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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

GENRI ON POPULATION EXPLOSION, FRG REVANCHISTS, RED BRIGADES

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 50, 12 Dec 84 p 14

[Article by Ernst Genri: "The Year 2084. What Is the Future Preparing For Us?"]

[Text] I suppose that a publicist, if he is curious by nature and has not lost the taste for life (and if he has lost it, then he is no publicist), has a right to express himself on any question even on one about which he had never written before.

Also, he cannot always publish voluminous and long articles but must sometimes limit himself to brief sketches which arise from what he has seen and heard at that moment, what alarms him or makes him happy and with what he agrees or disagrees.

Recently, I had occasion to read several scientifically sound proposals about how many people would be living on the earth a hundred years from now. These figures were mentioned at the recent World Population Conference that met in Mexico. It seems that there will be 10 billion people at that time-- more than twice as many as now. It is noteworthy, however, that eight billion of them, that is four-fifths of them, will live in the developing countries.

In other words, not only a great social upheaval but also a very important demographic revolution will occur simultaneously during our era although at a significantly slower pace. This has already been known for a long time. Geographically, its center of gravity is gradually shifting to Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Judging from appearances, this is unavoidable. What does this mean, thinking politically?

Primarily, one thing. When all of humanity shall live on a socialist planet -- it is possible to conceive of this, you see -- life will undoubtedly be planned so that demographic complications will not occur. A socialist system plus the absence of imperialist wars can insure just mutual relations, a rationally constructed economy and the use of new previously unheard of forces, the resources of the world's oceans and other scientific achievements for the people on the various continents. Science, and not conflicting class interests, can handle everything in such a society.

Each socialist people will treat the other in a fraternal manner, and all will have sufficient resources to live and progress since there will be no expenditures for military purposes.

This is no magical dream but a completely justified forecast. You see, it is known that the production forces of modern mankind -- based on volume -- could now completely satisfy their material needs if there were no imperialist system tearing the world apart. Finally, as is known, many people do not doubt that the earth will manage to colonize some corner of the cosmos sometime in the future.

All of this is clear. What would happen, however, if the anarchic capitalist system, which gives birth to bellicose militarism, should still exist in some form or other somewhere in the world after a number of decades (let us admit this assumption)? That social system which does not know now how to cope with its contradictions, what to do with itself and how to save itself and which tomorrow is capable of engaging in reckless anti-humanity adventures. Will it not pounce again on its former colonies, as before, under some pretext or other?

It seems that simple "impartial" demographics categorically require from mankind a shift to a socialist society as quickly as possible.

This, of course, is still only a fantasy. I would like to know, however, what today's imperialist ideologists say about this. Are some of their masters (for example, those who live across the ocean) plotting new and very cruel colonial adventures not only against the socialist countries but also against the developing countries in the long term?

It's as if something like this is being sensed in the international atmosphere.

The publicist, who is arguing against his bourgeois enemy, must at times pay attention to the notorious foolishness. He would like to have in front of him at least a more or less serious opponent-- an individual whom he can sharply condemn ideologically but who is not deprived of an interest in debating, discussing and building his own militant arguments while delving deeply in the proper way into the subject.

It often happens differently, however. It is simply impossible to take the most reactionary bourgeois enemy seriously in such situations. He only gives the appearance that he has arguments. He lies point-blank and smiles while doing it. He distorts social facts as if no one knew about them.

The main thing for him is to falsify and counterfeit at any cost -- even at the cost of others' contempt for him. He counts on extracting something from this -- perhaps, someone will believe him or someone will name him although with astonishment.

Recently, the ultra-reactionaries in West Germany have found a new subject for themselves. In point of fact, it is not new. I am talking about who was guilty of the world war, this time the Second World War.

The West German militarists answer this question rather frequently as follows: not we -- no, not we. Germany was only defending itself and could do nothing else -- as if it were not guilty of anything. These same circles removed responsibility for the First World War from themselves in exactly the same way and even coined a special word at the time for contradictory opinions: "Kriegsschuldfrage" ("the lie about guilt for the war").

