union activity in the area of industrial safety.

Addresses were made at the seminar by Chief of the Industrial Safety Department of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions A. P. Semenov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Heavy Machine-Building Trade Union A. P. Koshkin, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Aeronautical Industry Trade Union A. G. Kirpichev, and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Coal Industry Trade Union I. T. Pomogaybo. They spoke in detail about the organization of safety engineering, public control of industrial safety, and the organization of industrial engineering inspection.

There was a general discussion in the course of the seminar.

In an interview with a correspondent of TRUD, the head of the American delegation Eugene Glover said: " The seminar in Moscow was very informative for all of us. The problem of industrial safety is also of concern to the trade unions of our countries. As we have learned, reactions to violations of safety rules are faster in the Soviet Union than in the USA. This is largely explained by the fact that in the USA we have a shortage of safety inspectors and also by the fact that they do not have the full authority that their Soviet colleagues have.

I sincerely hope that the seminar will facilitate the development of contacts between the workers and trade unions of our countries.

This is the first Soviet-American seminar on industrial safety problems. Our trade union would like to have the next seminar on this problem take place in the USA. But, unfortunately, the visa policy of the American administration does not allow us to do this. Possibly, next time we shall have the seminar in Canada," said E. Glover in conclusion.

During its stay in our country the American delegation will visit, in addition to Moscow, Donetsk and Leningrad, and will visit industrial enterprises and will be familiarized with the working conditions of plant workers and white collar personnel.

INTERNATIONAL

'BOURGEOIS' METHODS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIALISM

Role of Religion

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 2, Feb 85 pp 109-116

[Article by N. Kovalskiy: "Imperialism and Religious Ideology"]

[Text] In its struggle against world socialism, imperialism has given a significant role to manipulation of the religiousness consciousness of the masses. It adapts the religious type of ideology so that it maximally serves the interests of capitalist leaders and the monopolist bourgeoisie. At the same time, in the system of views actually constituting its religious ideology, those of them assume the foreground which are beneficial to imperialist circles and help to exercise control over the consciousness of the popular masses. Of course, such an ideological influence is differentiated depending on which social stratum it is intended for. The specific characteristics of ideological elaboration are refined for specific regions of the globe and for individual countries.

The interest of imperialist forces in exploiting religious factors is related to the very nature of religion, to the fact that only so-called world religions whose propagandistic character F. Engels once pointed out (see Marx, K. and Engels, F., "Soch.", Vol 21, p 284) is professed by a significant portion of the world: more than 1 billion persons, Islam--more than 600 million and Buddhism--270 million. (See "Narodonaseleniye stran mira" [The Population of the Countries of the World]. Moscow, 1984, p 387.)

Imperialism found itself facing new phenomena in which broad masses of religiously inclined people are taking part in the struggle for national and social liberation and in the antiwar movement. Moreover, this struggle is of an antiimperialist direction. Many of them are cooperating with the most consistent fighters for social progress--with communists and are turning to Marxist-Leninist theory as a guideline for understanding today's reality as well as participating in the building of a socialist society.

Imperialism has serious support in the religious milieu--that is the forces of clericalism and rightist religious circles.

In its desire to check the course of history, imperialism definitely banks religious ideology. Imperialist forces see in it the means of ensuring concrete political actions and providing the necessary foundation for them. Religious ideology is one of the most important instruments of carrying out imperialism's foreign and internal policy.

I

In the field of foreign policy, imperialism assigns religious ideology the task to appropriately base this policy, to secure support for it from church circles and a maximally broad circle of believers and to present the struggle in the international arena between socialism and capitalism as a struggle between evil and good, sin and righteousness. This route is being followed by the most aggressive part of the monopolist bourgeoisie of the United States, the representatives of whom widely manipulate various conceptions of religious ideology. In religious symbolism, the struggle of the forces of good and evil involves the actual idea of an antisoviet, anticommunist "crusade."

In the field of internal policy, monopolist bourgeoisie strives to utilize religious ideology for the purpose of overcoming the spiritual crisis of capitalism, cementing and strengthening capitalist society and for overcoming its inherent contradictions and the struggle against progressive forces. In this connection, an important role is played by reliance on religious ideology on the level of common awareness connected with a blind belief and worship of "higher forces" and with passivity and resignation, that is with everything which contributes to the spiritual subordination of the masses, transforming them into an obedient tool of the will of the ruling class.

The function of religion to teach "resignation and patience in the earthly life" (Lenin, V.I., "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 12, p 142) meets the requirements of the ruling circles of capitalist countries, including the United States, where only in recent years the number of Americans living below the official poverty level has increased by 5 million persons, while 30 million persons have experienced the sinister consequences of unemployment.

Under the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, the imperialist forces try to work up such ideological structures as would make easier the carrying out of their foreign and domestic policy, remove social tension and hinder the development of class struggle in capitalist society. For example, in the United States, for the purpose of easing and overcoming exacerbated social contradictions, there has been directed the establishment of a so-called unified national ideology in the form of "civil religion" which is declared to be an integral part of the American way of life. According to the intention of the proponents of such a religion, it should cement together American society, unite the billionaire and the unemployed person, a Ku Klux Klan member and a person with a black skin and the worker and the entrepreneur in serving the "ideals of America," that is, the cult of big business.

Two cornerstones lie at the foundation of American "civil religion"--deification of capitalism and condemnation of communism as an "enemy of God."

If capitalism be considered as a social system that "with the blessing of the Most High" has given America "freedom and riches," then communism, they say, threatens to deprive Americans of this. Naturally, everything pertaining to communism is subjected to distortion and tendentious interpretation, taking into consideration that it is aimed at the average American man in the street for whom the prescriptions of "civil religion" are intended.

For the purpose of overcoming the spiritual crisis of capitalist society, religious ideologues focus attention on the problem of personality. In this connection a drawing closer is taking place of the religious and bourgeois interpretation of the individual and his consciousness. Moreover, each side is meeting the other half way. As a result there emerges something new, a modern type of religious bourgeois anthropologism aimed at its apprehension by the broad masses. The individual is thus considered not as a grain of sand in the stormy waves of existence but as, to a certain degree, the creator of his own destiny, although it in any case is "predetermined by the Almighty."

Of course, contemporary conservative religious thought sees as before the main thing of the problem of man not in his social and national liberation, not in a liberation from the shackles of capitalism with its accompanying exploitation, unemployment and inflation but in expiation and liberation from sin. However, it is namely against this perspective that the questions of man and his personality were discussed by a synod of bishops of the Catholic Church held in Rome in October-November 1983. A document of the Vatican (December 1984) "Reconciliation and Penance" is in this spirit. In it, class struggle is proclaimed a "social evil" and the thesis is formulated of the individual responsibility of each Catholic to the Church.

Present theology and bourgeois philosophy are brought closer together by reduction of the question of the personality to the problem of the individual and to advocacy of individualism. The fear of organized popular masses and the desire to break them up, to splinter them into separate will-less units chaotically circulating within the framework of capitalist society--such is the basis of the conceptions of present clerical and bourgeois ideologues.

The very first trait of the personality to be proclaimed is religiosity and piety, which ought to find a proper form for their self-expression. Moreover, such self-expression is intended to be provided first of all by the Church. It is no accident that in fundamental Church documents, for example, in the Catholic encyclical "Redemptor Hominis" (1979), the stress is made on the affirmation of so-called religious freedoms.

Imperialist politicians, first of all of the United States, with the excuse of "protection" of religious freedoms, widely practice interference in the internal affairs of other peoples. This thesis is utilized in the undeclared war of the United States against the people of Nicaragua and in attempts to interfere with the realization of the gains of the April revolution by the Afghan people.

If we were to analyze the nature of the statements of many of the "champions" of religious freedoms, we would find that they are advocating not the corresponding freedoms for plain believers but the "right" of church leaders

suited to imperialism to interfere in politics and to dictate their political conditions, that is, for clericalism.

By adopting religious doctrine to today and encouraging religious modernism to some extent, the ruling circles of clericalism sharply see to it that these processes do not go outside the orthodox framework and develop within limits that are safe for church foundations and the principles of bourgeois society. Thus on the verge of the '80s, rightist Catholic forces launched a campaign for tightening of the ideological positions of Catholicism at the same time with the exacerbation by imperialist circles of an ideological struggle on a world scale. A blow was inflicted on liberally thinking theologians, and they were subjected to persecution. The most widely known of them who possessed prestige in international Catholic circles were persecuted.

Recently, rightist circles of the Vatican launched a barrage of criticism and also began to hound "liberation theologians," who have become widespread, especially in Latin America among antiimperialist, anti-American inclined representatives of the Catholic clergy and believers. The publication of a number of documents on this question signified an attempt to forbid Catholics to participate in the fight for social and national liberation and to hinder their cooperation with communists. This is an open and candid display in defense of the foundations of the capitalist system.

The inclusion in the "assembly of saints" by the Catholic Church in 1984 of 99 French Catholics and laymen who stood up in 1793-1794 against the French bourgeois revolution was an ideological act in favor of rightist forces. The fact that such a direction in canonization is not an accident is shown by a report in the Italian newspaper STAMPA of ongoing preparations in the Vatican for inclusion in the "assembly of saints" of priests, monks and laymen who fought against the Republic on the side of Francoists at the time of the civil war in Spain. In the opinion of the newspaper, such a decision will be received in Spain with joy by people "pining for the Francoist past."

II

Among the manifestations of the "conservative wave" enveloping bourgeois thought in the beginning of the '80s, there should be included a leaning in the direction of religion. One portion of rightist bourgeois ideologists--including many Americans--condemns religious modernism in Christianity, stands for a return to religious orthodoxy and sees in this a means of overcoming the spiritual void in the present-day society of the West. Another portion of the neoconservatives--the so-called "new right," especially in France--is characterized by a disenchantment in Christianity and in its social doctrine. But this does not mean that they condemn religion as such. They are only for new forms of it and are gravitating to advocacy of polytheism and mysticism.

Manifestations of the spiritual crisis of capitalist society in contemporary bourgeois thought have found a kind of reflection among that portion of believers who are not satisfied for various reasons with traditional religions and their cult forms. The ties of the upper clergy to the world of business

and upper crust of capitalist society are subjecting many believers to confusion. Others do not see in the clergy that force which can provide a proper answer to questions troubling the ordinary man.

Thus many people are leaving the traditional church. But, of course, far from all are becoming atheists. A portion of them are joining sects, "fraternities," "families" and other associations of so-called nontraditional religious cults preaching for the most part mystical ideas.

On the social plane, the victims of mysticism principally come from middle classes. They include employees undergoing the process of proletarianization as a result of the onset of large monopolies and concentration and centralization of capital. Fear of the threat of descent on the steps of the social ladder moves many people desirous of joining new cults to find solace among new "brothers" and "sisters." It is characteristic that industrial workers as a rule do not become victims to "prophets" of sects.

An overwhelming majority of religious associations choose the United States as the place of location of their centers. U.S. ruling circles find the modern sects appealing primarily because of their anticommunism with which all the occult lofty phrases of such leaders as Moon, the head of the "Unification Church" (also known as the "Association for Unification of World Christianity").

The system of ideological views which is instilled in members of neoreligious groups is most primitive. Quite possibly its basic strength lies in its accessibility to one's understanding without any special mental effort. These views boil down to the consideration that all other religions have already outlived themselves, and that there is only one true religion--the views of the given sect. To follow them presents as it were a unique opportunity to save oneself under the conditions of exacerbation of the crisis of contemporary Western society and of the "threat of communism" as well as of a world nuclear war.

It is no accident that the ideology and character of activity of modernist religious sects are increasingly frequently compared to fascism. Thus the West-German journal STERN wrote that Moon's sect is a "criminal association that subjects people to psychological terror and propagandizes the fascist system." The same conclusion was reached by the French monthly MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE. "When," it wrote, "almost seven million persons acknowledge in the circumstances of their life the guru Mahaji Ji, when more than two million others expect of Moon that he would think for them, ...are we far from those dark times when another "supreme savior" thrust stupidified people to gain 'living space'?...."

There may be added to this that in Hitler's Germany people were interested in mysticism, occultism and astrology, as, for example, L. Feuchtwanger described in the novel "The Lautensack Brothers."

If one thinks about the nature of popularization of mysticism and the occult "sciences" in the contemporary West, one gets the impression that it is not just a grandiosely staged enterprise for the purpose of gain. We refer to a

direct onslaught on the minds of people and of attempts at their mass deception with the aid of the press, motion pictures and other propaganda media parasitizing on occultism. The spread of irrationalism is going on as a form of bourgeois consciousness and an encroachment is being made on independent thinking. In this crusade against the mind there have come together those who sincerely think the union of science and mysticism is possible, outright charlatans and rightist political and public figures taking advantage of the spread of the mystic frame of mind among a certain portion of the population.

III

Clerical anticommunism is inseparable from the anticommunism of the monopolist bourgeoisie. The desire to set in motion all the reserves of capitalism for an anticommunist "crusade," including those released in the process of "reideologization" and creation of modern anticommunist myths, has led to a significant intensification of activity of clerical anticommunism in the ideological field. A document of the Vatican congregation on matters of faith (August 1984) has become a kind of "anticommunist manifesto." It contains sharp attacks on Marxism and Marxist methodology. Imperialism also uses for its purposes the anticommunism of Islamic fundamentalism and other rightist religious groups. In a word, clerical anticommunism has turned into one of the large groups of world reaction. The different currents arising in the ideology of clerical anticommunism link up with directions of modern reactionary bourgeois thought close to them. It is possible to find in particular among clerical "theoreticians" neoconservative and neoliberal directions with a number of intermediary "schools" reflecting diversity in the placement and orientation of the forces of clerical and bourgeois reaction.

Clerical anticommunism in the ideological struggle against Marxist-Leninist theory places special stress on questions connected with religion, the Church and believers. Attacks on scientific atheism are at the center of attention of this direction. The chief task set here is to oust from the sphere of mass consciousness Marxist--Leninist atheism, which is considered the chief enemy of clericalism and the social forces connected with it. For propagandist purposes, atheism is accused of amorality and immorality, of undermining the foundations of the family and of antihumanism. It is characterized as a teaching denying the spiritual life of man. In a word, atheism in the estimates of reactionary clericals has been elevated into an absolute complex of everything negative that marks man's life. Of course, in this connection there is silence on the wealth of the material and spiritual life of man under socialism, the content of communist morality is distorted and the humanist thought of Marxist-Leninist teaching is not revealed.

The Vatican theoretical journal CIVILTA CATTOLICA, which published in 1984 two lengthy articles containing attacks on atheism, approach, atheism, for example, approaches from such positions. The journal tries to bring the reader to the thought of the perniciousness of "denial of God." All the difficulties experienced by mankind are basically attributed to the unbelief which has enveloped the broad people's masses.

The ideological offensive on scientific atheism is only one of the directions in attempts to undermine Marxist-Leninist teaching on religion and the church. A great deal of attention has been given in recent years to attempts of identification of Marxism and religion, preaching that Marx ostensibly criticized religion only because he himself, they say, conceived the idea of creating a "new religion" and of opposing Christianity with it. Regardless of how inept such an assertion is, bourgeois and clerical "theoreticians" very much like to dwell on it, placing an equals sign between Marxism and religion. At the same time, they resort to distortion of Marxism, trying to cast a shadow on it. For some, Marxism is a "secularized religion," a "religion of this world" and a "worldly teaching of salvation," while others just call Marxism a religion and still others see in it "elements" of religious faith borrowed from the sphere of Christian morality.

In the presentation, for example, of West-German ideologue R. Lowenthal, Marxist teaching about the historical process and on historical formations--primitive communal systems, antagonistic formations and the future society of communism--is none other than the biblical triad--Paradise--the Fall--Paradise" (Lowenthal, R., "Die Lehren von Marx und ihr Schicksal. Marx heute. Pro und contra." Hamburg, 1983, p 118).

Thus the campaign to discredit it [Marxism] is carried out by means of mystifying Marxism, and attempts to present it in the form of a mystical-speculative teaching, its aim being to strike out the universal and historical significance of Marxism as a guiding light for the working class and all progressive mankind.

Both bourgeois and clerical ideologues assure that there is a certain "obsolescence" of Marx's ideas, of their "inapplicability" to social processes at the end of the 20th century. They include the well-known French bourgeois politologist J. (Ellule) who in the field of theory serves as a defender of Christianity against Marxist criticism and in the field of practice is against a dialogue between Marxists and Christians.

Another, more refined approach for combatting Marxism is where while partially acknowledging Marxism's individual positions, clericals come out in favor for its "improvement," "deepening" and "further development" through the inclusion of elements of religious ideology. In this connection, the most widespread method is vulgarization of Marxism and conjectures that it allegedly considers only the material bases of the life of society and ignores its spiritual side.

One of the variants of this direction of the fight against Marxism is an attempt to create a symbiosis of Christianity and Marxism on the pretext that they, they say, supplement each other. The conclusion is made of the permissibility of a "convergence" of the two world views from the fact that in the contemporary world Christians and Marxists frequently act jointly against the threat of war and in the class struggle. Such a statement of the question in essence presumes a repudiation by Marxists of their convictions and carries over the problem of collaboration between them and believers from the practical field into the sphere of ideology and thus does damage to the struggle for peace, to the interests of working people and to socialism.

An example of philosophizing of that sort is to be found in the work of D. Turner of Bristol University in Great Britain who is attempting to achieve a rapprochement of Marxist theory and Christianity, seeing in them a "stable compatibility" (Turner, D., "Marxism and Christianity." Oxford, 1982). His conception in condensed form is that Marxism should integrate the moral principles of Christianity and Christianity--the fundamentals of Marx's social and economic teaching.

It is important to note in this connection that clerical reaction in the struggle against Marxism tries to rely on today's revisionists. It welcomes their negative statements about Marxism, distorting its very nature, including Marxist theory on religion. Many revisionist positions lie at the basis of the antimarxist and anticommunist theses of clericals. Rightist clerical ideologues especially support revisionists in their negation of party philosophy and their attempts to reconcile materialism with idealism and Marxism with religion and to "abolish" the Marxian formula of "religion is the opiate of the people" and their idealization of religion.

The weapons of clerical reaction in its struggle against Marxism are of many forms. In addition to involving in it theologians from theological universities, bourgeois scientists partaking of religious views and professional clerical ideologues, the reactionaries also resort to plain charlatanism on a mystic basis which in the age of the atom and space seems like an anachronism, but paradoxical as it is, it has its adherents.

Thus, for example, Marxism is accused of... "satanism." This theme is the subject of a propaganda brochure issued in the United States with a portrait of Karl Marx on a very colorful cover. Issued in a large edition, it is placed for free dissemination in waiting rooms of railroad stations, airports and other places of concentration of the public, oppressed with boredom and ready to immerse itself in reading matter which under other circumstances no one would stop to look at. In the brochure it is stated in a serious manner that Marxist teaching on religion and atheism is a "satanic" teaching.

The fact that investigations in the field of "satanism" have a specific direction can be judged on the basis of a declaration by the American congressman L. Macdonald who in one of his speeches refers to "satanism" as an argument in support of an aggressive policy by the United States. "We know," he declared, "that the protector of American parachutists is Archangel Michael. He is that archangel who has been assigned to cast Satan and his adherents into Hell where he belongs." Declaring that "atheistic communism" is the present-day embodiment of Satan, the congressman called upon the Archangel to repeat his act.

Thus the ideological activities of clerical reaction and imperialist forces cross that line where the competition of ideas, ideologies and world outlooks ends and psychological warfare in which imperialism places its stake on religion begins. The basic aim here is to produce hatred among the broad masses of the population, first of all among believers, of communism both in theory and practice, the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, the world communist movement and all forces of social and national liberation.

The psychological warfare's organizers would like to use the religious factor for stirring up in the countries of socialism religious and nationalist moods and erosion of socialist society. Propagandist imperialist aggression aims through the use of religious inclinations to urge believers on to actions aimed at undermining the socialist social system and at crimes against the state.

Psychological warfare is also conducted by imperialism against the peoples of the entire nonsocialist part of the world. They are deliberately misinformed on the position of religion and the church in socialist countries. Antisoviet and anticommunist stereotypes and a falsified presentation of the scientific-materialist world view are foisted on them. Nonetheless, even here imperialist forces run into difficulties due to the desire of the people's masses, including believers, for social changes and their participation in antimonopolist demonstrations, in the antiwar movement and in the struggle against imperialism.

* * *

In the '80s, use by imperialism of the religious factor in the ideological struggle has been marked by a number of new considerations.

Let us point out first of all that the relative share of this factor in the ideological arsenal of the imperialist forces has grown. By exploiting religion and modifying its content, they attempt to acquire suitable systems of views for their use for the purpose of opposing Marxist-Leninist theory and the ideals of communism.

Among the various kinds of religious conceptions, there has been a significant growth for imperialism of the most reactionary clerical ideological systems, uniting in essence with rightist bourgeois extremism, nationalism, chauvinism and racism. Religious ideology primarily interests imperialist forces because of its interconnection with politics and as a lever for attaining political goals, primarily for the struggle against communism. The methods of this struggle are being further developed and its techniques are becoming increasingly more refined. In a word, the ideological-propaganda machine of imperialism is continually being developed on a religious foundation, and this requires still greater vigilance on the part of those whom it is intended to bring into confusion, to stupefy and to disarm in the face of attempts to carry out imperialist hegemonist plans.

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Use of Nationalism

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 2, Feb 85 pp 117-124

[Article by V. Ivanov and V. Smolyanskiy: "Nationalism--Weapon of Imperialist Reaction;" under the rubric: "Capitalism Stands Accused"]

[Text] Imperialist reaction, which is sharply activating the struggle against the forces of socialism and the world revolutionary process as a whole, has brought forward the poisoned weapon of nationalism to one of the first places in its subversive activities. A U.S. Senate commission has quite specifically

spoken in this regard, declaring that "nationalism in its various forms can serve as a most powerful source of resistance to international communism."

Use of reactionary nationalism in the internal and foreign policy of imperialism and in the global anticommunist and antisoviet strategy of the forces of international reaction--such is the range of questions which are the subject of this article.

* * *

Designs connected with the use of nationalism by the forces of reaction are determined by the fact that it is in itself a living form of social consciousness receding into the depths of religious concepts and various subsequent accretions of prejudices and traditions that were centuries in the making in various national-ethnic communities. Reactionary nationalism has always been a means in the hands of exploiting classes used for their egoistic purposes for ideological pressure on the broad masses.

The evolution of nationalism is legitimately connected to the processes of formation of nations in the epoch of establishment of bourgeois social relationships. But certain of these forms emerged even in the prebourgeois period, in the period of breakup of feudalism and the rise of national relations, when they were used not only by feudal lords but also by the clergy as a means of protecting their privileges.

Nationalism, like any other historically occurring form of social consciousness, consists of a significant diversity of different traits and specific manifestations depending on concrete social and economic, class and political conditions. Thus in prerevolutionary Russia, as V.I. Lenin stressed, it existed in three different forms: the bourgeois, the petty-bourgeois and the Black-Hundred, that is, chauvinistic.

In our days, nationalism also possesses a certain diversity. Let us note that in the given case we shall not be dealing with different forms of nationalism that arise in the process of struggle by oppressed nations against their oppressors. According to Lenin's comment, "in each bourgeois nationalism of an oppressed nation" there exists a common democratic content, protest against oppression (see Lenin, V.I., "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 25, p 275).

Used as a tool by imperialism in its struggle against the forces of socialism and progress, reactionary nationalism has acquired the monstrous traits of misanthropy. It is sufficient to recall with what force these traits were displayed at the height of bloody Nazism which inflicted innumerable calamities on peoples in the years of World War II. The imperialist circles of the United States and other countries of the West count on the ideology and policy of nationalism as an effective means of struggle against the forces of progress clearing the way for the implementation of their ventures and bringing to all mankind the direct threat of nuclear catastrophe.

Marxists-Leninists have always soberly rated the seriousness of those consequences that nationalism brings, such as the spiritual poisoning of human

consciousness. A prominent Latvian revolutionary, the well-known Marxist theoretician P. Stuchka, noted that the most unpleasant feature of nationalism is that it "can befuddle the clearest head." And today it distorts the national consciousness both of individuals and of entire peoples.

Penetrating into such forms of life as ideology and psychology, politics and social practice, culture and morality, nationalism everywhere inculcates those stereotypes which the dominating class requires. Utilizing tenacious prejudices, traditions and various kinds of relics in people's minds, nationalism in the person of its chief bearer--the bourgeoisie--first of all tries to preserve obsolete national forms of social development. Demagogic preachings of the national exclusiveness of these or those peoples are aimed at fomenting feelings of national egoism and narrow mindedness. Racism and chauvinism, ideas of "lawful" superiority of certain nations over others and their "historical mission" as special nations flourish on such an ideological foundation. Nazism as the ideological basis of Hitler's fascism, Zionism as the ideology of the aggressive actions of Israel--both of these varieties of extreme nationalism are marked by the bloody, misanthropic practice of the advocates and bearers of this brutish ideology.

Bourgeois ideologues proclaimed even in the past century that the "mental cast of nations" is a fundamental factor. This characteristic is ostensibly inherited and brought about genetically, is considered eternal and fatefully determines the fate of a nation. Among the leading creators of such conceptions, there stand out such representatives of the bourgeois school of the "psychological orientation of nations" as (Lazarus) and (Steinthal) with their justification of colonialism and the thesis of separation of nations into ruling and subject, leading and backward. As a counterbalance to their fallacious theories, Marxist-Leninist science, recognizing that every national-ethnic community possesses an aggregate of traits fixed by the terms "national character" and "mental cast of a nation," by no means considers the one and the other as something mystically fatal for the fate of a nation. All these attributes and traits are the product of concrete historical conditions of nations' existence. And they themselves correspondingly change with a change in these conditions. But one must not forget that deep in the consciousness of people are the roots and vestiges of different historically formed frames of mind, prejudices, traditions and so forth and how long and difficult the process of overcoming them is. Our ideological adversaries, flaunting the banner of nationalism and trying to overcome the influence of progressive ideas of socialism and internationalism on the minds of people, try to utilize the latter circumstance in every possible way.

Bourgeois theoreticians carry out periodic "renewal" of conceptions of nationalism or their partial "modernization." The nation and national interests are declared the prime movers of social changes and national contradictions--the sources of international conflicts. And their works contain no indication relating to classes and class antagonism. The interests of the ruling class are designated the "interests of all society."

The most consummate expression of absolutization of the role of a nation as the expresser of the interests of all society is to be found in the concept

"nation-state" according to which a universal and eternal principle "the nation above all" exists in the world. This traditional conception in Western countries glosses over the class and exploiting nature of the bourgeois state. The claim of American imperialism to the "ruling role" in the present-day world are connected to this conception. Former U.S. Secretary of State Haig quite specifically formulated the principles of such a course: The top American national interests are simple and unalterable: we want to have a world community favorably inclined toward our society and our ideals."

The well-known American politologist B. Gross points out that militant nationalism has become today "an integral part of the chief direction of American policy." This Panamericanism is truly distinguished for its global scale and claims: it possesses a weapon capable of destroying the entire world; it is based on full integration of industry, science and the military; it is based on the desire for attainment of a close union among military, paramilitary, civil and nationalist inclined elements. The spirit of nationalism and militarism disseminates an invisible poison which permeates all aspects of the life of society, its culture and morality; it restricts civil liberties and encourages not only police repression but also terrorism in regions where tension exists among different ethnic groups. "This makes it possible," Gross concludes, "for the leadership of the establishment in the United States to divert the attention of the masses from social injustice and racism at home and to direct their hate outside the confines of the countries at an imagined adversary."

A new outburst of nationalism and chauvinism provoked in the United States the insolent aggression against Grenada. The White House attempts to justify it on the ground of "vitally important interests of the United States" behind which actually lies concealed the global expansion of American imperialism and the desire to expand American interference in the affairs of sovereign peoples.

Within the countries of the West themselves, the state-monopolist oligarchy is conducting a broad offensive against democratic rights won by working people over the course of many decades. It includes activation of ideological pressure and all-out inflation of great-power chauvinism and nationalism as well as a sharp intensification of diverse forms of national oppression. In the United States, for example, single-minded propaganda is being conducted, enflaming base feelings, inculcating a kind of "genotype" of racial and national hostility. A significant portion of the population of the United States, which includes 26.5 million blacks, about 8.7 million Americans of Mexican and 1.6 million of Puerto Rican origin, 1 million Indians and other national minorities (all in all about 50 million people), is subjected to cruel national oppression and racial discrimination. Objective facts incontrovertibly attest to differentiation in the system of remuneration of labor and a sharp difference in the living standards of the Yankee and representatives of national minorities. Furthermore, the existing gap is constantly increasing. Thus, whereas in the beginning of the '70s, the average income of an Afro-American family was only 62 percent of the income of a white family, on the threshold of the '80s it dropped to 57 percent.

The press of the United States presents many evidences of the fact that American Indians are being subjected to genocide and eke out in ghettos and on reservations a miserly existence. These indigenous inhabitants of the American continent have been driven in the country of the renowned "equal opportunities" to the lowest rung of the social ladder.

The exploiting classes of American society are conducting a racist policy of isolation and of setting the laboring masses of different nationalities against each other, masking with spurious conceptions of the "withering away of nations" and the movement to a kind of "supernationalism." In this connection, the right to assimilations is recognized only for the chosen people--white Anglo-Saxons.

Great power chauvinism, nationalism and racism have splendidly flourished in recent years in a number of the developed capitalist countries of Western Europe. Let us recall that in states of the Common Market there are now 12-15 million immigrants from countries of Asia, Africa, the Near and Middle East and Southern Europe. These people are also the objects of racial oppression and of political and economic discrimination.

Monopolist bourgeoisie foists its ideology and its "methods" of solving the national problems of the developing countries. To a certain extent the character of development of capitalism in a number of these countries contributes to the success of such a desire. The local propertied classes adopt from the monopolist bourgeoisie of the leading capitalist states methods of their entrepreneurial and administrative operation. Representatives of the comprador bourgeoisie and the upper crust of bureaucratic officialdom of the liberated countries make up the social basis of bourgeois nationalism. These strata by virtue of their position and work actively influence the minds of the most diverse groups of workers, cultivating among them nationalist feelings and prejudices. All these factors contribute to implanting in developing countries nationalist ideology and politics, development of social practice and realization of the principle of nationalism playing a reactionary role in the social and political life.

The monopolist bourgeoisie and its politics and ideology take into consideration the heterogeneity, activity and contradictory character of contemporary nationalism in the developing countries. They try to make void its antiimperialist, revolutionary and democratic tendencies and to plant, maintain and strengthen opposite tendencies: reactionary, collaborationist and proimperialist. Frequently they succeed in this and than such phenomena occur as Sadatism--a typical example of a deal with imperialist power personifying betrayal of the interests of the liberation struggle.

The imperialist circles of the West ably utilize religious and nationalist ambitions for the fomenting of armed conflicts both within developing countries and among them. The monopolist circles at the very least try in this way to resolve in their interest two objectives: weakening of the position of national-liberation forces, first of all in petroleum producing countries, and the creation of a precondition for direct armed intervention in their affairs for the establishment of armed control over them.

An example of such tactics is to be found in the fomenting of a conflict between Iran and Iraq. Long existing territorial disputes and also competition among them for influence in the region of the Persian Gulf, considered by the U.S. secret services as a "gift of fate." And here in addition is a "trump card" of religious and nationalist clashes of an offensive character. And so, employing here the entire complex of these "favorable" factors as well as the services of Israel's special services, the imperialists succeeded in lighting the fire of a fratricidal war between two Muslim countries.

It is well known what the role is in the Near and Middle East that the United States has assigned to the state of Israel, whose reactionary policy is based on the principles of the extremely nationalist ideology of Zionism and on outright racism and barbarous genocide of the Arab people of Palestine. Neither the occupation of the seized Arab territories, nor Israel's insolent aggression in Lebanon, nor even the bloody tragedy that was played out in the camps of the Palestinian refugees from Sabra and Shatila did not encounter the slightest censure from the official propaganda of the United States. Moreover, the United States, trying to establish jointly with Israel military and political dominance in the Near East, openly "legalized" its military presence in this region.

In Africa, the strategy of the United States and other imperialist states is aimed at the utmost use of nationalism for the purposes of strengthening here the positions of neocolonialism. At one time, the imperialists forcibly divided up the entire continent, arbitrarily establishing artificial boundaries and breaking up large ethnic communities of Africa into many parts. The lack of settlement of many problems of national relations in the countries of the continent inherited from the colonial past serves even today as "fuel" for foreign conflicts, nationalist ambitions of individual leaders or groups, separatist tendencies and a number of other negative processes. Brought on by the former colonizers and their chauvinist agents in the countries of Africa, they inflict considerable harm to the young states. It is enough to recall such recent events as the military conflict between Somali and Ethiopia and the armed demonstrations of separatists in Nigeria. The United States and their Western partners in violation of all norms of international law support the actions of the racist state of the Republic of South Africa, hindering accomplishment of the right of Namibia to self-determination.

The practice of social and international relations of the new type developed in the socialist countries is an example of the successful solution of most complex problems of today concerning which capitalism is not in a position to deal with. Specifically because of this, the ideologues of imperialism endeavor to discredit real socialism in the eyes of the international community, to sow the seeds of discord in relations among the numerous nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union and to weaken thereby the ideological, political and social unity of our society. The poisoned weapon of nationalism is used to distort the actual character of relations between large and small

nations and between the Russian and other peoples in the USSR. (See concerning this the book "Kritika fal'sifikatsiy natsional'nykh otnosheniy v SSSR" [Critique of the Falsifications of National Relations in the USSR]. Moscow, 1983.)

"Sovietologists" and ideologues of anticommunism consider as one of their strategic tasks the resuscitation of the ideas and moods of the nationalist variety among the peoples of the Soviet Union. Designs are being made for the rise of international discord particularly for the purpose of damaging the policy of most intelligent use of natural and manpower resources of each union republic and for the most rational inclusion of its potential in the all-union.

Bourgeois theoreticians are not in a position to deny the real economic progress of the national republic. But here they do not put aside their weapons, attempting to cast a shadow on a clear day. Developing their fabrications in the bed of methodological positions of "postindustrial society," they assert that ostensibly progress of the USSR economy as a whole and of the national republics included in it is due to not to the advantages of socialism but to the "universal law of economic growth, education and industrialization."

There can be no doubt that in the interest of rapid and successful development of economic activity it would not make sense to create within the framework of each republic's economic complex an identical composition of sectors of production without taking into account real resources, production traditions and possibilities of securing these or other types of products from other republics and economic regions of the Soviet Union. With a different approach, the existence of a single USSR national-economic complex and intraunion integration would not make any sense. Historical experience confirms that constantly expanding international and enterrepublic economic ties constantly deepening along all lines would bring about a very close interweaving of the economic interests of all the nations of our country. Objective social and economic processes and the consistently internationalist policy of the CPSU actively stimulate the formation of interests common to all the peoples corresponding to the objectives of all-round progress of Soviet society.

It is understandable that such an interest would be at variance with any vestiges of regional interests, national egotism and exclusiveness regardless of the guise that they might be manifested in. Regional interests of this kind naturally have no objective soil in our society and are not manifested in a bare and undisguised form. But they make themselves felt in a veiled form, under the guise of "concern" for certain preferential interests of their nation and justification of obsolete traditions and customs. Cases of this kind serve as subjects of speculation of foreign enemies of real socialism. Their principal aim is to cause psychological damage to internationalist consciousness and to foment nationalism.

The practice of economic development of our country demandingly brings up the need of optimizing territorial proportions on the basis of a transition to a more progressive model of reproduction and rationalization of distribution of

productive forces. During the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans, it is planned to expand bringing into economic turnover the natural resources of primarily northern and northeastern regions, to include in public production the free labor resources of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus, to overcome tendencies of excessive concentration of production in a number of the country's regions and to increase regulation of growth of cities and leveling of levels of economic development of individual republics and different economic regions.

Beginning approximately with the second half of the '70s an increasingly noticeable place began to be occupied in imperialist propaganda on the Soviet Union by fabrications on "infringement" of the rights of autonomous republics and small national groups and on the presence in the USSR of "divided nations," "nations that have lost their homelands" and other absurd assertions. The thesis is being spread with special importunity that the actual state structure of the USSR has allegedly inherent in it the principle of great-power chauvinism and that the federative structure of the Soviet state is based on a design to strengthen the supremacy of the Russian nation as numerically exceeding all the others.

Anything is used for the purpose of inflaming hatred toward the Russian people and opposition of the RSFSR to other union republics: from crude falsifications and instigations to snatching out of context individual positions and assessments from official documents and speeches of Soviet-party and state figures in which the outstanding contribution of Russia is emphasized in the creation and consolidation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The thesis of "russification" of other peoples, the leveling of their cultures, artificial imposition of the Russian language and the like does not leave the pages of bourgeois newspapers and journals. Russians are accused of "aggressiveness," that is allegedly characteristic of them since days of old and of the existence of expansionist desires of the Russian nation in regard to the other peoples of the Soviet Union.

At the same time, nationalist propaganda intended for the population of the Soviet land does not leave the Russian population unattended. Not only "think tank" centers of the Western countries but also diehard antisoviet organizations of the type of the National Labor Alliance [Natsional'no-trudovoy soyuz] and its journal POSEV have dashed to the "defense" of the Russian people from the "unjust" national policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. In one of its issues, this emigre journal declared that the "Russian people are being destroyed before your very eyes" and that already the "Russian people are practically gone." In place of the Russian people there allegedly exists a "conglomerate of Soviet people speaking in the Russian language." Proposing a prescription for "saving" Russian, the journal turned out to be alas unoriginal. To the term "nationalism," POSEV has added the adjective "healthy" in the belief that this "invention" will become an

effective "medicine" against the internationalism of Soviet society and the friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

An important place in the "psychological-warfare" plans of the ideologues of imperialism against the USSR from positions of nationalism is occupied by the so-called "Muslim question." A whole series of works of sovietologists of all hues explain indiscriminately the data of our country's demographic development and the dynamics of its national composition. Such specialists on the "Islamic question" as E. Carrer d'Ancosse (France) or Ralph Clam (U.S.) not only predict the "disintegration" of the socialist multinational state but even consider it as an already partially accomplished fact.

Sheikh Ali, working in the United States as a political-science professor at the University of North Carolina, directly calls for a "holy war of Muslims against the Soviets." Even Wolfgang Strauss, an ideologue of the "New Right" in the FRG, is pursued by "visions of Greater Turkestan" attesting to a kind of "Islamic renaissance." The English ECONOMIST hypocritically grieves about the "isolation of the bordering Central-Asian and Caucasian republics from the rest of the Muslim world and so on and so forth.

All these pseudoscientific investigations are adopted by the mass information media and in different "voices" and in different languages are beamed to the Soviet Union. There is preached the existence of a kind of extra-class universal "man of Islam" with his allegedly special mental traits exerting a decisive influence on the way of life of people and on their behavior in the family, in the sphere of labor and in the social and political sphere. Such traits are depicted as something that is unchangeable and not dependent on those social questions which are radically changing the entire way of life of people. Characteristic of bourgeois social science, the biogenetic approach to the social nature of both the individual and entire peoples opens up their existence to the dynamics of social relationships.

Seekers of the vulnerable sides of Mohammedanism in the USSR should remember that even the Moslim clergy, which initially was inimical to the Soviet government, has gradually moved in our country to positions of loyalty and support of the social and economic changes in the Caucasus and in Central Asia.

An absolute majority of the Muslim population of Central Asia in the years of the civil war stood up in defense of the Soviet power against the counterrevolutionary basmach bands, calling themselves the "army of Islam" and "protectors" of Muslims but actually committing murderous attacks on the peaceful population, robbing and killing everyone who expressed sympathy to the new government or cooperated with it.