Now, today's militarists and revanchists in the FRG, for example, the not unknown neofascist "historian" Valendi, are engaged in the same thing. They know perfectly well that they are lying. In expounding their lie, they even -- in point of fact -- laugh in your face as if winking at you. They do not stop, however, at falsifying the truth.

It seems that fascist Germany did not invade Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, but the Czechoslovaks, Poles and Austrians attacked Germany. Hitler did not attack and seize France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and Norway; all of these people attacked the Third Reich. The fascist Wehrmacht did not suddenly attack the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, but the Soviet Union invaded Germany at the time. This, of course, resembles stupid jokes; however, something can be implied from what is now being contended beyond the Elbe.

This is by no means the only flagrant lie that is moving from West Germany like a billowing wave during recent times. The allies of the lies' authors across the ocean and the English Channel echo it in their own way. There, they have quite recently begun to maintain that it was not the victory of the Soviet Army which decided the outcome of the Second World War, it was allegedly decided by the break-out of the Anglo-American forces in 1944 into continental West Europe. Incidentally, this had become possible only thanks to the successful actions of the Soviet army in the East.

In turn, the West German fascists add that there were no death camps under Nazism; the allied armies, which burst into Germany, allegedly constructed them. A third group of specialists in this school declare that the bandit Hitler was a misunderstood genius -- and so on. The more absurd it is, the wider it is disseminated. The lies pour as if from a bucket. Why is this being done?

The reason is clear. You see, the West German revanchists must now somehow justify and motivate their revanchism. It goes like this: We were unjustly condemned. Everything was different. Return our honor and our land to us.

The liars know that nowhere in the world do civilized people believe them. They, however, count on some completely uninformed and ignorant man in the street, especially from among the young who have been poorly taught in school, thinking: Suppose it was this way? They are counting on such men in the street in West Germany itself -- on those whom revanchism is today already attempting to enlist hastily.

The stream of political lies from the forces of the past into our age is evidently unavoidable. It is also a definite weapon for conducting global class warfare. In such a lie, not the nature of the person who thinks it up, but politics is the point.

That is why a socialist publicist must sometimes deal with stupidity. It is worthwhile to recall what Horace said: "No matter what stupidity the caesars commit, the people pay for them".

There is quite a different subject -- not concerning the ultra-right but the so-called ultra-left, although it is not easy to distinguish "who is who" between them.

All people, who read newspapers, understand that something, which has never existed before even during the ice age, is at stake during the Eighties: the fate of civilization. The same question arises in front of everyone: how to protect human society against the death that is threatening it, against the destruction of the planet, and against a return to the Stone Age? How to blockade the road to the commission of a monstrous and unprecedented crime - super-genocide - by the imperialists who have lost their head?

A report has arrived at this moment that the so-called "Red Brigades" in Italy are again on their feet, winning allies over to their side, and preparing for "action" after a certain intermission. What kind of actions?

For terrorist acts which do not have the slightest political meaning. For kidnappings and assassinations of individual trade union figures, politicians, civil servants, and -- in certain cases, even heads of government. For that which can be called senseless bloody anarchy and which, in any event, is absolutely incompatible with the ideas of uniting all popular forces in the decisive struggle for a stable peace.

It has been known for a long time that the Italian "Red Brigades" do not have anything in common with the workers' movement and its progressive organizations. They are not a political current, but a sect consisting overwhelmingly of lumpen-proletarians, the unemployed, students who have been deprived of the opportunity to study, other immature youth, and even of criminals who are searching for an "ideological" cover for themselves. They are not revolutionaries, but -- in the best of cases -- youth who are confused and infected by the anarchism that has gone out of fashion.

It was no secret, for example, that one of the "brain centers" of these pitiful leftists is hidden in a special Italian prison which is filled with their activists. As the theoretical organ of the Italian communists (RINASHITA) reported at one time, "The Red Brigade members, instead of getting out of prison, undertake attempts to get into it. In other words, the leftist terrorists are trying to convert prisons into a "red base"... A prison as the center for an allegedly revolutionary movement! In deed, the logic, which lies at the basis of this type of action, is no different from the logic that the largest leaders of the criminal world hold.