But these facts are deliberately ignored by the creators of the legend of "insolubility of the Moslim question in the Soviet Union." The historical experience of socialist construction in our country provides very rich material for the debunking of the newest and most stylish sovietological conceptions that are powerless to undermine the foundations of the new world and its profound international character.

On the eve of the formation of the USSR, the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) held in 1921 set the task of raising the

backward national borderlands of Russia to the level of leading regions of the country. "The destruction of actual national inequality here," it was stated in the materials of the congress, "is a long process requiring a determined and persistent struggle against all vestiges of national oppression and colonial slavery. National inequality here is based on historically created economic inequality. This inequality was expressed first of all in the fact that these borderlands of Russia (especially Turkestan), existing in the position of colonies or semicolonies, were forcibly kept in the role of suppliers of various kinds of raw materials which were processed at the center.... The very first task is systematic liquidation of all remains of national inequality in all sectors of social and economic life, first of all, planned location of industry in the borderlands through transfer of factories to sources of raw materials...."

Socialism not only opens up such possibilities but also puts into practice the age-old dream of oppressed and dependent peoples of equalizing of their levels of economic development, attainment of political independence and freedom and all-round development of a national state system, economy and culture on the basis of all-round rapprochement and development of nations and peoples and internationalization of their social life.

In the process of building a developed socialist society in our country on the bases of rapprochement of all classes and social strata, juridical and actual equality of all nations and nationalities and their fraternal cooperation, a new historical community has been formed--the Soviet people. Internationalism has become the norm of all relationships among representatives of different nations and nationalities inhabiting the USSR.

"The economic, social, political and spiritual equality of groups of the population of different ethnic origin is a reality of USSR social life," the French investigator and journalist Henri (Allegue) points out in his interview to the journal REVOLUTION. "In the West, they often repeat--with irony or derision--the words 'big Russian brother,' which is in wide use in the national republics of the USSR and in countries friendly to the Soviet Union. I put it this way: if France had not gone to war against Algeria, striving for its independence and, on the country, had helped it to achieve this desire, if France had another political regime and it behaved in the way Russia acted in regard to the Central-Asian republics instead of exploiting them and extracting from them everything that it possibly could and if France had acted in such a way that the Algerian people, let us say, a worker from [**]El-Dzhezair or Bamaco, similar to a worker in Samarkand or Bukhara, had achieved such a level in its development, possibly the Algerians would then have called France its 'big brother.'"

Placing hope on emergence of international discords and instability of the Soviet multinational state, the desire to exacerbate by any means national questions is an unalterable constituent of the antisoviet course of international imperialism. But such calculations are not destined to be a

part of reality. The multinational composition of our state not only does not weaken our country but has become for the first time in history one of the basic sources of its strength and growth.

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CSO: 1807/261

INTERNATIONAL

DEMONSTRATIONS BY SIKH SEPARATISTS CONDEMNED

London Demonstration

LD061101 Moscow TASS in English 1039 GMT 6 Jun 85

[Text] New Delhi, Jun 6 (TASS)--A noisy anti-Indian demonstration of Sikh separatists took place outside the Indian Embassy in London, the INDIAN EXPRESS reported today. It was held despite personal assurances given to the Indian ambassador in Britain by two members of the British Government that no such gathering would be allowed to take place. The extremists will not be allowed to disturb public order, David Waddington, minister of State, Home Office, and Lady Young, minister of State for Foreign Affairs, told the ambassador. They added that all measures had been taken to prevent a demonstration. It turned out however, that these assurances by the British ministers were not worth a cent. Sikh separatists headed by J.S. Chauhan, the self-styled "president" of the non-existent "State of Khalistan," held their provocative gathering and burned the national flag of India before the eyes of inactive police.

In its protest statement to the British authorities the Indian Embassy stresses that despite promises given by the two ministers the authorities did nothing to prevent the extremists from holding a provocative demonstration.

Facts indicate that this incident is not the only example of open connivance by Western powers at the activities of the Sikh separatists. Indian newspapers wrote with indignation today that the leaders of the U.S.-based "World Sikh Organization" got an official permission from the American authorities to hold an anti-Indian demonstration in Washington on Jun 12, specially timed to coincide with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's stay in the American capital during his official visit to the USA. A spokesman of the U.S. State Department tried hard to justify the permission given to the separatists by reference to much-vaunted American democracy which is known to patronize fugitive criminals and other emigre scum who have found refuge overseas. As Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said at the latest parliamentary session, the group of anti-Indian extremists who call themselves pretentiously "The World Sikh Organization" is one of 27 terrorist Western-based terrorist Sikh organizations which want to separate, by force of arms, Punjab from India and to establish the puppet "State of Khalistan."

U.S. Protest

LD121816 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT 12 Jun 85

[Text] Washington, Jun 12 (TASS)--Correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko reporting.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India arrived for an official visit here today. He will have talks with President Reagan and high-ranking administration officials.

Although Washington assures India of a most friendly attitude to it, reactionary forces with the connivance of the authorities have made plans for a series of anti-Indian provocations. The leading role in organizing and carrying them out is assigned to Sikh separatists entrenched in the United States and belonging to the "Sikh Association of America" (SAA). It has been officially registered in the United States as a "public organization." The SAA has long been the conduit for aid to those who are trying to weaken India with the force of arms, to wrest Punjab Province from it and set up an "independent Sikh state" there.

Official Washington does not bother to conceal its sympathies for Sikh terrorists whom it equates to members of the national liberation movement, as former U.S. Ambassador to India Harry Barnes did during recent provocative hearings held in the U.S. Congress on the issue of the situation in Punjab.

Fresh anti-Indian provocations started on the eve of Rajiv Gandhi's arrival in the U.S. for instance, managers of Washington's National Press Club allowed SAA ring-leaders, a certain Radj Vanat Singh and "Dr Azad," to hold a news conference at the club where they made malicious anti-Indian statements. They accused the Indian Government of no more and no less than "genocide policy" in connection with the routing of an armed grouping of Sikh separatists. The SAA also announced plans to hold a series of anti-Indian demonstrations during Rajiv Gandhi's stay in America.

Fervent anti-Indian sentiments of SAA's leaders and members can also be seen from noisy "celebrations" staged openly in the streets of a number of cities of the United States following the assassination of the late Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. People taking part in the "celebrations" held, by the way, under police protection openly rejoiced at the news of Mrs Indira Gandhi's death and burnt Indian national flags in the eyes of passers-by. A conspiracy to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi by a group of terrorists led by one Gurpartar Singh can also be traced to the SAA. The conspirators underwent training at a "private" militarized center in Alabama state--the center well known to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for a long time.

In the opinion of observers, anti-Indian provocations during Mr Gandhi's visit are called upon to create the necessary conditions for Washington to play the "Punjab card" in a bid to make India more responsive to U.S. wishes during the forthcoming talks. One such wish is to try and get India to stop its determined opposition to such aspects of Washington's policy as intensifying the

arms race in the Indian Ocean and turning the United States' closest ally--Pakistan--into a center of provocations and aggression against the countries of South-West Asia, primarily, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as well as India itself. Washington has more than once made it plain that India's friendly relations with Afghanistan were undercutting the effectiveness of the undeclared U.S. war on the D.R.A. Besides, Washington is displeased with the attention devoted by India to the development of relations with the Soviet Union.

All these aspects of the U.S. position were re-stated by a high-ranking official of the U.S. Department of State during a briefing devoted to the forth-coming Indian-American talks. He said that there were serious differences between the United States and India precisely on these matters.

CSO: 1812/261

12 July 1985

REGIONAL

USUBALIYEV, CPSU'S GUSTOV TO KIRGHIZ SECRETARIES ON ORDER

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 17 Apr 85 pp 1-3

/Report and speech from conference: "Strengthen Discipline, Good Organization, and Order; Increase Responsibility of Personnel for Assigned Tasks"/

/Text/ As already reported, on 12 April a conference was held in Frunze of the secretaries of the party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, as well as those of the primary party organizations, the chairmen of the party commissions, responsible workers in the apparatus of the party committees and people's control organs of the republic.

Taking part in the work of this conference was the first deputy chairman of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee, I. S. Gustov.

Today we are publishing a report on this conference.

The report entitled "On the Tasks of the Party Commissions of This Republic's Party Organs with regard to Further Strengthening Party and State Discipline in the Light of the Requirements of the Extraordinary March (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee" was delivered by the first secretary of the CPKi Central Committee, Comrade T. U. USUBALIYEV /in boldface/.

The Communists and working people of Kirghizstan, like those of the entire country, are moving forward to greet the 27th CPSU Congress, which will define the new stage in the creative activity of our party and people, will examine the new edition of the CPSU Program, and will outline the prospects for the further development of Soviet society, the speaker said.

Together with the entire party and all Soviet people, the Kirghizstanians greeted with warm approval the decisions of the extraordinary March (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which unanimously elected Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev as the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The Central Committee Plenum demonstrated the unbreakable fidelity of the CPSU to the Leninist course of creativity and peace, the monolithic quality of the party ranks, the solidarity and unity of the Soviet people.

The working people of this republic were enormously inspired by the brilliant, mobilizing speech made by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev at the Plenum of the CPSU

Central Committee, in which he profoundly revealed the party's strategic line, aimed at speeding up the socio-economic development of Soviet society and improving all aspects of its life.

Solidly supporting the wise political course being taken by the CPSU, consolidating even more closely its own ranks around the Leninist Central Committee and its Politburo, headed up by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the working people of Kirghizstan are filled with a firm determination to work very hard in order to continually strengthen the country's economic and defensive might, as well as to honorably fulfill the assigned tasks of the five-year plan.

With regard to the growth rates of the national income, labor productivity, and the volume of industrial production, this republic is sure of fulfilling the assigned tasks of the five-year plan. The workers in the agricultural complex are also fulfilling the plans with regard to the production and sale to the state of all the principal types of agricultural products.

Kirghizstan's achievements are the result of constant aid rendered by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet state, the purposeful organizational and mass-political activities of party, Soviet, and economic organs, as well as the republic's trade-union and Komsomol organizations. They are ensured by the self-sacrificing labor of the working class, the kolkhoz peasants, and the people's intelligentsia.

One of the necessary conditions for successfully solving the ever-increasing tasks of socio-economic development is the course being conducted by the party to strengthen party, state, and production discipline, to create business-like situations in every labor group, along with a principled quality and a system of exacting strictness. This course corresponds to the national interests and is entirely and fully supported by all Soviet people.

In the future as well the party will continue to unwaveringly conduct a line aimed at strengthening high standards, at raising the responsibility of personnel for the matters entrusted to them; this was emphasized at the March (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

In the struggle to strengthen discipline, order, and good organization an important role is to be played by party control. It is called upon to solve such key tasks as preserving the purity of the party ranks, checking up on the execution of party decisions, indoctrinating personnel in the spirit of a high degree of responsibility for the matters entrusted to them, and decisively cutting short those actions which run counter to the norms of party life.

By its very nature party control is, above all, political and is always carried out from an over-all party point of view; it is inherently objective and exceptionally principled. It encompasses all units of the party and evaluates the actions of Communists solely in accordance with the CPSU Charter, regardless of their duties or positions. The strength of party control also lies in the fact that it is carried out by persons of a particular make-up--of a crystal honesty, firm, genuinely principled, and courageous.

The CPSU Central Committee has paid constant attention to increasing the effectiveness of control and checking up on performance as the most important component

of the party's organizational and mass-political work. We regard this republican conference, stated the speaker, as yet another manifestation of the Leninist, attentive attitude of the CPSU Central Committee toward all units of the party, toward the practical experience accumulated in the localities. Of particular importance to the conference is the participation therein of the first deputy chairman of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee, Ivan Stepanovich Gustov.

There are 65 party commissions operating in this republic. More than 600 party activists are working in them. In recent times the party commissions have added highly skilled specialists in the national economy, capable of conducting comprehensive and profound check-ups.

We would like to express the most heartfelt words of gratitude to those veterans of the party, war, and labor, who today are actively participating in the work of the party commissions. Without sparing their strength, they self-sacrificingly and uncompromisingly struggle to strengthen party and state discipline, affirm party morality, the purity of the party ranks, devoting all their own daily-living and political experience to this cause.

Thanks to the constant attention and concern of the CPSU Central Committee, the commissions of the party committees are being organizationally strengthened. This has been facilitated by the decision of the CPSU Central Committee to introduce the positions of party commission chairmen in the party gorkoms and raykoms. In our republic alone they have been added to 27 party committees.

In this important and timely decision we see the firm line of the Central Committee, aimed at strengthening the control over and checking up on performance, strengthening party discipline, and improving the standards demanded of staff members, as well as of all Communists.

One of the principal tasks of party control is to take all measures to preserve the purity of the party ranks, to strengthen their unity and solidarity.

The Communist Party of Kirghizia is one of the militant and faithful detachments of the CPSU. The questions of replenishing its ranks are now being examined in a more principled manner, in the light of the high requirements of the CPSU Charter.

The declarations concerning admission to the party are being discussed in a detailed and strict manner at meetings of party groups, primary party organizations, as well as at sessions of party buros and party committees. Admission to the CPSU is conducted, as a rule, at open party meetings, taking into account the opinions not only of the Communists but also those of non-party persons.

This practice justifies itself when those doing the nominating constantly keep in their field of vision the production and public activities of the candidates, render them the necessary aid, and, upon the expiration of the candidates' probationary period, provide recommendations for membership in the CPSU.

Those party commissions act correctly which not only check out the formal matters with regard to admission to the party but which also make a preliminary study of the new party recruits.

There has also been a strengthening of the work of indoctrinating the party recruits. Extensively practiced is listening to reports, information, and communication from candidates concerning their passing through the candidates' probationary period, carrying out the requirements of the CPSU Charter, the party assignments, and service obligations.

Nevertheless, certain party gorkoms and raykoms, as well as their party commissions and primary party organizations at times superficially approach the matter of selecting new members for the party, nor do they conduct the necessary indoctrinational work with the young party members.

As a result of this, certain candidates for membership in the CPSU poorly perform their charter obligations, their party assignments, and allow themselves to fall into amoral faults, in connection with which they must be excluded from the party.

A particularly large number of candidates have not successfully passed through their candidates' probationary period during the last four years in the Keminskiy, Sverdlovskiy, Dzhumgal'skiy, Kalininskiy, and Toguz-Torousskiy Rayons. Here, as a check-up has shown, the whole matter of admission has basically boiled down to monitoring the correctness of filling out the necessary documents, while they have neglected day-to-day, indoctrinational work with new party recruits.

The party commissions must study in a multi-faceted way each person who submits an application for admission to the party. Moreover, such study must be done directly in the groups, there must be a profound interest in the opinions of his comrades at work and a knowledge of how the person has conducted himself in public and production life, how he is raising his own general-educational and political level. This will aid us in selecting for party membership only the most worthy persons, the best of the best.

The effectiveness of the work of the party commissions depends, to a large extent, on their supervision by the party committees. The CPKi Central Committee has constantly recommended that the party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms exercise day-to-day direction of the party commissions, regularly listen to their reports and information in the buros and plenums, manifest concern for strengthening the make-up of the commissions with experienced personnel, and instruct them in practical matters.

On this level there is quite a bit to be learned in the practice of the Osh Party Obkom. Purposeful leadership has also been exercised over the party commissions by the Sulyuktinskiy Party Gorkom, the Tonskiy, Aravanskiy, and Naukatskiy Party Raykoms.

In certain gorkoms and raykoms, however, they are rather uninterested in the work being done by the party control people; they do not know what kinds of check-ups they are conducting or what kinds of results they are achieving. Thus, during the last two years not a single report has been listened to from the commissions at the buros of the Leninopol'skiy, Alamedinskiy, and Ak-Talinskiy Party Raykoms.

Not all the party committees exhibit the necessary concern over strengthening the commissions with experienced Communists, possessing lengthy periods of party service. This pertains, above all, to the Narynskiy, Mayli-Sayskiy Party Gorkoms and the Sovetskiy and Dzany-Dzhol'skiy Party Raykoms.

In recent times, the speaker continued, there has been an increase in the volume of check-ups being conducted by the party commissions, the forms and methods of their work have become more diverse, its effectiveness has increased, and the plan principles therein have been intensified.

Many party commissions have placed an emphasis, above all, on increasing the responsibility of personnel for the task entrusted to them, as well as on intensifying the controls over carrying out party decisions.

Thus, at the behest of the CPKi Central Committee, the party commission under the jurisdiction of the Central Committee analyzed in depth the work done by the collegium, party organization, and apparatus of the Glavkirgizvodstroy /KisSR Main Administration for Water Resources Construction/ with regard to strengthening state, planning, and performance discipline in the light of the decisions of the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

A check-up revealed serious errors in this main administration's style of work. In particular, there was an excessive penchant here for various types of conferences and sessions, all manner of decisions were being adopted, but there were essentially no control over the execution of most of them, and the collegium held the division managers and other employees of the apparatus only tenuously responsible for carrying out discipline.

As a result there was no guarantee that the five-year plan tasks would be fulfilled with regard to the growth of labor productivity, introduction of fixed capital, or the reduction of construction production costs. The results of this check-up on the work of the Glavkirgizvodstroy were examined in the Central Committee Buro, and specific measures were undertaken with regard to eliminating the above-noted shortcomings.

The party commission under the jurisdiction of the CPKi, in conjunction with other divisions of the Central Committee, and local party organs, as well as drawing upon specialists on the national economy, workers in financial institutions, inspectorates, and auditing services, likewise checked up on the status of the assets discipline at the enterprises and organizations of Goskomsel'khoshtekhnika /State Committee for the Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture/ and the Ministry of Agriculture. A detailed and thorough analysis was made on the work done by the Ministry of the Food Industry with regard to increasing production efficiency and intensifying it.

In recent times the party commissions of the party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms have also strengthened the controls over the execution of party decisions with regard to the basic questions of developing the economy.

For example, the party commission under the jurisdiction of the Osh Party Obkom conducts in a business-like and systematic way check-ups on the execution of decrees from the party obkom with regard to improving the breed composition of cattle and the development of horse-breeding on farms. This is bringing about definite results.

Effective control is being exercised by the party commission under the Sulyukhtinskiy Party Raykom over the introduction of the brigade form of labor organization at the Kyzyl-Bulak Coal Pit.

Strengthening of the plan and state discipline, intensification of the standards required of personnel for the work sector entrusted to them are being achieved by the party commissions under the jurisdictions of the Issyk-Kul'skiy and Narynskiy Party Obkoms.

Nevertheless, the speaker emphasized, many party commissions are still insufficiently engaged in checking up on the execution of party decisions. For example, the necessary persistence and sequential attention have not been manifested here by the commissions under the jurisdiction of the Typskiy, Kalininskiy, Sokulukskiy, Ak-Talinskiy, Dzhany-Dzhol'skiy, and other party raykoms.

The CPKi Central Committee carries out persistent, purposive work with regard to strengthening plan and state discipline. Not a single instance of padding, deception, or "adjustment" of the plans has remained without attention being paid to it. Check-ups are conducted regularly. Managers who allow a distortion of state accountability and who have made unjustified adjustments to the plan tasks are held strictly responsible to the party. In recent times a number of decrees have been adopted on these problems by the Central Committee Buro.

However, certain party committees and their party commissions do not draw the necessary conclusions, do not always provide a principled evaluation for the violations of state and plan discipline, do not hold the economic managers strictly responsible for this, and often even make excuses for them, appealing to the republic organs to reduce the plan tasks.

Such anti-state practice must be fought against uncompromisingly. Party obkoms and raykoms, as well as their party commissions, must attain a strict observance of plan discipline, raise the standards required of personnel for fulfilling the national-economic plans, while those who attempt to adjust the assigned tasks in the direction of reduction and of obtaining illegal rewards must bear strict party and state responsibility.

In organizing check-ups on the execution of party decisions we must constantly learn from the Party Control Committee under the jurisdiction of the CPSU Central Committee. The report cited the following specific example.

In 1984 responsible officials of the CPKi under the jurisdiction of the CPSU Central Committee and the Trade and Domestic Services Department of the CPSU Central Committee, with the broad-based participation of specialists and workers of this republic's party, Soviet, and economic organs conducted principled and multi-faceted check-ups as to how we are carrying out the decisions of the party and the government with regard to improving the work of enterprises and institutions engaged in providing services to the public. The very organization of such check-ups, which were well-thought-out and prepared for, and which were carried out in accordance with a plan drawn up earlier, is already extremely instructive.

The results of these check-ups were examined in the buro of the CPKi Central Committee and then at a session of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee, at which accounts were rendered by the secretary of the CPKi Central Committee and the deputy chairman of the KiSSR Council of Ministers. After a multi-faceted discussion a profoundly well-based decree was adopted.

All party, Soviet, and economic activists were made broadly acquainted with this important document at the republic conference.

In its decree the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee indicated specific deadlines for correcting the shortcomings, for carrying out the measures outlined for this purpose, and it remains constantly interested in their fulfillment.

This specific, vital example, drawn from the abundant practical experience of the Party Control Committee under the jurisdiction of the CPSU Central Committee is a bright and convincing lesson as to how we should very carefully and with a good deal of thought organize a check-up on the execution of decisions which have been adopted, a lesson in the business-like quality, exactly strict standards, and principled quality in the activities of the party commissions.

The report noted the fact that too little attention is still being paid to preventive work. Certain persons, evidently, assume that the principal goal of these check-ups is to reveal violations. Certainly the discovery of a shortcoming and the cutting short of an illegal activity are very important matters. But it is much more important to know the reasons for negative phenomena, to know how to specify methods for eliminating them so that the evil is not repeated. Vladimir Il'ich Lenin wrote that "to find a guilty person in the guise of a chief is merely a very small part of this work...." The main thing, he pointed out, is to "know how to correct the situation," "to CARRY OUT in boldface in time the necessary practical changes."*

However, our control organs, including, unfortunately, the party commissions as well, rarely succeed in preventing some violations. As a rule, the check-ups are aimed, if we may use V. I. Lenin's words, at "catching" and "exposing," rather than "correcting" the situation.

Moreover, violations are frequently committed openly, in full view of the group, the Communists, and the controlling organs. Everybody sees, for example, that a person is living clearly beyond his means, with chic, and on a merchant-like scale. But even those whose business it is to be concerned with such matters are "too shy" to ask him about suspicious sources of income.

Just as, for example, the commission under the jurisdiction of the Tokmakskiy Gorkom was "too shy" to inquire of the former second secretary of the gorkom, Orlov, where he obtained stock materials, from what organizations he drew workers and equipment for building a two-story house with a usable space of more than 160 square meters. Orlov was dismissed from his job and severely punished. But his malfeasance could have been cut short earlier, without waiting until a house arose.

There was also a lack of boldness and high principles in the party commission under the jurisdiction of the Kara-Suyskiy Party Raykom so that it did not stop in time the actions of the former raykom secretary, Ergeshovaya, who built, in evasion of the law, a residence, even though she already had one house as well as an apartment in the oblast center.

* V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 44, p 127.

Unfortunately, these are not isolated instances, when the party commissions and other control organs at times manifest an impermissible timidity where they ought to fully apply their right of control. Let's take collective gardening, for example. It is no secret, of course, that selfish tendencies, petit-bourgeois greed, and acquisitiveness are frequently discovered here. Concealed behind this, as a rule, are service malfeasances. They are periodically revealed, and the guilty persons are held responsible.

For example, for using state materials for building houses the following persons were dismissed from their jobs and severely punished: the chief of the Osh Oblast Office of Gosbank, Tsoy, the chief of the Frunze Orgtekhstroyaterialy Trust, Maslinkovskiy, and several other management workers.

To expose malfeasances is, undoubtedly, a necessary measure, but insufficient. Our goal is not to allow the national wealth to be squandered, to ensure that it is fully preserved. For this purpose, it is necessary to establish constant controls everywhere. When it is a matter of gardening groups, we must ask those persons who are engaged in construction for justificatory documents for obtaining construction materials, payments for operations carried out, etc. Such a practice prevents and excludes violations and all manner of malfeasances.

The party commissions and people's control organs must take a decisive and offensive position here, having placed at the foundation of their own practical activity the Leninist directive that the main thing in control work is to "know how to correct a situation."

This republic has more than 90,000 Communists working in the sphere of material production. The overwhelming majority carry out their party and civic duties with honor, show themselves as lofty models of labor valor and public activity. At the same time in many party organizations ideological-orientational work is not being conducted at the necessary level, certain Communists do not yet possess the qualities of a political party militant, they do not always react in a sharp and political way to various types of violations and shortcomings.

The party commissions must elevate the responsibility of every Communist for carrying out his own vanguard role in the group, while raising the standards of those who conduct themselves unworthily and who violate the Party Charter, the norms of party ethics and morality. Here there can be no kinds of indulgences. For this is a matter of the CPSU's authority, the purity of its ranks.

Over a four-year period for the republic as a whole 2,657 persons were expelled from the party.

How are violations of party discipline to be explained? It is hardly possible to provide a single-valued answer to this question. And, nevertheless, we cannot fail to note the effect had here, above all, by mistakes with regard to admissions into the party.

As was the case before, many Communists have been expelled from the ranks of the CPSU for losing their party cards. Over a four-year period 237 persons were expelled for this reason. Most of all, such instances have occurred in the Frunze City, Osh, Issyk-Kul Oblast, Sokulukskiy, and Alamedinskiy Rayon Party Organizations.

The party card is the badge of a Communist. And if a person does not guard his own badge, it means that he does not hold dear the high honor of being a member of the CPSU.

But, at the same time, we cannot fail to draw attention to the fact that in those party organizations where there are a particularly large number of instances of losses of party cards essentially no conclusions have been drawn from this. Here the Communists have been poorly indoctrinated in political vigilance and self-discipline.

The speaker dwelt further on the problems of stepping up the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism.

It was recently emphasized at a session of the CPSU Central Committee that overcoming this ugly phenomenon ought to be regarded as a social task of great political importance. In order to solve it, we must consistently implement measures for combatting drunkenness and combine for this purpose the efforts of the state and economic organs, as well as those of the party and public organizations.

In recent years, at the behest of the CPK1 Central Committee, party commissions have conducted specific work with those Communists who have been caught drunk.

The party committees and primary party organizations have intensified their interrogations of Communists who are habitual drunkards. Over a four-year period 304 such persons have been expelled from the party.

Unfortunately, this question has still not been taken off the agenda. We need to purge the party ranks of drunkards. We must not reconcile ourselves to the fact that in certain party organizations there is a liberal attitude toward those persons who abuse alcoholic beverages or who engage in empty exhortations against drunkenness.

It is also necessary to combat with all possible persistence outmoded ceremonies and customs which essentially turn into group drinking-bouts. This was written about, as you recall, last year in his article entitled "A Feast for the Entire World" and published in the republican newspapers SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA and SOVETIK KYRGYZSTAN by the People's Poet of the K1SSR and Hero of Socialist Labor, Aaly Tokombayev. Based on this article, the CPK1 Central Committee adopted a decree obligating the party committees and public organizations to step up the ideological-moral indoctrination of working people, to root out obsolete ceremonies and traditions, and to introduce new ones which would correspond to the Soviet way of life.

It is necessary to wage the struggle against drunkenness on a broad front. It causes enormous material and moral damage to our society. Three-fourths of all the most serious crimes are committed because of drunkenness. Every case arising in connection with drunkenness must be viewed through the prism of the social danger of this evil.

In the matter of indoctrinating Communists, the speaker emphasized, we must strive to maximize the use of the influence of party penalties. It should be

noted that the party committees and primary party organizations have stepped up their controls over how CPSU members found answerable to the party are correcting their own shortcomings. These questions have begun to be brought up more often at sessions of the party commissions.

However, we have not yet rooted out instances whereby penalties are imposed for the slightest cause, which, naturally, decreases their indoctrinational influence. Likewise frequently being violated are the requirements concerning the procedure for removing party penalties.

Nor can we fail to mention the fact that there still exists the bad practice whereby Communists are punished for their misdeeds only at sessions of the party obkom, gorkom, and raykom buros, while the primary party organizations do not even provide information about this.

To be sure, since last year this serious shortcoming has begun to be eliminated. The number of party penalties imposed indirectly on Communists of the primary party organizations has been cut in half. Nevertheless, in certain party committees the number of party penalties imposed indirectly on Communists of the primary party organizations has not decreased.

We need to arrange matters so that every worker, regardless of the position which he occupies, would be responsible for his affairs primarily to the party organization and group where he works.

Improving controls and check-ups on performance, V. I. Lenin taught, are inextricably bound up with the party's personnel policy, with intensifying the demands made upon Communists and, above all, on the management personnel, for carrying out the directives of the party and the government, for observing party and state discipline, as well as the norms of communist morality.

Recently the regular Plenum of the CPKi Central Committee discussed the tasks of the republican party organization regarding improvement in the work with personnel in accordance with the demands made by the March (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The plenum held a detailed and principled discussion, and practical measures were outlined for improving the selection, deployment, and indoctrination of personnel. It is now a matter of implementing everything which was outlined. Here too a large role is relegated to the party commissions.

It should be noted that many of the republic's party commissions participate actively in the struggle for the purity of the party ranks; they have conducted quite a few thorough-going check-ups, during the course of which they have discovered violations of socialist legality and departures from the norms of party morality. Last year alone, based on materials from check-ups conducted with the participation of the party commissions, 56 managers of enterprises, farms, and organizations were expelled from the party. Many specific cases of this type were cited at the Plenum of the CPKi Central Committee Plenum.

The speaker underscored the fact that in the struggle against service malfeasances, thefts of socialist property, bribe-taking, padding, and deception the position taken by the CPKi Central Committee is clear and precise. In the

future the struggle against negative phenomena will continue to be waged uncompromisingly and decisively.

In this struggle the republican party organization is unwaveringly guided by the positions of the CPSU Central Committee. This was once more convincingly demonstrated by the 19th Plenum of the CPK Central Committee, which was held amid circumstances of high demands being made upon personnel for the matters entrusted to them, for an unfailing fulfillment of the demands made by the CPSU Central Committee.

It is necessary that a more active part be taken in this struggle by the party commissions, along with the entire militant detachment of party control personnel.

Most of the members of the party commissions are persons of profound principles, self-sacrificing persons who have gone through the good school of the party and been toughened by life itself. But there are also those who have manifested a lack of boldness in their work, who have looked around--as if not to spoil good relations--and who try to avoid the rough places. Frankly speaking, there is no place for such persons in the party commissions.

The party committees must approach the questions of recruiting for party commissions with exacting standards; they must select for them persons who, to quote V. I. Lenin, can be trusted not to take words for deeds, who will not go against their consciences, and who will not be afraid of any struggle to attain their serious goal.

In this republic, as well as throughout the entire country, the speaker continued, active preparations are being conducted for the 27th CPSU Congress.

Following the Leninist tradition, the preparatory work for this congress must be conducted under the aegis of mobilizing the efforts of party, Soviet, and economic organs, public organizations, and all labor groups, aimed at successfully solving the practical tasks confronting the republic.

"We must move forward; we must look ahead," wrote Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. "We must bring to the congress a **REVISED PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE** [in boldface], well-thought-out and attentively worked out by the common efforts of all the party members."*

This Leninist directive is the chief guideline for us in the nationwide struggle to successfully perform the tasks of the concluding year and the five-year plan as a whole, to ensure a solid beginning for the upcoming five-year plan.

Recently in the CPSU Central Committee a meeting was held with the leading officials of industrial associations and enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, production brigades, specialists and scientists, at which a speech was made by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. His brilliant, exceptionally substantive speech is an

* V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 40, p 142.

important program document for all party, Soviet, and economic organs, as well as all Communists and every worker in their practical activity regarding the preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress.

Comrade M. S. Gorbachev emphasized that the preparations for the party congress must be regarded as a "time of great deeds and important decisions, of profound analysis and a realistic evaluation of what has been achieved, of the discovery and elimination of obstacles hindering forward movement. This time must be filled with intensified work and bold thought; we must open up scope for people's initiative and creativity. What is required now is raising the quality of organization in work, a mobilization of all forces and reserves in order to ensure a reliable and dynamic socio-economic development, as well as to speed up the rate of our forward movement."

As you see, comrades, we have been assigned tasks of exceptional importance, and we will be able to perform them successfully only on condition that we further strengthen the organizational and political-indoctrinational work of the party organizations among the masses, raise the demands on Communists, along with their responsibility to the people.

As I stated above, with regard to an entire series of important indicators, this republic has already reached the targets of the five-year plan. Having been armed with the positions of the March (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as the positions and conclusions contained in the program speech delivered at the Central Committee Plenum by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, Kirghizstan's working people, under the leadership of the party organizations are developing on an even broader basis a socialist competition to provide a worthy greeting to the 27th party congress, and, according to the results of work completed in the first quarter, have achieved positive results.

The plan for the sales volume of industrial products has been over-fulfilled; their sales have exceeded the assigned amount by more than 36 million rubles. By means of increasing labor productivity a 91 percent increase was obtained, or an increase in output by almost 50 million rubles.

The republic's livestock-raising farmers have worked self-sacrificingly during the first quarter. They fulfilled the plan for sales to the state of meat by 140 percent, of eggs--by 120 percent, of milk--by 103.4 percent. The assigned task was fulfilled with regard to deliveries of livestock-raising products to the All-Union stocks. This labor victory was achieved under the incredibly complex conditions of this past winter, which was more severe than ever before.

However, the speaker emphasized, no matter how impressive these achievements are, we cannot rest on these laurels. We must, to use V. I. Lenin's words, look on ahead and see new, even more complex problems and be prepared to solve them. And these tasks are indeed large in scope.

Taking advantage of the fact that our conference is being participated in by the first secretaries of the party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, as well as the primary party organizations and responsible workers in the apparatus of the party committees, I would like to dwell in somewhat more detail precisely on those tasks which were personally assigned to this republic, to all the Communists

and working people of Kirghizstan by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

On 3 April of this year I attended a reception given by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. We had a warm conversation.

Mikhail Sergeyevich listened attentively to our information concerning the affairs of Kirghizstan's Communists and working people. I reported to him on the results achieved at the end of the first quarter by this republic's industry, as well as on the shock work done by our rural laborers. Despite the unprecedentedly severe and snowy winter, by manifesting a quality of self-sacrifice and by confronting the natural conditions with a high degree of organization, by profoundly recognizing their own responsibility to the people and the state, the livestock-raisers, with the aid of working people throughout the entire republic, were able to preserve the head of livestock. And a great deal was done for this purpose; they worked with doubled and tripled energy.

In order to mitigate the effects of the severe drought of 1984, when for a period of four months not a single drop of rain fell on the entire territory of the republic, the working people of the cities and villages directed all their efforts at procuring coarse and rich fodders. By wintertime they had provided heat for all 18,300 sheep pens as well as other livestock-raising areas. All the livestock-raisers located in the grazing pastures have been provided with heated dwellings.

During the wintertime period the principal attention was paid to the strictest economy measures and to the optimal outlays of fodders; they were carefully ground and steamed, and they were given out to the livestock only in prepared form. Almost 1200 fodder shops and fodder lines were in operation on the farms.

Despite the fact that over the course of four months all the pastures were completely covered with snow and the temperature dropped to 30, 40, and even 45 degrees below freezing, the livestock-raisers did not shrink before the difficulties; they continued to supplement the reserve supplies of fodders, as well as preparing coniferous branches and other branch-type fodders; everywhere they conducted the steaming and fermenting of concentrates so that they may be better assimilated. They organized a warm-water supply for drinking purposes at almost all farms and sheep pens.

The struggle of the livestock-raisers and rural workers to preserve the head of livestock was led by the Communists. Thanks to these and other measures, as well as a great deal of help from the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, the public head of livestock was successfully maintained at the 1984 level. The sheep raisers are now conducting the lambing. As of 1 April 1985, about 2.6 million, or 57 percent, of the ewes had given birth, and 2.8 million live lambs had been obtained.

We reported to Comrade Gorbachev that, as calculations have shown, this republic will fulfill the tasks assigned by the five-year plan in the field of industry as well as that of agriculture. For the four-year period industrial items exceeded the plan by 508 million rubles, while agricultural products exceeding the plan by 75 million rubles have been sold to the state. Despite the

delayed spring, favorable conditions are shaping up for growing high-yield harvests of agricultural crops.

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, spoke positively about the work being done by the republic party organization with regard to developing the economy; he noted the difficult struggle by the rural laborers, waged by them under very severe weather conditions to fulfill and over-fulfill the state plans with regard to the production and sale to the state of agricultural products; he had warm words of praise for Kirghizstan's power engineers, who are successfully carrying out the construction of the fifth GES on the Naryn River.

Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev conveyed warm greetings and best wishes for great new successes to the Communists and working people of Kirghizstan in the cause of increasing the effectiveness of all sectors of the national economy.

Moreover, Mikhail Sergeyevich stressed that only by utilizing the intensive factors of development can we raise the economy to a higher level. This signifies, he said, that we must attain a sharp rise in labor productivity, savings in the areas of material, raw-material, financial, and labor resources; we must take all measures to strengthen good organizational principles and labor discipline, unfailingly fulfill the state plans and contractual obligations with regard to deliveries; we should also wage a decisive struggle against bad management, squandering, and against those persons who wish to obtain everything from society without giving anything in return.

Mikhail Sergeyevich also had a good word for the republic's efforts with regard to increasing the production of alfalfa seeds. During the current year Kirghizstan has shipped out to other regions of the country more than 6,000 tons of seeds of this high-protein crop, or more than 2500 tons in excess of that specified by the plan. This, said Mikhail Sergeyevich, is a substantial help to the fraternal republics, and some thought ought to be given to further increasing the production of alfalfa seeds by deepening the specialization of agriculture in certain regions of the republic, but, above all, by increasing the harvest yield of this crop.

Mikhail Sergeyevich warmly supported our plans with regard to increasing the production of coarse and rich fodders in 1985. We reported to him that we have worked out specific measures for procuring a one-and-one-half year reserve supply of coarse and rich fodders for the republic as a whole, while many farms are working to procure two-year reserve supplies.

Comrade M. S. Gorbachev said that a correct direction had been outlined. This can be considered to be a specific conclusion drawn from this past severe winter. Mikhail Sergeyevich noted that he was confident that this republic would achieve the assigned goal. He recalled his own impression from viewing a motion picture about livestock raising in the pasturelands of Kirghizia. One senses, said Mikhail Sergeyevich, that quite a bit of experience has been accumulated in Kirghizia with regard to raising livestock, and that you have scientists with a good understanding of the problems encountered in this sector.

You are growing, continued Mikhail Sergeyevich, high-grade fodder crops--alfalfa, sainfoin, peas, corn, etc. You have more than a million hectares of irrigated land, so that there are great reserves for increasing the harvest yields of agricultural crops. You have to arrange matters so that every irrigated hectare yields as much as possible from the labor and funds invested.

Mikhail Sergeyevich likewise advised us to keep the pasturelands fully occupied. These comprise one of the principal riches of this republic, and we need to make fuller utilization of all methods for improving the pastures--irrigation and fertilization. Here you have accumulated quite a bit of experience, and it ought to be used extensively.

Then Comrade M. S. Gorbachev asked the following question: what is the average milk yield which the republic is striving for in 1985? Having learned that last year the average milk yield per cow was 2,729 kg and that now the target yield has been set at 2,810 each, Mikhail Sergeyevich noted that the republic had taken on a modest obligation. I know, he said, that you have a good breed of cows, with a high milk yield. And so the republic could reach this year such a milestone as 3,000 kg from each cow. All the more so in that you have taken serious steps to increase the production of fodders. Therefore, 3,000 kg of milk from each cow is an utterly realizable task.