Meanwhile, these pseudo-leftists kill such bourgeois figures as Moro, the former prime minister of Italy who came out in favor of including communists in the government. They persecute communists as "enemies of the working class". When they can, they prevent the uniting of popular forces in the struggle for peace and social progress.

The fact that today's Italian fascists in collusion with their American allies are only waiting for the hour to seize power in Rome, relying on the "red terror", does not disturb them. You see, the Pentagon and NATO view the Mediterranean region, where large U. S. naval and air forces are assembled, as one of the most important bridgeheads for attacking the socialist countries..

On what are the ideologists of the "Red Brigades" and of organizations similar to them counting? Indeed -- as some of them are not even ashamed to say orally -- on the coming to power in Italy of pro-fascist and pro-American militarists and on a new Mussolini with a general's shoulder boards after which, they suppose, it will be their turn? It is difficult to think of a more absurd and dangerous "policy".

The imperialist circles are already using the machinations of the "brigades" for their own purposes. Rumors are being spread that allegedly secret ties have been established between the Italian leftist terrorists and "certain East European countries". Here, it is evident that the CIA, which is experienced in such matters, is operating just as in the case of the provocation against the Bulgarian citizen Antonov.

Just as everywhere, the simple people in Italy need peace and not terror. There is no place on the political scene of our stormy age for adventurists -- no matter what color of clothing they put on themselves. The powerful Italian worker's movement, especially the Italian youth, undoubtedly is taking this into consideration.

During a recent meeting of the American Republican Party, a real ovation was organized for Senator Barry Goldwater, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee and chairman of the special Senate Intelligence Committee. Who is he? This is well known.

First, he is the owner of a department store whose employees are forbidden to join trade unions. Second, he is the friend of billionaires who own Californian and Texan military industries. Third, he is the leader of the most rightwing part of the Republican Party. Fourth, he is an anti-Soviet fanatic.

Speaking in September 1961, he demanded that diplomatic relations with the USSR be broken, that "low yield nuclear weapons" be used to settle disputed questions, that Cuba be attacked, and that the United States leave the United Nations since the United States was "already involved in a Third World War". Even earlier he had called for the dropping of an atomic bomb on Hungary and also on the "mountain passes between Russia and Iran".

Speaking on television and touching upon the possibilities of a nuclear war, he literally stated: "What is special about it?" In an article that was printed in the NEW YORK TIMES, he wrote: "Such things as peaceful coexistence do not exist, generally speaking".

Finally, while not a candidate for president, he proclaimed (I quote again word for word): "Our first and most important task is to convince the enemy that we would rather send the whole world to kingdom-come than leave it to live under communism... We must cease deceiving ourselves and our friends with negotiations on disarmament".

I have already cited these words of Goldwater before; one should not forget them. They represent him and his supporters not only as politicians but also as persons.

There are quite a few such lovers of force in America. The millions of adherents to peace and of supporters of a reasonable and good-neighborly policy in the United States are being called upon to quiet them.

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INTERNATIONAL

ISRAEL ACCUSED OF DISTORTING HISTORY OF WORLD WAR II

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 85 p 5

[Article by Professor Dr of Historical Sciences K. Khachaturov: "Hijackers of Reason"]

[Excerpts] Carried Away by Zionism

In northern Israel, a picturesque panorama of the ancient Arab town of Akko unfolds. The fortress there of the same name was the easternmost land site upon which Napoleon set foot. At that time the region was ruled by the Turkish sultan. Napoleon's soldiers were decimated by Mameluke cavalry attacks, armed peasant uprisings, and the plague, and were tormented by thirst. The unsuccessful siege of the fortress, nicknamed Sainte Jeanne d'Arc by the French, lasted 2 months. The observation point which Bonaparte abandoned ingloriously is called Napoleon's Hill: they say that there he threw his legendary three-cornered hat down in rage.