I ask you to convey this wish to the Communists, rural laborers, and all of Kirghizia's working people. By attaining a yield of 3,000 kg of milk from each grazing cow, the republic would thereby increase its contribution to the country's Food Program.

In our conversation Mikhail Sergeyevich dwelt on yet another important problem. Without the extensive introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, he emphasized, it would be impossible to successfully solve a single economic problem. This thought must profoundly permeate the consciousness of our management personnel, specialists, workers, kolkhoz members, and all working people. As never before, we need a high degree of organization, as well as a strong labor and production discipline.

It is necessary to increase the responsibility of the personnel, he emphasized, for the work sections entrusted to them. The activity of any worker, no matter what position he occupies, must be evaluated by practical matters, by how he ensures the carrying out of the tasks assigned by the party and state. There is no other approach to the evaluation of personnel in our country, nor will there be, Comrade M. S. Gorbachev indicated.

We express our heartfelt gratitude to Mikhail Sergeyevich for his profound and attentive attitude toward our republic, and we are confident that the Communists and all the working people of Kirghizstan, in rallying ever more closely around the CPSU Central Committee, and its Politburo, will, by their specific, practical work, implement our party's plans.

All Kirghizstanians accept with warm approval the advice and recommendations of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, and they take them as an unfailing guide to be followed; they see in them a clear manifestation of the Leninist concern of the CPSU Central Committee for

the further development of Soviet Kirghizstan, as well as of the other fraternal republics.

All the organizational and political work of the party, Soviet, and economic organs must be subordinated to solving the tasks assigned by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev. And their implementation must proceed under constant party monitoring controls. Here there will be check-ups on the business-like and political quality of our personnel, their capacity to mobilize people, to provide all the necessary conditions for highly productive, creative work.

In the very near future, based upon the measures which have been worked out in the farms, rayons, and oblasts with regard to the creation in 1985 of a one-and-one-half year reserve supply of coarse and rich fodders, a decree will be published by the CPKi Central Committee and the KiSSR Council of Ministers. Party, Soviet, and economic organizations, as well as public organizations must achieve a situation whereby the creation of sufficient reserve supplies of fodders truly becomes a cause for all our people.

What should be the focus of attention in this connection? First of all, we should concentrate on the structure of the fodder field. Here we need to precisely and firmly maintain a line aimed at applying all measures to expand the sowings of high-protein and high-yield crops under our conditions--alfalfa, corn, peas, barley, sainfoin, etc.

We must also sow alfalfa and other perennial, mixed grasses on all waste lands, lands unsuitable for agriculture, as well as belts of land running along main-line irrigation facilities and roads. This is an essential reserve for supplementing fodder reserves. We must widely propagandize alfalfa among rural inhabitants, provide them with practical help in sowing it on the auxiliary farmstead plots. We have seeds for this purpose.

We must hold rural rallies everywhere and provide advice to people on all questions of procuring fodders. The village and settlement Soviets must emphasize to every rural worker the exceptional importance of the task confronting this republic.

Its solution also requires the most active participation by city people. Within the framework of sponsorship aid to the rural areas, the groups at industrial, construction, transport, as well as other enterprises and organizations must make specific pledges with regard to fodder procurement, plan this work ahead of time, and carry it out in an organized and friendly manner.

Particular attention should be paid by the party committees, Soviet, and economic organs to the fodder-acquisition brigades. They must be supplemented by experienced personnel and be concerned that they have a strong party nucleus. All the brigades should be furnished with the necessary equipment, fertilizer and irrigation water. We need to organize an effective competition among the fodder-acquisition people, ensure its widespread publicity, and support the lofty spirit of competitiveness by effective moral and material incentives.

There is more. Already today without slowing down we must likewise proceed to solve another very important task, as assigned to the Communists, and workers

of Kirghizstan by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev—to attain for the republic as a whole an average milk yield from each grazing cow of as much as 3,000 kg. Many farms and a number of rayons have already reached this milestone. Their experience is convincing proof that such a task is fully realizable for us. We must develop a business-like initiative on all farms, along with a profound motivation to achieve high results, and we must actively utilize our internal reserves. And the latter exist on every farm.

In fact, what prevents us from everywhere introducing scientifically grounded rations for feeding livestock, putting in order the necessary preparation of coarse and rich fodders, and strictly observing labor and technological discipline, in particular, organizing a three-phase yield? Or, let's say, for example, improving work with regard to the reproduction of the herd, converting farms to the full cost-accounting principle, introducing the brigade-type contract, to make the wages of livestock specialists dependent on end results, and ensure the enterprises and organizations of Goskonsel'khoztekhnika [State Committee for Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture] with the reliable operation of the milking, refrigeration, and other equipment on dairy farms.

Nor does anything significantly hinder us from improving the organization of competition on farms, increasing its publicity and incentives, as well as providing milkmaids, and livestock raisers with trade, everyday, medical, and cultural services. All these problems can and must be completely solved on every farm. And if this does not occur, then it is solely because certain managers have a weakened sense of responsibility; for years they have been running in place, satisfied with the results achieved instead of manifesting aspirations to move forward and achieve more. The party committees and their party commissions must hold strictly accountable such managers, wage a determined struggle against evasiveness and outmoded methods of management, and adopt a precise orientation to intensive factors of development.

Likewise all work with regard to fulfilling the plans for economic and social development this year and during the five-year plan as a whole must be under unwavering party monitoring controls. In the first place, we must carefully deal with those enterprises and organizations where a lag has been noted.

Thus, 18 industrial enterprises did not fulfill the first quarter's plan with regard to product sales, falling short of it by 4 million rubles. Sixty-eight enterprises failed to measure up to the assigned tasks with regard to growth in labor productivity. Remaining indebted to the state were 47 kolkhozes and sovkhoses, which fell short of the quarterly plan by almost 1,000 tons of meat, 80 farms—by more than 3,000 tons of milk, and 18 farms—which fell short in their egg sales by more than 800,000 eggs.

Such a situation must be decisively corrected. Our task is to finish the year without laggards. And for this purpose, as indicated by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, "it is necessary to gather together, mobilize the reserves, and exert all our efforts in order to complete what has been left undone, and by the year's end to reach the assigned milestones."

Here there is a particular need for targeted and still more active work by the party committees and their commissions with regard to strengthening controls over the execution of party decisions, upgrading organization and discipline, indoctrinating personnel in the spirit of heightened responsibility for the assigned task, for unleashing a persistent struggle against mismanagement and wastefulness.

Speech by First Deputy Chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, Comrade I. S. Gustov*

Dear Comrades!

It was with great satisfaction that I accepted the invitation of the CPKi Central Committee to participate in the work of this representative conference.

Under discussion here are very important questions--questions of further strengthening party and state discipline in this republic. These questions are also being worked on by the Party Control Committee under the jurisdiction of the CPSU Central Committee, where I have had occasion to labor for many years already.

I never had a chance to visit your republic before. And so, the invitation extended to me likewise coincided with my desire to acquaint myself to a certain extent with the work of your republic. party organization.

Comrades! This year 1985 is, in many respects, an unusual year. It is a year of active preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress, as well as the year of the 40th Anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War. It is undoubtedly true that all of this imparts a special political meaning to that great work with which we are confronted this year. It must take place under the aegis of mobilizing all forces to successfully complete the assigned tasks of the current five-year plan and to create a good, firm foundation for the 12th Five-Year Plan.

Our party and all our people have recently undergone some days of mourning. But the entire party and all Soviet people welcomed with warm approval the unanimous decision of the Extraordinary March Plenum of the party's Central Committee concerning the election of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev as General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; he is a prominent party and state leader who devotes all of his knowledge, abundant experience, and organizational talent to implementing the party's policy; he selflessly serves the great cause of Lenin and the interests of the working people. This exceptionally important decision by the Central Committee Plenum was received everywhere in our country as well as abroad as yet one more proof of the CPSU's fidelity to the Leninist course of creativity and peace, as testimony to the fact that the torch has been passed on in the party's policy.

* This speech is published here in abbreviated form.

The speech by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the Plenum revealed the party's strategic line, aimed at speeding up the country's socio-economic development and the improvement of all aspects of life in Soviet society. This unchanged line encompasses the transformation of the material and technical base of production, improvement in the system of public relations, above all, economic ones, as well as the development of human beings themselves, qualitative improvement in the material conditions of their life and work, along with their spiritual features. At the same time it was precisely stated that we need to take practical measures now in order to ensure a worthy greeting to the 27th CPSU Congress, to successfully complete work on fulfilling the plans of the present year, the five-year plan as a whole, and to thereby guarantee a confident start on the next five-year plan.

The party sees its primary task as reaching the decisive turning-point in converting the national economy to the tracks of intensive development, within a brief period of time to reach the most advanced milestones of scientific and technical progress, the highest level of social labor productivity. In order to do this, it is necessary to persistently improve the economic mechanism, to creatively apply the founding principles of socialist management—to steadily carry out the planned development of the economy, to strengthen socialist property ownership, to extend the rights, enhance the independence and responsibilities of labor groups at enterprises, and to strengthen their motivation to achieve good end results in their work.

Comrades! Our party has entered upon a period of immediate preparation for our regular 27th congress. This upcoming forum of the country's Communists is of particular importance. It will have on its agenda for discussion the new edition of the CPSU Program. This extremely important ideological-theoretical and political document will outline the prospects for a multi-lateral improvement of developed socialism. Proposals are being prepared concerning possible changes and additions in the CPSU Charter. Work is being done on a draft of the Basic Directions of the Economic and Social Development of the Country for the 12th Five-Year Plan and Prospects until the Year 2000.

The increase in the scope and complexity of the tasks of economic and cultural construction require that unwavering attention be paid to the questions of strengthening discipline, upgrading organizational quality and order. There are increased demands on the quality of the work of all units of the system for administering our society and state.

The party conducts its policy and its decisions through the Communists. It is constantly improving its work with personnel, their selection, deployment, and indoctrination. Now at the center of attention of the entire party, as well as all its organizations and committees, are questions of the present-day party policy on personnel. They are being discussed extensively at the plenums of party committees and in party organizations.

The party manifests great concern for further improving controls and check-ups on performance, which V. I. Lenin taught, are inextricably bound up with the personnel policy of the CPSU and which are a constituent, inalienable part of all its organizational activity.

In recent years a situation of profound respect and trust in personnel has become firmly established in our party and country; extensive possibilities have been created for them to show initiative in their work. But trust not only does not exclude but even presupposes controls, a strict accountability for the fulfillment by every worker of the duties entrusted to him, as well as the party and government decisions, and Soviet laws. Successful execution of tasks, fruitful work in each section can be ensured only when trust and respect for personnel are combined with high standards required of them. Controls inculcate in personnel a spirit of an implacable attitude toward mismanagement, squandering, and irresponsibility; they teach people the Leninist style of work.

Controls are among the most important functions in the activity of the CPSU. So that the social mechanism operates correctly and in the assigned direction, it is necessary to keep regular track of the uninterrupted work of all its parts. Controls furnish the party with the necessary information about the state of affairs in various sections of work and allow it to take timely measures for overcoming the difficulties and shortcomings which arise.

A well-arranged check-up on performance is an important means of improving the forms, methods, and style of work in all spheres of management, a sharp and effective weapon in the struggle against slackness, bureaucratism, red tape, and any violations of the socialist principles and norms of public life.

The principal intent of controls consists in ensuring the unity of the decision and the execution, in providing help in successfully carrying out assigned tasks, and in averting possible errors and shortcomings.

The decisions of the 26th party congress, those of the ensuing Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the decrees of the Central Committee, and, above all, "On Further Improving Controls and Check-Ups on Performance in the Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress" constituted a well-developed program for improving the work of the party control organs.

An increasingly greater place in them has come to be occupied by questions of exercising controls over the strict observance of the requirements of the CPSU Program and Charter, party and state discipline, over the unconditional execution of party and government directives. It is precisely on these key problems that the Party Control Committee and the party commissions are concentrating their efforts.

A profound understanding of the fact that party controls are political in nature serves for KPK [Party Control Committee] workers and those of the party commissions as a precise guide; it allows them to approach the organization of check-ups from the standpoints of general-party, and general-state interests.

In executing the tasks assigned by the party in the field of the country's economic and social development, primary importance attaches to the precise, well-arranged work of all units of the national economy, as well as unfailing performance of the party and government directives. Under present-day conditions there has been a great enhancement in the importance of discipline, along with the personal responsibility of management, Soviet, and party leaders, and all

workers for the tasks entrusted to them, and this imparts an important significance to strengthening state, labor, and executive discipline in every section of production, in all spheres of administration, as well as to increasing the organization and business-like quality in work.

The Party Control Committee likewise structures its own work, taking these high standards into account. In its activity the predominant place has come to be occupied by questions connected with controls on the execution of party and governmental decrees regarding the solution of the most important economic and social problems. These are, as a rule, major questions, affecting one or more sectors of the national economy, on the timely solution of which depends the further development of production, stepping up its intensification and work quality.

The Committee accords particular importance to the completion of the tasks entrusted by the Politburo and the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee. In 1984 alone KPK workers took part in the preparation for consideration in the party's Central Committee such questions as the following: "On the Work of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy regarding the Observance of Contractual Obligations to Deliver Metal Products in the Light of the Requirements of the December (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee," "On the Work of the Ministry of the Medical Industry regarding the Provision of the Population and the Health-Care Institutions with Medicinal Preparations," "On Serious Shortcomings in Providing the Population with Footwear."

In recent times a number of major questions have been examined by the Committee in a plan procedure. Frequently they were prepared in conjunction with workers from the sectorial departments of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR People's Control Committee, drawing upon a wide circle of specialists from various departments. A great deal of help in this matter was rendered by the party commissions under the jurisdiction of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics, the party kraykoms and obkoms.

It must be said that, while implementing the decree of the CPSU Central Committee concerning further improvements of controls and check-ups on performance, many party commissions under the jurisdiction of local party organs have noticeably stepped up their own activities and have achieved positive results. They have begun to occupy themselves more specifically with controls on the execution of party directives with regard to questions of developing the economy, intensifying production and introducing scientific and technical progress, ensuring a system of economies, along with the observance of party and state discipline.

The activation and enhanced effectiveness of the work of the party commissions are, of course, the results of the heightened level of their supervision on the part of the party committees, which have begun to penetrate more deeply into their work, as well as rendering greater aid and support.

A definite contribution to the cause of strengthening party and state discipline in your republic is being made by the party commissions under the Central Committee, the party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms.

The work done by the party commission under the jurisdiction of the CPK Central Committee has become more substantial. Improvement and expansion of their control activities has been brought about by the party commissions under the

jurisdiction of the Osh, Naryn, Talass, and Issyk-Kul Party Obkoms, which, upon being entrusted with this task by the buros and secretariats as well as in accordance with their own operational plans, have been exercising controls over the execution of party decisions connected with strengthening party, state, and performance discipline, and the results of the check-ups are being presented for consideration by the buros and secretariats of the party obkoms.

It is gratifying to note that the party commissions under the jurisdiction of the party raykoms are being included more and more actively in control work.

Thus, according to the information which we have, the party commission under the jurisdiction of the Suzakskiy Party Raykom during the course of 1984 conducted 26 check-ups on questions of the observance of party, state, and labor discipline, including a study, made in conjunction with the standing commission of the rayispolkom, the rural Soviets, the People's Control Committee, and the procurator's office, of such an important question as the utilization of lands and the observance of land legislation on the farms of this rayon. Materials of the check-ups by this party commission with regard to 14 questions have been examined by the party raykom buro.

It seems to us that the operational experience of the party commission under the jurisdiction of the Frunze Party Raykom, Osh Oblast also merits attention; it often takes part in preparing questions for the plenums and buro of the party raykom. Ties are being strengthened between the party commissions and the people's control organs and the commissions of the party organizations for exercising controls over administrative activities. Party activists and specialists on the national economy have been drawn into check-ups by it. The party commission has begun to pay more attention to the work of the primary party organizations with regard to indoctrinating Communists in the spirit of a strict observance by them of the charter requirements.

In recent times the party commission under the jurisdiction of the Chuysk Party Raykom has likewise stepped up its activity. This was facilitated, above all, by strengthening its staff by means of authoritative Communists having a great deal of experience in life and practice in party and public work.

The operating experience of these party commissions testifies to the fact that, when the necessary attention is paid to them, along with day-by-day supervision of their work, the party commissions under the jurisdiction of the party raykoms can be the active assistants of the party committees in solving the tasks assigned to them in the matter of strengthening party and state discipline, increasing the responsibility of personnel for the cause entrusted to them, and introducing good order and organization in all sections of economic activity.

If we speak about the problems confronting the party control organs today, then it must be emphasized that they are dictated by an increase in the demands made by the party and the Central Committee on the work quality of all units of the party, state, and economic apparatus. The party control organs must make a great contribution to the cause of the most effective utilization of scientific and production potential, along with all factors involved in intensifying public production. Also under constant and unflagging controls must be the questions of introducing advanced equipment and technology, improving the economic mechanism, instituting order in capital construction, utilizing our country's as well as imported equipment.

Comrades! Concerning itself with a wide circle of questions, the Party Control Committee and the party commissions see one of their main tasks as follows--to take all measures to safeguard the purity of the party ranks, to strengthen their unity and solidarity.

Our party's ideological, organizational, and moral-political unity has always been and remains its fundamental task. And at the given historical stage, when the party is solving the important problems of improving the socialist society, when the international situation has become seriously complicated, there is an increased need for further rallying the ranks of the party and for improving their organizational quality.

As is known our party has long been lacking in any kind of factionalisms or groupings. The party functions as a unified, militant organization, linked by a conscious discipline which is obligatory for all its members. It requires from Communists a constant political vigilance, a principled quality, and an implacability in all those cases where attempts are undertaken to penetrate into the party ranks by persons who are unworthy of the high calling of party member, where party members allow themselves shameful instances of juggling the books, thefts, bribery, and money-grubbing. And even though the number of such manifestations may be not great, they are, nonetheless, intolerable, inasmuch as they shatter discipline and inflict moral-political damage on the party.

Instances of unworthy conduct by Communists, and particularly those of management personnel, cannot help but put us on our guard. This is an important political question, a question of the firmness of the party's ties with the masses, its authority among the people.

One of the fundamental causes of serious shortcomings in economic activity and various types of service malfeasances is the lack of proper care concerning the recruitment of personnel, controls on their work, as well as the necessary requirements and exacting standards.

If we take, for example, any mercenary abuse, it arises, as a rule, where conditions favorable to this have been created: a lack of criticism and self-criticism, where an uncontrolled situation has taken shape, connivance, favoritism, and protectionism, where there has been a failure to institute a strict order in accounting, the preservation and expenditure of monetary means and material resources.

The nature of such official malfeasances is diverse, but their basic motive is, as a rule, a desire for monetary gain, an attempt to snatch something from the state, and sometimes even careerist ideas--with the aid of deceit and various tricks to cover up discrepancies in the position being occupied and even to climb higher on the service ladder. Such, by the way, is the nature of "juggling" in the state accounts, which allows a person to pass as a "hero" and derive material profits in the form of bonuses.

The requirement of the party to tighten up its demands on those who, by means of tricking the state, attempt to cover up their own lacunae, shortcomings, and lack of ability to organize affairs is of major importance. Because, of course, in the final analysis, "juggling" not only distorts the true state of affairs but also leads to an undermining of the plan foundations of the national economy; it

likewise inflicts great damage on the correct indoctrination of personnel. It is not by chance, therefore, that such actions are regarded as crimes, while the actual guilty persons are discharged from the posts which they occupy, are held strictly responsible to the party, even to the point of being expelled from the party ranks, and are over turned over to the courts for trial.

The struggle against this evil is seriously hampered by the connivance on the part of certain individual managers of higher-ranking organizations who are concerned about having favorable accounts regarding the activities of the enterprises under their jurisdiction.

We know that at the end of last year the USSR Procuracy conducted a check-up in your republic on the execution of the requirements of the well-known decrees of the party and the government on rooting out instances of tricking the state, as well as on the status of the fight against "juggling" and deception.

Of course, it cannot be said that this republic's party, Soviet, economic, monitoring control, and law-enforcement organs have not undertaken measures to root out these negative phenomena. Definite efforts were applied in order to eliminate the conditions giving rise to "juggling" and other distortions in the state accounts. Following upon alarm signals from citizens and the mass news media, as well as upon materials from the organs of the procuracy, people's control, state administration, as well as the offices of USSR Gosbank and USSR Srobybank, those persons guilty of deception and of violating state accounting discipline were held for party, disciplinary, material, and criminal responsibility.

Today, however, it must be said and said straight out in a party way that, as testified to by the materials derived from the check-up conducted by the USSR Procuracy, this republic has not achieved a radical turning-point in the fight against "juggling" as an intolerable, anti-state phenomenon.

And the cause of such a situation is, obviously, concealed, above all, in the fact that the utilization of legal means in the fight against "juggling" and deception has not always been supported by organizational and indoctrinational work in the republic's ministries and departments, labor groups, and public organizations. As a result, the activity of the law-enforcement, monitoring-control, and other state organs has not exerted a substantial influence on rooting out these gross violations of state discipline. Until very recently most of the republic's ministries and state committees did not provide for the examination of instances of "juggling" at sessions of the collegiums so as to draw an object lesson from every case, to reveal and eliminate the causes and conditions which pushed the officials into the deception. And connivance, as is known, always facilitates the spread of these violations of the law. Thus, many kolkhozes and sovkhoses under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Agriculture systematically allowed distortions in the indicators regarding the birth of lambs, the procurement of fodders, and the sizes of the gathered harvest. However, the ministry regarded these phenomena as ordinary events, while the measures which were sometimes undertaken with regard to specific instances were not accorded wide publicity so as to prevent their happening again.

The check-up revealed that "juggling" was quite widespread in industry, capital construction, transport, municipal services, and trade.

The USSR Procuracy was, obviously, correct in drawing the conclusion that the spread of "juggling" in this republic is a result of the unsatisfactory status of departmental controls as well as a result of the fact that the law-enforcement organs have not shown persistence and consistency in the fight against deception; they have not always provided a sharp evaluation of the situation of complacency and connivance which has taken shape in certain sectors of the national economy among persons who are deceiving the state.

These conclusions are, obviously, justified. But here, at this conference, we must pose the question of the role to be played by the party organizations and the people's control organs in the struggle against these anti-state activities. Because, you know, "juggling" is committed at enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, construction, transport, and trade organizations, where there are party organizations, and they have commissions for exercising controls over administrative activities, and where people's control groups and posts are functioning. And, figuratively speaking, the "juggling" is committed before the very eyes of the people's controllers, and they, for some reason, do not notice it. One is forced to come to only one conclusion: "juggling" is possible only in places where there has been a weakening of the party organization's controls over the state of affairs on the production line, where there has been a lowering of the standards required of economic managers for the strict observance of state discipline, where there are not the proper demands upon the Communist-managers for the deceitful actions which they have permitted. It is of top-priority importance, therefore, to upgrade the role played by the primary party organizations in the struggle to strengthen everywhere party and state discipline. There is likewise a demand, obviously, for a considerable improvement in the activity of the people's control organs.

Included unchanged in the operating plans of the KPK are check-ups on the execution of the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee on strengthening the fight against thefts of socialist property, bribery, and profiteering.

Check-ups conducted on the law-enforcement organs of the Armenian SSR, the Mary Oblast of Turkmenistan, in the RSFSR Ministry of Trade, in a number of associations of the meat and dairy industry of the Altay Kray, as well as the Volgograd, Kursk, Nikolayevo, Kherson, Gomel, and Alma-Ata Oblasts, have shown that effective measures are not being taken to ensure the execution of the directives issued by the CPSU Central Committee. Nor, unfortunately, are such measures being undertaken in your republic.

No less harm than theft is inflicted by such a shameful phenomenon as bribery. At times the bribe-takers have included responsible officials of the state and economic apparatus. Recently the committee has expelled from the party for this reason the following persons: the former general director of the Soyuzgostsirk All-Union Association, A. A. Kolevatov, the chief of the Foreign Relations Administration of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, L. B. Bazhanov, the deputy minister of the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machinery Construction, V. I. Vishnyakov, the RSFSR minister of light industry, Ye. F. Kondrat'kov, and the chief of the Main Administration for Trade of the Moscow Gorispolkom, N. P. Tregubov.

The Party Control Committee, after examining the materials of the investigative organs with regard to the case of the former chairman of the Tekhnopromeksport

All-Union Association of GKES /State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations/, V. G. Morozov, as well as the first deputy minister and deputy minister of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, P. P. Palaleyev and A. A. Stanislavov.

Certain officials have used their service positions to build dachas and private homes for themselves; they have violated the established procedure in setting up their own sections in gardening cooperatives; they have acquired building materials at wholesale prices at enterprises under their departmental jurisdiction; they have taken advantage of state transportation and the labor of their subordinates. Others have taken up the buying and reselling of passenger automobiles, in essence, profiteering on them. Such dealings also took place in the Party Control Committee, and the Communists were held strictly accountable for them.

I would like to dwell particularly on the problems of stepping up the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism. As is known, appropriate decisions were made on this score in 1972 and in the ensuing years. But the measures which they provided for have not been reinforced by the necessary organizational work, by intensifying anti-alcohol propaganda. Unfortunately, there are instances of drunkenness among Communists and Komsomol members; even certain management personnel are subject to this.

The causes of this also lie, undoubtedly, in the weakness of the controls over the execution of the party's decisions. Drinking-bouts are frequently arranged in conjunction with summing up the results of a socialist competition, when "working Saturdays" are held, on occasions when delegations arrive, on the eve of holidays, on the birthdays of colleagues, etc.; moreover, this is sometimes done in an organized manner, within the walls of enterprises and institutions.

The check-ups which are systematically conducted by the Party Control Committee have shown that in a number of places, as was previously the case, an underestimation of the danger of drunkenness is permitted. Certain party committees do not take principled positions; they fail to make sufficient demands on those persons who misuse alcoholic spirits.

It is necessary to emphasize with all due specificity that connivance and an all-forgiving attitude toward persons who misuse alcoholic beverages, who violate the anti-alcoholic laws, is no longer tolerable.

The struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism has now emerged as a social task of particular political importance, as an inextricable part of implementing the program outlined by the party for improving developed socialism.

Our party's line directed at eliminating from social life thefts of socialist property, malfeasances in official positions, bribery, profiteering, drunkenness, and other vices is firm and unwavering. This party line is entirely approved of and supported by the Communists and by all Soviet people.

Comrades! Letters and statements from working people to the party committees and the party control organs have been and remain an important channel of communication between the party and the masses, an extremely valuable source of information concerning the state of affairs in the localities, about the attitudes and needs of people. The messages addressed by Soviet citizens to various party and state institutions, to the editors of newspapers and journals, radio and television constitute a manifestation of socialist democracy.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "On Measures for Further Improving Work with Letters and Suggestions from Working People in Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress," directs the party committees, the Party Control Committee, and the party commissions to exhibit an increasingly more attentive attitude toward letters, statements, and complaints from working people.

Over the period of the last four years the KPK under the jurisdiction of the CPSU Central Committee has received approximately 230,000 letters and statements. About 3,000 of them, dealing with gross violations of party and state discipline, and party morality, have been checked out by the KPK staff members. The results of more than 380 check-ups have been discussed at KPK sessions. Many notes by the KPK staff members, based on the materials of the check-ups, have been examined in the party organs of republics, krais, and oblasts, as well as in ministries and departments, with participation by the staff members of the People's Control Committee.

For the most part, the local party organs and their party commissions approach with the necessary responsibility the examination of letters and statements--those which come directly to them as well as those which are referred to them by the Party Control Committee.

The Party Control Committee pays the most persistent attention to alarm signals concerning the suppression of criticism. And this is correctly so. The danger of suppressing criticism is obvious, and it grows in a manifold manner if the criticism is not merely ignored but rather regarded with annoyance, and people begin to persecute those who sharply and persistently pose such painfully urgent questions.

During the period which has elapsed since the 26th congress the KPK has received more than 6,000 statements concerning an incorrect attitude toward criticism. Statements of such a kind are placed under special monitoring controls, and many of them are checked up upon by KPK staff members. Instances where criticism is suppressed are accorded acute, principled evaluation, and the guilty persons are held in the strictest responsibility, right up to expulsion from the party.

And in the future the committee will continue to approach in the most attentive way the check-up on letters concerning an incorrect attitude toward criticism, and it will continue to hold strictly accountable those who infringe upon the charter-granted right of Communists, those who attempt to block the development of criticism and self-criticism.

Comrades! An important place in the work of the Party Control Committee under the jurisdiction of the CPSU Central Committee is occupied by the examination of personal cases and appeals by Communists. Here, as is also required by the CPSU Charter, it is necessary to have extreme attentiveness, a profound study of each case, research into the motives for the misdemeanor, and the adoption, on this basis, of the only correct and just decision.

We may regard as an extremely positive fact the decrease from year to year in the number of appeals received by the KPK; this testifies to the objective examination of personal cases by the local party organs.

At the same time, it should be noted that we still have many instances of violations of party discipline.

Naturally, the following question arises: wherein lie the reasons for these violations? The answer to this question, of course, cannot be simple, but we can say with complete assurance that among these reasons are mistakes in admission to the party and shortcomings in indoctrination work. At the same time, they also include the consequences of a lack of control, the untimely discovery of deviations from the CPSU Charter, the manifestation of unallowable tolerance and condescension toward those persons who enter upon the path of gross violations of party and state discipline, as well as the norms of socialistic communal living.

We have not yet rooted out a liberal attitude toward the evaluation of misdemeanors by Communists. Even in those cases where certain of them are held criminally responsible, they are not always expelled from the party.

Here too the question involuntarily arises: how is it possible to violate the requirement of the CPSU Charter, where the following is clearly stated: "If a Communist has committed a misdemeanor punishable by a criminal procedure, he is to be expelled from the party." It is stated briefly and unambiguously---without stipulations or notes.

Nor can we in any way justify the widespread practice of examining questions concerning the responsibility of Communists and, above all, management personnel directly in party raykoms, gorkoms, and obkoms, by-passing the primary party organizations.

Furthermore, it should be added that the corresponding primary party organizations are not always informed about the decisions taken by the raykoms and gorkoms with regard to the Communists listed on their party rolls.

Decisions taken behind "closed doors" do not attain the main--indoctrinational--role. Moreover, they frequently engender impermissible counter-currents with regard to weakenings in holding officials responsible, the presence in the party of, so to speak, "two" disciplines: one--for the managers, and the other--for rank-and-file Communists.

Comrades! During the period which has elapsed since the 26th CPSU Congress the party control organs have, undoubtedly, accomplished great and useful work. It has become more saturated and more substantial. The party controllers have become enriched with new experience.

The activation of control work has been reinforced by further improving the structure of the party commissions, increasing the number of staff workers, and by a more precise distribution of their duties. The CPSU Central Committee, while according great importance to the role of the party commissions in gorkoms and raykoms, as well as party committees with the rights of raykoms, adopted a decision to set up almost everywhere staff positions for their chairmen. Herein may be seen a manifestation of the unceasing concern of the CPSU Central Committee for strengthening the party control organs, creating the most favorable conditions and opportunities for their implementation of their own control functions.

Comrades! An unwavering following of the party positions and the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee, a reliance on the party masses, a principled quality and objectivity, widespread publicity and operational effectiveness--such are the characteristic traits of the activity of the CPSU's control organs in the past as well as at the present time.

The present generation of party people continues to learn from those unsurpassed models of genuine party standards which have become part of the creative heritage of V. I. Lenin. His works, business correspondence, and numerous letters are permeated with an uncompromising quality on questions of principle, an uncompromising attitude toward the slightest manifestation of a lack of conscience, laxity, malfeasances, bureaucratism, and red tape. All this comprises the core of the Leninist style of work.

The Leninist style is the priceless property of the Communists, a mighty implement for building our socialist society. Embodied in it have been the best traits of our party's founder and leader; reflected in it is the entire, very rich experience of the CPSU. The party control organs consider it their direct duty to master this style, to persistently study it.

In improving controls, it is necessary, above all, to proceed from tasks which the times have put forth. Principal and basic among these today is upgrading good organization and discipline, the search for such devices and methods of work which are capable, to use Lenin's words, "of yielding the greatest and most solid results with the least outlay of forces."

We must have the capacity to distinguish between genuine operational effectiveness and superficial effect, to take the following unbending rule as universal: to judge the activity of any organization or any organ not by assurances, decisions taken, or measures outlined, but rather what effect they have on the end results. It is also necessary to judge the activity of each worker in this way. Because, you know, style is not simply the aggregate of the forms and methods being used. Style is people, called upon to implement the party policy; it is managers with their business-like, ideological, and moral qualities. And the most trustworthy rule for evaluating all these qualities is precisely the actual case, the end result.

Effective and systematic party controls are supposed to teach personnel to fully acknowledge their responsibility for their every word, for every pledge made. Equal demands must be made on everybody: you gave your word--now keep it! If you fail to keep it, you will be held strictly responsible to the party! Liberalism with regard to idle talk, to "play with words" is intolerable! It contradicts the very essence of the Leninist style of work. And it must be stated very specifically that the Leninist style takes shape and develops only where an atmosphere of exacting criticism and sincere self-criticism has been created.

Comrades! Some very important questions have been discussed at this conference today. And it must be assumed that the party organizations and party committees, party commissions and commissions of party organizations for exercising controls over administrative activity, proceeding from the positions taken by this conference, will adopt measures with respect to further improving the forms and methods of party controls, enhancing the role of disciplinary practice and the indoctrination of Communists.

Allow me to wish you great success in the matter of ensuring the fulfillment of the assigned tasks of the concluding year of the five-year plan and in greeting the regular 27th CPSU Congress with new labor victories in the name of our great Motherland's prosperity.

2384

CSO: 1830/558

REGIONAL

USSR PROCURATOR, OTHERS ADDRESS TAJIK PARTY AKTIV

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 9 Jun 85 p 1

[Article: "To Strengthen Socialist Legality and Law-and-Order: A Meeting of the Republican Party Aktiv"]

[Text] A meeting of the republican party aktiv took place on 8 June in Dushanbe. Secretaries of the obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms of the party; chairmen of the ispolkoms of the oblast, city and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies; leaders of ministries and departments, law-preservation organs, industrial enterprises, construction, transport and trade organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, learning institutions; secretaries of the primary party organizations; officials of the organs of the Central Committee of the Tajik Communist Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik SSR, the Tajik State Trade Union, the Central Committee of the Tajik Komsomol; and representatives of the means of mass information and propaganda took part in the work of the meeting.

The meeting of the republican party aktiv discussed the question of the tasks of party, soviet and law-and-order organs of the republic in providing socialist legality and law-and-order.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Tajik Communist Party, R. N. Nabiyeu gave a speech on this question.

Taking part in the debates on the speech were: R. Khodzhiyev, first secretary of the Leninabad party obkom; R. Mamurov, a brigade leader of fitters from the trust "Dushanbestroy," commander of the Voluntary People's Militia; I. Khayeyev, first secretary of the Kulyab party obkom; I. Kurbanov, minister of Internal Affairs of the Tajik SSR; A. Khalimov, first secretary of the Dushanbe party gorkom; E. Babadzhanov, director of the sovkhoz imeni D. Rasulov of the Il'ichevskiy rayon; A. Dadabayev, chairman of the Tajik State Trade Union; Yu. N. Shcherbakov, procurator of the Tajik SSR; A. T. Kasymova, minister of Consumer Services of the republic; M. Nazriyev, chairman of the ispolkom of the Kurgan-Tyubin oblast soviet of people's deputies; Sh. M. Sultanov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Tajik Komsomol; S. Beknazarov, first secretary of the Khorog party gorkom; and T. Myrzayev, minister of the Meat and Dairy Industry of the Tajik SSR.

The deputy director of the department of administrative organs of the CPSU Central Committee, V. A. Abolentsev spoke at the meeting of the aktiv.

The meeting of the republican party aktiv adopted a resolution corresponding to the question under discussion.

Members and candidates for membership in the Buro of the Central Committee of the Tajik Communist Party, the General Procurator of the USSR A. M. Rekunov and the Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR B.K. Yelisov took part in the work of the meeting.

With this, the meeting of the republican party aktiv finished its work.

CSO: 1830/661

REGIONAL

COMPLAINTS BRING CHANGES IN ESTONIAN HOUSING CODE

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jan 85 p 2

[Article by G. Gukasov, IZVESTIYA special correspondent, Tallinn: "Changes Have Been Introduced in the Code"]

[Text] It has become customary to to include questions, which have been raised in workers' letters and statements, on the agenda of sessions of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. However, you see, this is not very simple -- to see the fact behind the private and seemingly insignificant event, to analyze the situation, and -- if necessary -- to even tighten up the law.

The 1983 experiences of citizens in appealing to the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and local councils of people's deputies were summed up in February 1984. The letter of R. Kadak, who wrote about shortcomings in services in a number of Kokhtla-Yarveskiy Rayon villages that were located on its borders, was discussed during March. A decree on the results of citizen appeals to the Supreme Soviet during the first half of the year was adopted in August. Yuriy Kozyr'kov's statement is on the agenda today.

He went to Leo Kypa, the chief of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium reception-room, in August and related a story that had happened to him.

When they told Kozyr'kov, a mechanic in the Stroymekhaniaztsiya Trust's construction work administration (URS-1), that he needed to go to the hospital for an operation, he decided for himself: That's all, the end is near. Men who have never been sick, are always over-anxious about their health to the extreme. Because Kozyr'kov was sending himself to kingdom-come ahead of time, he was only concerned about his family -- his wife and two small sons. His concern was housing. He had worked in his administration for 10 years and his turn for better housing was just about to come up. Not long remained to wait -- there were five on the list. However, his question was a puzzler which would nonplus anybody: "In the event of my death, will my family keep my turn in my enterprise?" He went to a trade union committee meeting with it. When the agenda had been exhausted, Kozyr'kov stood up and -- without beating about the bush -- posed the question to those present:

"If I die, does my family keep my turn?"

The trade union committee members replied: "What are you talking about, Yura?! Live a hundred years!"

"Yes, live. But are you stricken off the list? Because it is written in the new housing code that one who is waiting his turn and who leaves work, can only remain on the list because of a job-related illness, an accident at work or if some member of his family works in the same enterprise. 'My case' is not like this."

N. Minochkin, the chairman of the housing commission and the deputy chief of the administration, said: "It would be somehow awkward to discuss all this, but there cannot be two opinions. In any event, your family will receive quarters in your enterprise. However, do not think about this now. Think about your health. Be calm."

Kozyr'kov did not listen to these words and did not take them to heart: There is a mental state in which an individual seemingly fastens on to one thought.

Kozyr'kov asked: "Do you remember how much the V. S. family had to bear? Everything of course was resolved, but how much did it strain their nerves? I do not want the same to happen to my family...."

Everyone present knew well what he was talking about. The worker V. S. had worked nine years in RSU-1. At the end of 1983, he -- just as everyone else -- left for home after completing his work day -- but he did not arrive home. By midnight he had returned to his enterprise pretty well under the influence, opened the welfare room, turned on the heating device, and fell asleep. A fire destroyed the individual and the structure. The enterprise and the trust decided to give his family a new apartment despite all the aggravating circumstances. The republic's Ministry of Construction took exception, and it took quite a bit of trouble on the part of the administration and public organizations to induce it to put its stamp on it. The ministry's position was quite sound; the new housing code did not guarantee the granting of housing in such cases. In accordance with this story and with other similar cases that were not necessarily connected with drunkenness, Kozyr'kov's imagination completed the picture of his family's fate for him. He did not doubt for a minute that the enterprise valued him as an excellent worker and competent specialist and would try as a friend to do everything possible for his family. However, -- as a friend. This did not seem to him to be a reliable guarantee. Moreover, visas from the ministry and the rayispolkom are required in order to obtain quarters. Who knows the mechanic Kozyr'kov there?

Yuriy Anatol'yevich asked the doctor who was treating him for leave and went to the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services. They had told him that this organization allegedly was the source of the new housing code.

K. Adler, the minister's assistant said, not at all clarifying the situation: "An enterprise need not supply housing to the family of a dead worker. It has plans which it must fulfill, and only living people do this. The solution in this case suggests a new housing code: placing the family on the list at the place of residence, that is, in the rayispolkom."

Armed with all the necessary references, Yu. Kozyr'kov went to the Leninskiy rayispolkom department. They refused to accept his documents.

Inspector L. Kuremaa told him: "Stand in line at the enterprise. The probability of your obtaining housing through the council is not very great."

Now, Kozyr'kov concentrated all his efforts on getting accepted somehow on the records in the rayispolkom -- before the doctor's rounds at his bed and afterwards -- in the republic's Trade Union Council, Council of Ministers, the procurator's office, the Ministry of Justice, and again in the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services. He achieved it. They accepted the documents. An official reply signed by the head of the rayispolkom housing department arrived after a week: "All of the housing in Tallinn which has been commissioned, is being distributed among the ministries and departments which are allotting it to their subordinate enterprises, establishments and organizations. The housing questions of working citizens are being solved at their place of work in accordance with the order of priority. Housing area is not being assigned to ispolkoms for working citizens. E. Noorkyyv, chief of the Leninskiy rayispolkom housing department."

All of the documents were returned by mail. The new law had gone into effect on 1 March 1984. The republic's Council of Ministers and the Estonian Trade Union Council clearly wrote in Decree No 77 dated 9 February of that same year: "The registering of citizens needing improved housing conditions... is done at the place of work. When they wish, they are also registered at the place of residence after they are accepted on the register at the place of work." It is understandable why this is done: Their turn can move forward both because of new construction and because apartments are vacated for different reasons.

E. Lepp, deputy chairman of the Tallinn gorispolkom, says: "To admit honestly, our ispolkoms were simply not prepared for the work which the execution of the housing code imposed. That is why we were forced to retain that registration procedure under which only enterprises provide workers with housing."

They advised Kozyr'kov in the republic's procurator's office that his wife would keep his turn in his enterprise. It would mean, however, starting all over again -- after the family had been on the RSU-1 lists for ten years.

It is possible to imagine the mood in which Kozyr'kov lay on the operating table and how much mental effort was required by the chief of the third surgical department, Agu Viirmaa, to compose his patient. The operation was a success. Kozyr'kov was discharged from the hospital. He was given a disability and permitted to work half a day. During his very first free hour, he went to the reception-room of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Kozyr'kov said the following to Leo Kypa, the manager of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium reception-room: "No, I have no doubts of the sympathy and comradely support of my work collective especially since I had an opportunity to be fully convinced of this during my illness. Is it not necessary, however, to overcome an artificially created obstacle? Why is it necessary to receive benefits which have been earned by many years of irreproachable work as a favor?"

Leo Aleksandrovich said to the Presidium's secretary: "I think that this question deserves attention."

Kozyr'kov was soon invited to the Presidium's secretary. Comrade Vakht had acquainted himself with all of this somewhat "strange" affair. He came to the conclusion that there "was a question" here. That same day, instructions were given to the appropriate ministries and departments to work on this question and to present their thoughts on it.

Here is the scheduled meeting of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium. The entire story of Yuriy Kozyr'kov has been presented. The opinions of the departments have been discussed. A change has been introduced into the Estonian Housing Code in accordance with which a family remains -- in the event of the bread-winner's death -- on the list for improved housing in the enterprise where he worked.

8802

CSO: 1800/241

REGIONAL

ESTONIAN EMIGRE ORGANIZATIONS ATTACKED FOR ANTISOVIETISM

Tallinn MOLODEZH' ESTONII in Russian 22, 23, 24 Jan 85 p 3

[Serialized article by P.Nigul': " 'Voices' and Supporting Voices," under the rubric: "Antisovietism: How It Is Done"]

[22 Jan 85 p 3]

[Text] At one of the single political days, the question was asked as to what was the present position of the so-called "Estonian emigres" and in what forms they were conducting subversive activities against Soviet Estonia and the entire socialist community.

Today we are beginning the publication of a series of materials on this theme prepared for MOLODEZH' ESTONII by P.A. Ingul on the request of well-known social scientists and specialists on questions of contemporary Western ideological trends.

The question asked at the single political day is encountered fairly often. Actually, at times one may hear that the emigres constitute a kind of independent political force. Sometimes even an equals sign is placed between the emigres and the Estonian bourgeoisie and their political views and positions are considered identical.

First lest we consider these questions. First, that of the Estonian bourgeoisie. This was a comparatively young social class not yet possessing either wide-reaching international ties nor big capital. It ceased its existence in 1940 and only a few of its representatives emigrated in 1940-1941 to the West.

At the time of the war, some of them together with Hitler's Wehrmacht returned to Estonia and served under the fascist occupational administration. When defeat of Hitler's Germany became obvious, in an agreement with Berlin, the population began to be removed from occupied ESSR to Western countries. This was done according to a preliminarily worked out plan under the code name of "Operation Baltic Sea" on the basis of earlier compiled lists. The following objectives were pursued: to create in the West a social base--the "people,"

in whose name it would be possible to continue anticommunist and antisoviet activities after the war; to provide anticommunism with hired personnel that already had experience in antisoviet activity; to hinder postwar restoration of the USSR and in particular the Baltic area. Consequently in the compilation of the lists and removal of the population to the West, preference was given to the intelligentsia, instructors of educational institutions and, of course, those who had actively cooperated with fascist Germany.

In this way by the fall of 1944, something like 72,000 former citizens found themselves in Western countries (including about 25,000 children and women). They began to be called "displaced persons," "refugees" and even "emigres."

Here were to be found several tens of former bourgeois politicians and officials of Hitler's occupation administration representing the remains of the Estonian bourgeoisie and its political groups. In the initial postwar years, they created three "Estonian governments" in the West that constantly quarreled with each other on the question as to which of them was "rightfully" the successor to the government of bourgeois Estonia and "represented" the Estonian people.

But all this was a long time ago, almost half a century ago. If some of the "foregoing" are still alive,, they would be 75-85 years of age and retired from public activity.

Western, for example, Swedish immigration statistics did not take into consideration children up to 15 years of age, that is, those born in 1930 or later. Today even these younger emigres already have nephews, while those who were born, brought up and received their education in the West have already reached 45 years of age.

The activities of the once-established emigre organizations naturally have grown weaker. It was recently reported in the Western press that in comparable monetary indicators which take inflation into account these organizations at the present time spend one-tenth to one-twentieth of the money spent in the fifties and sixties.

The functionaries of the so-called emigre organizations receive salaries from the budgetary sources of certain Western countries. For example, the "Estonian Committee in Sweden," according data of the foreign press, is allocated 29 staff units for "archival employees" receiving their salaries from the Swedish treasury. A portion of them is used for staffing its apparatus, while another portion is distributed among such antisoviet organizations as the "Baltic Committee," the "Archive," the "Aid Fund" and the like.

Several years ago the concern was voiced that the authorities were allegedly planning to eliminate the category of "archival employees," which would significantly hinder the future work of the emigre organizations. According to public testimony of one of the leading emigre functionaries in Sweden, A. Khorma, they never succeeded in collecting membership dues or donations in excess of 9 percent of required funds and the remaining money "had to be acquired elsewhere."

In this connection, questions were raised particularly at meetings of emigre youth concerning the reliability of rumours that the money was coming from USA's CIA. To this the emigre functionaries cynically responded that what was more important was not from where the dollars came but rather how they were used. Let us make note of this notable fact!

Those rank-and-file Estonians who due to various causes found themselves in the West after the war never showed any particular inclination to support their organizations although their leaders in all these years tried to prove the opposite. It is known from the press, for example, that about 3,000 Estonian emigres were residing in such a city as Goteborg, but their local organization never numbered more than 200 members. These facts show that the overwhelming majority preferred to occupy themselves in arranging their personal life in a society new to them. The emigre leaders of 30 years ago, in the years of their active work, repeatedly complained that they were never able to involve more than 20 percent of the Estonians living in this or that country even in passive participation of their measures.

The emigre press (about 10 newspapers are published in the Estonian language in the West mostly as weeklies with a circulation of from 500 to 2,500 copies) for a long time has been unable to pay for itself. For a number of years it has existed on solid state subsidies expressed in amounts of 5-6 zeroes. At the same time complaints are constantly voiced that someone of the colleagues is getting more than he deserves.

Emigre authors write many books with an antisoviet content. Publishers related that, for example, in Sweden itself there exists a special state institution that has the duty of looking through manuscripts and deciding where they should be published or not. If the decision is positive, then a grant of 10,000 kron is allocated for publication of the book. Without such monetary aid, the emigres would be unable to publish a single book. Such are the facts.

Now we shall try to generalize what has been said.

Thus today in the West all Estonians 40-45 years of age were born, brought up and received their education either in the United States, Canada, Sweden, Australia or in other capitalist countries. Among them, only isolated individuals have a mastery of the Estonian language.

These people do not like it when they are called "emigres" or "refugees." They point out that an "emigrant" or a "refugee" is one who for whatever personal reasons (economic, political or other) has left his homeland. They did not flee or emigrate from anywhere. The great majority were born here in the United States or Sweden. Their political loyalty belongs to the United States rather than to Estonia about which only some of them have personal impressions while the greater part only know from articles and reports. These people undoubtedly consider themselves Americans, Swedes or Canadians, sometimes adding that they are only of Estonian origin (most frequently--on the part of one of the parents).

For this reason, for many years now "mass emigre actions," such as "Estonian days" and "solemn acts" on the occasion of any sort of bourgeois anniversaries and the like are conducted in foreign languages, mostly in English, for the great majority of socially active "Estonians" do not have a mastery of their native language.

A most provocative situation is created, and to exist in it, putting it mildly, is not easy. How does one get out of such a situation? Here is how. In the summer of 1984 at one of the emigre get-togethers in New York, the speaker stated that for the development of an Estonian national culture and the preservation of national self-awareness and spirit, it is ostensibly not at all necessary to know the Estonian language, that this can be achieved in English. Some of those present apprehended such reasoning with marked embarrassment, but the actual idea did not provoke any special objections--after all, there is nothing else left. (Incidentally, Estonian writers living abroad have already been long complaining that the Estonian language is being increasingly forgotten and the "national struggle" has lost any meaning).

In the light of what was said that it would appear to be quite doubtful to put an equals sign between the Estonian bourgeoisie lost in the past and the emigres. In 1956, one of the young emigre political figures (now already recognized) asserted that very little had been done in Estonia in the years of the bourgeois government. He wrote: "The insignificance of the country and of the language area paralyzed vitally necessary expansion of the intellectual outlook and made bourgeois Estonia economically one-sided, depending on foreign industry for the "potato republic." The Estonian republic in 1918 died and was buried. And now, looking back, one can say that the death of the bourgeois republic on Estonian soil seemed inevitable and logical--it befell an organism that was not in a condition to exist in the conditions of the 20th century."

Thus the leaders and a few activists among the emigres, while frequently declaring their "succession" with respect to bourgeois Estonia in fact, however, reflected the views and acted on behalf, first of all, of American capital. And finally, these 15,000 aged people do not have any independent political importance.

[23 Jan 85 p 3]

Ten to fifteen years ago, there began to be established new, Estonian allegedly emigre organizations camouflaging themselves with signs of scientific and research institutions. Their collaborators were primarily Americans, Canadians and Swedes of Baltic origin. They are engaged in the active study of the Baltic region and have founded several press publications on the pages of one of which (the journal AYA KIRI) they have declared outright that they are operating in behalf and in the interests of a great power that badly needs specialists possessing information from the USSR and the socialist countries.

At their organizational meetings, they assert that they want to "continue the struggle with other methods" and have as their objective "to struggle against

Marxist interpretation of historical events in the Baltic region." They intend to bring to the homeland a "new impetus" and with it to create in the Baltic region a "region for the transmission of Western ideas and a Western spirit to the Soviet Union."

For this reason, it is hardly proper to speak today of subversive activity of solely former inhabitants of Estonia. It as before is being conducted by emigres for money and under the supervision of the special services of imperialist reaction and is aimed solely at a specific region--the Baltic region. Today this activity is aimed against socialism as a whole.

Methods have also changed: the above-mentioned organizations hire people with connections in the socialist countries knowing the languages for work on editorial boards and in publishing houses and other institutions engaged in anticommunist activity. These people dress in the clothing of "patriotically" inclined emigres or as they are still called with respect to the ESSR by Western propaganda "Estonians abroad" (in the summer of this year they also started to call them in the headings of Western newspapers "English-language Estonians) for whom the interests of the motherland are dear and who sincerely and on their own initiative want to "help" it.

If these people were to be included among "Estonians abroad," then in the wake of such logic, the rather well-known Z. Brzezinski should be called a "Pole abroad" or the American chess player B. Fischer--a "Latvian abroad" and H. Kissinger--a "German abroad." It would be curious to know how many Americans in general would be left in the United States outside of the indigenous Indians?

If we were to speak of that group of people in the West which are currently basically "interested" in the ESSR, it possibly would be three, or perhaps, four hundred persons who call themselves 'Estologists' [estologi]. They include journalists, historians, sociologists, philologists and public figures who serve imperialist reaction. The interests here are specific. In the beginning of 1984, for example, U.S. military departments quite openly published materials on a number of topics of interest to them. They even declared a "competition for study" of the USSR, specifically the Soviet Baltic republics. For the most part questions were "studied" pertaining not to history, culture or scientific knowledge but to the defense potential of our country.

This is how emigres are used in antisoviet activity. But this is far from all. Let us cite a few examples.

Sweden has a "Stockholm Estonian Society" and its chairman is A. Milits. Who is this individual?

He was born in 1932 in the village of Panikovich, not far from Pechora. He studied there and later in Tartu. After the war, he found himself in the West and became one of the activists of the Russian White emigre organization "National Labor Alliance" (NTS) and of the so-called "Slavic Mission" and subsequently their representative in Scandinavia as well as a staff member of the notorious journal POSEV in Sweden. He participated in organizing

provocations against democratic youth at world festivals in Vienna and Helsinki. He called himself "Peter," "Yuriy Volkov" or simply "Polotskiy." Inasmuch as the "ideas" of NTS and the "Slavic Mission" were essentially incompatible with the "ideas" of the "Estonian government in exile," the fathers of the Estonian emigres [community], A. Rey and A. Varma, even once forbade to allow this individual close to Estonian "national" affairs for his excessive curiosity with respect to tourists from the ESSR.

But now A. Rey and A. Varma are dead and A. Milits has become the chairman of the Estonian emigre organization and even the editor of a newspaper. No one else could be found!

The first thing that this chairman and editor did was to invite the leaders of the NTS to Sweden on the question of how to better organize subversive activities against the USSR. Then he began to publish his articles on the pages of the newspaper. He taught in them how to look for and expand "direct contacts with the underground in the motherland" and how to create opposition groups, send antisoviet literature and duplicating equipment, create in the "free press" support groups for Soviet dissidents." carry out demonstrations and organize mass sending of letters to the ESSR with antisoviet information. And in the newspaper, he even appealed on 31 March 1978 that information be acquired in the ESSR on military questions, which he asked to be turned over to him personally.

All in all, he made many recommendations. But could these possibly be literary exercises? By no means! For Milits words and acts are not separate.

In the summer of 1977 foreign tourists Sareld and Eyagstrem were detained in Brest at the border station. They had attempted to secretly take antisoviet materials to the USSR in an equipped motor vehicle. It turned out that they were acting on the instructions of the "Slavic Mission" and particularly of A. Milits.

At approximately that time the Dutchman Theodor van der Woort came to study at the Leningrad Theological Academy. It soon was determined that this individual embarking on becoming a clergyman on the instructions of A. Milits looked up the criminal Murashev, who had served two sentences and who was entrusted with making a film of the persecution of believers in the USSR, of dissatisfaction of the intelligentsia with violations of human rights and so on. Milits sent a handy motion-picture camera, five cassettes with film, two tape recorders and 3,000 rubles for "preliminary expenses." All this the unmasked Woort wrote in his own handwriting in explanation prior to his expulsion from the USSR.

Such is the chairman of the "Estonian Society" in Stockholm. But he, possibly recalling his name at the NTS, wrote an antisoviet novel in the Swedish tongue "Peter--Child of War" and other antisoviet books. He was accepted into the local journalists union. He has the idea of organizing on the Swedish littoral a total of 17 radio stations for antisoviet propaganda to the Baltic region. It is clear that this requires funds and Milits gets them. Who would gain from his ideas, for whose benefit does he do this unsavory work?

In 1975 when the American subversive radio station "Liberty" in Munich began broadcasts in the languages of the Baltic region, it was declared that in distinction to the "Voice of America" it would arrange its programs based on information obtained directly from the Soviet Baltic.

At that time a certain A. Kippar, long known for his active antisoviet work, was put on the telephones in Stockholm (now he is a 72-year old, rather decrepit man). The Tartu newspaper EDASI wrote in detail about him in an article on a trial of several persons who had passed antisoviet information across the frontier. A. Kippar and his helpers ferreted out among us malcontents and systematically called them, gathering all sorts of rumors in exchange for various handouts sent by mail: fashion magazines, records and minor clothing.

Western subversive services are seeking in various ways people among us whom they can influence. Here political immaturity, moral instability and such weak aspects of character as vanity, desire for fame, cupidity and infatuation with fashion would be useful. They attempt to secure from these people various letters and "appeals of dissatisfied persons." In the West, they are edited and published in the press as "declarations" offered as documents proving the existence in socialist countries of "opposition," an "underground" and so forth. Naive tricks? False declarations and appeals signed by fictitious organizations or by entirely anonymous persons. Such "documents," in order to get into the large Western press or publications concerned for their reputation are first legalized in emigre newspapers and in bulletins of Radio "Liberty" and "Free Europe": this would in no way hurt their reputation!

This is how various antisoviet rumors and conjectures are disseminated and the aims of USSR internal and foreign policy and its peace initiatives on the international arena are distorted. All this is intended to establish antisoviet position of Western public opinion.

[24 Jan 85 p 3

Western ideologues assign an important place among methods of shaping the public opinion of Soviet people to systematic radio propaganda. American specialists have boasted more than once that thanks to their radio programs they succeeded in attaining political goals which no army could achieve. They cited examples of how in countries of Africa and Asia transistor radios tuned to a single wavelength were scattered from airplanes. An American radio station began broadcasting on this wavelength and in this way it was possible to suggest to the local population what the imperialists across the ocean wanted.

For many years now such American radio stations as "Voice of America," "Free Europe" and "Liberty," the English BBC, the West-German "German Wavelength" and others conduct daily subversive broadcasts many hours long to the USSR and other socialist countries. Their staffs--"national editorial offices"--are filled with people who know the languages of the peoples of the USSR and also with some recent defectors to the camp of anticommunism. They as a rule are

supervised by an experienced American specialist. Here systematic collection of needed "information" is conducted, subject matter is thought out and the transmission equipment is checked out.

These radio programs have been written about a number of times in our press. The anticommunist "voices" try to laud "Western democracy," the American way of life and to draw a colorful picture of the "unlimited opportunities" for a person in the West.... At the same time, they slander the socialist countries. In broadcasts for young people, interspersed with Western music and stories about the life of student and youth organizations, an explanation is conducted on how one should prepare to flee from the USSR and to whom to turn with a request for granting of asylum. Listeners are urged to disseminate antisoviet leaflets, and they describe how these leaflets are prepared and how to ensure against an investigation of their authors and disseminators.

Such broadcasts, tempting with "freedom and great opportunities in the West," incline some morally unstable people not to return to the Motherland from a trip abroad. But there are also to be found those who embark on this path on their own initiative. And in all such cases, the Western press lapses into a stormy antisoviet hysteria, usually continuing for several weeks and at times even longer.

Defectors are widely used for shaping public opinion and in attempts to discredit socialism.

One such young person working in Soviet Estonia as a photographer (he completed secondary school three years ago) was forced, for example, to speak before an emigre audience on the subject of what troubles young people in his former motherland. He "analyzed" the mood among school youth, questions of organization of instruction in school and upbringing in the family and then spoke at length about students and young specialists with higher education.... But what could he truthfully say there about all this. It could be seen from the text that all this was not his thoughts but a report prepared by his "guardians." Entire sentences and generalizing conclusions of the newly arrived "estologist" were taken from works of American sovietologists. And such slop is offered as the evidence of an eyewitness, as an opinion disseminated among dwellers of the Soviet Union. But sometimes we think: what can a person say, for example, about the VUZ program who has never studied at a VUZ? Incidentally, his bosses are not bothered by this "nuance." What is important to them is antisoviet "noise"! Actually it is for this purpose that he was trained by his "guardians" for an entire four months.

Let us present another example. We know that V. Randpere and his wife L. Miller recently failed to return from a tourist trip abroad.

In the West, this was immediately made into a sensation. Randpere was even declared... a "deputy minister of justice." True, in several days, they reported that he was an assistant to the minister and later the "fourth person at the ministry." Then they announced a mythical rank of "senior assistant to the minister."

A widely advertised press conference was held under the leadership of the already mentioned A. Kippar. A Swedish newspaper (NORSHENS FLAMMAN) wrote about all this antisoviet hullabaloo: "Under the portraits of old Estonian nationalists decorated with iron crosses at the Estonian House an anticommunist spectacle was held. Here it was immediately made clear that we are dealing in the person of the defector with a petty bureaucratic official who obviously knows less about his country than the attending journalists."

What did Randpere dispense with such ardor? The fact that he was overwhelmed with "national feelings," that quite probably an "inevitable execution by shooting in the future" awaited him in his homeland and that he had been given the category of "professional singer," but that he had been prevented from taking advantage of a "deserved and universal popularity".... His wife quite simply and candidly was happy: now she would go to the "country that had previously been an unattainable dream" (that is, the United States). At the same time the couple did not forget to diligently and loudly thank everyone who had helped them to escape from the motherland (especially Mr Kippar).

But despite the inflated sensationalism, Randpere's speeches show us a person whose civic conscience and political convictions depend on being rewarded for his treachery, while the critical picture of himself showed a pathologically deformed confidence in his extraordinary talents in the field of rock, pop and all kinds of other rhythms.

Well, experience shows that the lifetime of sensation is short, and this too will fade away. Defectors are soon forgotten. Such cases have occurred in the past, and their "heroes" very frequently began to quickly beg for home. Some, incidentally, just gave themselves up. Western freedom and the great opportunities turned out to be just illusions for them.

These actions are needed for imperialism not only for the propagandizing of an ideology alien to socialism but principally because the bourgeoisie is seriously concerned with changes in the public opinion of their countries. They can in no wise escape the fact that their population demands with increasing determination for strengthening of peace, cessation of the arms race and improvement of social security. In such an atmosphere, the defenders of imperialism find it important to use defects so as to show the local ordinary inhabitant through these renegades "how bad socialism is" and to somehow ground social and political tension that is growing in capitalist countries. And at the same time, as the USSR and other countries of the socialist community are actively fighting to bolster relaxation of tension in international relations, Western ideological saboteurs are conducting a determined fight for many radio frequencies and for various television channels in all kinds of printed publications. But no matter how they grieve and to whatever means they resort, they are unable to turn Soviet people from their course or to disorient international public opinion. It is therefore not worthwhile to exaggerate their base role. But in the ideological struggle of the two opposing social and political systems, we must clearly know not only who our adversaries are and what they are striving for but also with what methods they operate. The reactionary circles of the so-called "Estonian emigres" try to make their dirty contribution to fomenting of tension and conduct their "creeping propaganda," but historical experience incontrovertibly proves the whole futility of their attempts.

REGIONAL

LITHUANIAN CP CC BURO STRESSES AGRICULTURAL TECHNOLOGY

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 29 May 85 p 1

/Article: "In the Lithuanian CP CC Buro"/

/Text/ At a regularly scheduled session, the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Buro examined the question of accelerating the development of a material-technical base for the processing branches of the republic's agro-industrial complex.

It is noted in a resolution which was passed that in carrying out the decisions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the ministries and governmental departments of the processing branches of the republic's agro-industrial complex have accomplished substantial work in the development of a material-technical base. In addition, a base for the storage and processing of agricultural production is undergoing slow development and remains at a bottleneck with the agro-industrial complex. A noticeable depreciation of the fundamental industrial-production funds is taking place. The operation of undelayed receiving of agricultural raw materials in the farms and the removal of materials by common motor transport is being carried out most unsatisfactorily. Significant losses in agricultural production are taking place.

Gosplan, the ministries and the party's gorkoms and raykoms are insufficiently searching for reserves and supplementary capabilities for the quickest possible elimination of disproportions. They are not displaying the proper demand-ingness toward economic leaders for the development of a material base for these branches and for the effective use of production potential and raw materials.

With the goal of eliminating the indicated shortcomings, the Central Committee Buro brought the attention of a series of ministries to the necessity of intensifying the work on developing and technically retooling the industries. The Buro obliged the ministries to take effective steps directed at the better utilization of the existing production base, the improvement of the storage organization, the more complete processing of raw materials and the reduction of waste of those materials.

The republic's Gosplan was put in charge of working out the fundamental goals of economic development for Lithuania from 1986-1990 and continuing through

the period up to the year 2000. Gosplan is also supposed to determine, while taking into account scientific and technical progress, a more effective assignation of capital investment with the goal of solving the problems in processing and storing agricultural raw materials.

The party's gorkoms and raykoms and the gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms must keep the questions of the long-range development of a material-technical base and the improvement of work in the processing branches under unflagging control. Gosplan must support in all ways possible the initiative of the labor collectives in mobilizing internal resources for increasing of output, widening of selection and improvement of the quality of food products. It must also support the rational utilization of raw materials and the reduction of losses. And it must increase the responsibility of the regional agro-industrial associations in solving the problems of the complex development of a base for processing and storing agricultural products. In a resolution by the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, Council of Ministers and republic trade union council, steps are prescribed for decreasing the loss of work time due to temporary disability. The ministries, governmental departments, gorispolkoms, rayispolkoms and republic trade union committees were put in charge of introducing a system of monthly analysis of the causes and incidence of temporary disability in every labor collective, taking concrete steps toward improving the protection of the workers' health. They were also put in charge of working out and realizing a complex plan for improving work conditions, on-the-job safety and sanitary health improvement measures from 1986-1990. Included in the plans are effective measures for eliminating the shortcomings revealed in the certification of workplace conditions and in the course of analysis of incidence of disease and occupational injury. Also included is a plan for increasing the effectiveness of work on preventing incidence of disease among the workers.

In working out a draft of the plan for economic and social development during the twentieth five-year-plan, Gosplan, together with the interested parties in the ministries and governmental departments, must prescribe widening the network of specialized industries (shops, sectors) for the job placement of those persons with a decreased working ability, and also widening the development of in-home labor.

The Ministry of Public Health was put in charge of working out and bringing into greater operational practice the work of the medical establishments. Their work includes taking effective measures aimed at the prevention of illnesses, most of all influenza; reinforcing the work of the party organs on sanitary education; and propaganda for a healthy way of life and knowledge of personal hygiene among the population, especially among the young. They also are working on the constant improvement of the work regime in ambulatory clinics, creating in them optimal conditions for the rendering of medical service to workers, especially during their off hours.

At the session, the work of the Lithuanian CP Pozhel of the city Kaunas was also examined concerning the monitoring of the fulfillment of the party's decisions on the question of increasing production, widening the selection and improving the quality of consumer goods.

The Lithuanian CP Central Committee Buro expressed approval for the attitude of the farmers from the Alitus rayon toward all the kolkhoz workers, sovkhoz workers, farm leaders and specialists and workers in agro-industrial associations who had come forth with an appeal for successfully carrying out the hay harvest, increasing the stocks of fodder and raising its quality. The resolution concerning these questions has been passed and will be published in the republic's press.

At the Buro session, a draft of the edicts of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania was also approved, "Concerning measures for intensifying the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism and the eradication of the practice of making bathtub gin."

A series of other questions connected with the economic and cultural life of the republic was examined also.

12882

CSO: 1800/328

REGIONAL

PREPARATION FOR 28TH ARMENIAN CP CONGRESS

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 24 May 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Nearing the 28th American CP Congress"]

[Excerpts] The activities of the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum are well known. They passed a resolution concerning the convening of the 27th CPSU Congress, discussed the great and difficult problems of domestic and foreign policy, exposed with all adherence to principle the existing shortcomings and oversights while pointing the way to their elimination, and proposed concrete tasks in connection with preparations for the Congress and the future outlook.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum proposed that its main task be the securing of a more upbeat tempo for economic and social development, based on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the intensification of social production. The importance of the tasks set forth by the party requires a deep understanding of the developing situation, bold decision-making and energetic action.

We still have many shortcomings and unresolved tasks which are affecting production efficiency. Thus, for four months 100 production associations and industries have not met the growth plan for labor production. Ninety-nine did not fulfill the plan for realizing production volume in correspondence with delivery commitments. A lag has been noted in capital construction and introduction of new technology. Plans for trade turnover and the everyday services of the population are unfulfilled also.

The important task for today is to fully employ the great organizational economic and social reserves in activating the human factor so that each person works conscientiously, with the full return of strength, and reinforces organization and discipline.

The republic has at its disposal great capabilities for accelerating scientific and technical progress. Our task is to more fully and rationally use the existing scientific potential and the abilities of the academic, higher education and industrial sciences, while developing effective ties between science and production. The party organizations and committees should obtain active work toward this goal from all the participants in the cycle,

"research - design - technological development - production." As the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum demanded, it is also important to increase the role and authority of skilled craftsmen, engineers, designers and process engineers while also increasing material and moral work incentives.

Economic intensification urgently requires overcoming the inertia of outmoded management methods and constantly improving the economy's mechanisms and work methods. This is why it has been demanded that the party organizations and all economic groups give unflagging attention to the question of the broad introduction of progressive forms of labor organization and work methods and the active utilization of the educational and economic potential of the work brigade method.

These days, party propaganda has been summoned to resolve important tasks. All ideological and educational work should be involved as much as possible with the main task: the acceleration of the socio-economic development of our country. Our propaganda should actively carry the word of the party to the masses, inspire contemplation and develop initiative in the laborers, directing them to the successful realization of the five-year-plan and the proper reception of the 27th CPSU Congress.

Electoral-review meetings and conferences are important steps in preparation for the Party Congress. They should bring candor and businesslike, principled criticism of existing shortcomings and oversights to the forefront. As the Armenian CP Central Committee Plenum decreed, the improper substitution of constructive discussion with laudatory self-congratulation, and of keen attentiveness to the urgent problems with generalized discussions must be avoided at all costs. Realistic evaluation of the achieved results and deep analysis of accumulated experience will aid in determining effective means and methods for solving new problems.

The style and work methods of the party committees and organizations should be brought into correspondence with the requirements of the modern period of social development. This means conducting a decisive battle against paperwork, red-tape and armchair leadership while not getting carried away with all kinds of meetings and conferences.

All pre-congress preparations should contribute to the volume of activity and responsibility of communists and an increase in the fighting efficiency of the party organizations.

Meeting the 27th CPSU Congress and the 28th Armenian CP Congress with new achievements in economic and socio-cultural structure and securing the fulfillment of goals during the closing year of the five-year-plan is a matter of honor for both communists and all the republic's laborers.

12882

CSO: 1830/646

REGIONAL

UKRAINIAN CP CC CONFERENCE ON COMBATING ALCOHOLISM

AU141356 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 9 Jun 85 p 3

[Ratáu report: " A Conference in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee recently held a conference with party organization secretaries in the republic's ministries and departments to discuss tasks stemming from the responsibility of the functionaries of state establishments for implementing party and government measures to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism. A report was delivered by Ya. P. Pogrebnyak, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and secretary.

It was noted that the intensified struggle against drunkenness was a part and parcel of the line traced at the March and April 1985 plenums of the CPSU Central Committee to promote due order and good organization, and to strengthen discipline.

Party organizations in ministries and departments, it was noted at the conference, are expected to increase the responsibility of party members, particularly of leaders, for implementing the entire complex of organizational, administrative, legal, and educational measures, for tightening discipline, and for improving labor organization at enterprises and in organizations within their jurisdiction. Much attention was paid to problems concerning the responsibility of the apparatus workers for the accomplishment of tasks for increasing the production of consumer goods, vegetables, fruit, and soft drinks, for improving trade and public catering, and for expanding consumer services to the population. To improve lives, it is essential to raise the role of medicinal, cultural, educational and tourist establishments, and sports organizations. Functionaries of law and order organs should be more active in preventing drunkenness and in reeducating drinking addicts.

Participating in the conference were Yu. N. Yelchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Kiev Gorkom first secretary, and responsible workers of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, Kiev Gorkom, and Kiev city raykons.

REGIONAL

PRODUCTIVE GOLD MINE IN ARMENIA

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 24 May 85 p 1

[Article by G. Amatuni: "The Gold of Zod - The International Brigade Fulfills the Five-Year Plan"]

[Text] Many centuries ago man arrived in this harsh region. He came to conquer the mountains and obtain precious metals from their depths. Scholars have determined that the mining of the Zod deposits has been going on from the 11th century right up through our era. In preparing the mine for operation, workers discovered traces of activity by ancient goldminers, mainly sloping cuts to rather shallow depths. Since then a lot of water has flowed through the Mazra River, the main artery of the mining territory. Again, people have appeared here. Armed with powerful modern technology, they have glazed a path several kilometers into the earth revealing ever newer layers.

The Zod gold mine, the central section of which is located 2180-2250 meters above sea level, has become the first industrial installation of its kind in the Lesser Caucas territory.

We penetrate deep into the bowels of the mountain with the brigade of the well-known journeyman Vemir Shaboyan. After going two kilometers, we arrive at the opening of an auxiliary shaft. We get into the cage and go up to the fifth horizontal. Here, at the twenty-fifth level, is the workplace of the journeyman brigade. The shaft lantern breaks through utter darkness to reveal a wall covered with tiny flecks of glittering gold.

In the mine everyone knows his place. The machines are turned on with the usual motions. Skillfully directing the self-propelled drill carriage, the operator brings it up to the wall and the powerful three meter drill bit gnaws into the rock.

The last kilograms of rock are cleared away, the final supports are reinforced and the miners head for the exits. Today, the workday is unusually short. In fact their friends and colleagues already are waiting for them at the portal of the shaft. Everyone's mood is exultant. Blinded by the bright sun, they barely get the traces of dust wiped from their faces before they are embraced by friends and relatives. Folk music rings out, pioneers bring flowers. On the banners it reads, "The Five-Year Plan is Fulfilled! Well Done!"

Precisely on this May Day, the journeyman brigade of Vemir Shaboyan has completed its assignment for the five-year-plan and surpasses its commitments. Shaboyan, the holder of the Order of Friendship of Nations, is a pace-setting worker for the five-year-plan and an honored USSR miner. The miners' labor victory has double value because under the most difficult of mountain and geological conditions, they succeeded in increasing labor productivity while the number of workers decreased. In separate months they achieved record figures in their field. Instead of the planned 11 meters, they advanced 19. After only four years of the five-year-plan, labor productivity was increased 38.7 percent over the plan. This was made possible thanks to the great experience of the brigade, its members' mastery of related professions, the use of techniques for increasing productivity and the intensification of production and labor discipline. Just who are these standouts of the five-year-plan? The brigade is quite an international one. Nikolay Bezuglov, Albert Yadrenikov and Kirril Bepalko are Russians. Ivan Girnyak is Ukrainian. Vladimir Vanger is a German. Savva Kirakilis is a Greek. Dmitry Geshev is a Bulgarian. Serzhik Vartanyan, Alfred Akopyan and Zakhar Ovakimyan are Armenians and Kamandar Mirzaev is an Azerbaijani. Each has many a mile of travel behind him and work experience in many of our country's mines.

At the meeting which was held, the mine's board of directors congratulated these heroes on the occasion of their labor victory. They were presented with certificates for socialist competition winners. Other comrades come forth and assured those assembled that their brigades would complete their work for the five-year-plan ahead of schedule as well.

Long after the meeting came to a close, people remained to give their friends personal congratulations.

The miners have a superstition: a bad man cannot work in the mine shaft - he will not endure, he will not make it out. Here, real character is built and tempered.

12882

CSO: 1830/646

REGIONAL

UL'YANOVSK OBKOM CHIEF ON ANTI-ALCOHOL PROGRESS IN OBLAST

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 May 1985 carries on page 2 under the rubric "Sobriety is the Norm of Life" a 1700-word article by G. Kolbin, first secretary of the Ul'yanovsk Obkom, entitled "Remember your Title." Kolbin begins by describing a recent obkom buro meeting at which the case of a factory director and deputy director in charge of cadres who organized a large drinking party to celebrate a colleague's birthday was dealt with. Both officials had been reprimanded the year before for the factory's "low level of technological and production discipline." This time they were fired, but the buro felt that the bad example they had set would damage the factory's work for some time to come. Kolbin remarks that it has taken so long to make the fight against alcoholism effective because attempts to implement it have been carried out with "formalism" and rhetoric since the last time the CC CPSU made a resolution on the subject, in 1972. Last year, however, the Ul'yanovsk Oblast party organization began to fight alcoholism in earnest, Kolbin asserts. He gives statistical evidence of the success which the campaign achieved: "In 1984, the loss of work time was reduced by 20 percent, absenteeism by 14.5 percent, and traffic accidents by 4.3 percent." Despite the gains, Kolbin continues, "it is necessary to find new methods to combat drunken traditions." To help in this endeavor, this April the obkom buro created volunteer militia groups from police, members of professional cadres, teachers, and members of the public to combat drunkenness in public. "Operational Komsomol detachments" have also intensified their work, according to Kolbin. As an example of the effective new campaign, the first secretary of the Tsil'ninskiy Raykom, A. Romanov, was fired recently for connivance with a crooked kolkhoz director who embezzled funds from the kolkhoz treasury to finance drinking parties. Kolbin remarks that there are still communists like Romanov "who support our decision in words, but in fact look into a vodka glass at any opportunity." "Drunkenness is incompatible with party membership," he warns. He goes on to refute the argument that the plan for trade turnover cannot be met without maintaining levels of alcohol sales by saying that "with reduced sales of wine and spirits the trade turnover plan was met last year. Trade turnover has increased by 21 million rubles in the first four months of this year, while the sale of liquor has decreased by 300,000 rubles." He concludes that "the new, radical measures of the party and government in the struggle against drunkenness force us to intensify our work in this direction" and that the oblast party organization is resolved to achieve victory in the struggle.

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REGIONAL

NABIYEV, TAJIK COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEMBERS ADDRESS SEMINAR

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 9 June 1985 carries on page 1 a 125-word TadzhiKTA article entitled "A Useful Seminar." The article notes that First Secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee R. N. NabiyeV, Chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers K. M. Makhkamov, and Deputy Chairman A. N. Maksumov took part in a seminar held on 8 June on the "Khosilot" sovkhos in Leninskiy Rayon. The republican seminar was held to discuss problems in the preparation of animal feeds and to explore methods to improve their quality.

KAMPUCHEAN STUDENTS IN ARMENIA

[Editorial Report] Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 11 June 1985 carries on page 3 an ARMENPRESS 100-word photo report on a group of students from the People's Republic of Kampuchea in Yerevan. They are attending the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences. The article reports that "they are familiarizing themselves with the socioeconomic achievements of Soviet Armenia and visiting historical monuments and other points of interest in the republic."

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