Opposite Napoleon's Hill, alongside the ruins of an ancient Roman viaduct, stands a modern massive windowless building made of light-colored stone. This is the "Museum of Warriors of the Ghetto," for some reason designated a kibbutz. Once the "fathers of Zionism" painted an idyllic picture of the future Israel: everyone in the population would peacefully till the soil in agricultural cooperatives--kibbutzim. I visited one of them, Eyn-Gamifraz, on the outskirts of Haifa. Egalitarianism is in effect there, as in the other kibbutzim, under the slogan "To Each According to His Needs Within the Limits of His Capabilities." Entry was to be strictly forbidden to the "goyim," as the Zionists call all non-Jews. Nevertheless, we saw Arab farm laborers engaged in heavy manual labor (in search of a cheap work force the Zionists had to forgo the principle of "racial purity"). Less than 4 percent of the population presently lives on the kibbutzim, and the average age is about 50. Members are armed and frequently are placed on a war footing. What Israel's leaders need is not peaceful villagers but those who support the "outpost of Zionism."

But let us return to the museum. Its numerous halls contain displays reflecting the monstrous crimes of the Hitlerites and their satellites--the mass destruction of Jews, acts of heroic resistance by prisoners of the concentration camps and the ghettos, especially the Warsaw ghetto. Models of

the death camps at Oswiencim [Auschwitz] and Treblinka, an electric map of Europe with blinking lights marking the ghettos, children's drawings and grownups' verses from the concentration camps, uniforms of SS troopers, and a chair with a bulletproof cover under which the Nazi fanatic Eichmann sweated with fear during his trial. The museum's silence is broken only by the voices of the guide, the lecturer, and the film commentator.

But the museum tells only part of the truth; it is completely silent about something else--as if other peoples had not suffered, as if the Soviet soldier, who saved Europe from complete destruction, had not made the decisive contribution to the crushing of fascism. The verbose pamphlets mention only in passing that "the Allied armies rescued the prisoners of the concentration camps." I searched in vain for the words "fascism" or "Hitlerite." Only "Nazism" and "Nazis." Let the uninformed audience guess what it means. To the visitors of the museum, the whole Second World War in Europe, with its crimes, tragedies, and heroism, is fenced off by the barbed wire of the ghettos. And most of the visitors are schoolchildren and soldiers.

There is another museum on Mount Zion in West Jerusalem, right next to "King David's Tomb." This is the "Museum of the Diaspora." Its displays reflect the pathological anticommunism and anti-Sovietism spread by the Zionists. Pölizzei-degenerates blasphemously pass themselves off as "typical representatives" of the Russian and Ukrainian nations, and blatant renegades and traitors pose as the "best representatives" of Soviet intelligentsia. What is the consequence of these manipulations by the hijackers of reason, these deliberate acts by corrupters of souls?

Many readers remember one of the most searing photo-indictments of fascism: the window frame of a freight car, wrapped around with barbed wire, and behind it the woeful eyes of adults and children being shipped to Hitler's Germany. In Israeli schools, the pupils were instructed to write a composition commenting on this tragic photograph. ARAKHIM, the journal of the Israeli Communist Party, reported that one school girl stated in all seriousness that the death train, packed with Jews, was bound full steam ahead to a concentration camp in Siberia. And she is not, alas, the only one in today's Israel.

#### Patented Liars

Israeli comrades of the Israel-USSR Friendship Movement, on whose invitation the Soviet delegation visited the country, showed us the content of school textbooks dealing with the Second World War. The talented publicist Yaron Beker, expressing the thoughts and feelings of Israel's communists, explained it to us.

We found that the Zionists are maliciously falsifying the causes of the Second World War, the nature of fascism, its anticommunist, anti-Soviet thrust and antihuman nature. Consider, for example, the hefty and widely used textbook "History of Our Era." Its authors shamelessly declare that "the slogans of the Nazi movement were directed both against capitalism and Marxism" and, following in the footsteps of the American politologues, they trumpet the

"doctrine of totalitarianism" with the vulgar lie alleging that communism and fascism are of a similar nature. And since the very word "fascism" sticks in the Zionist's throat, the lying charge of totalitarianism is directed only at socialist society.

The methodological text "Conversations in the Process of Research and School Instruction on the Theme of the Destruction of the Jews," drawn up by the Ministry of Education and Culture, states that the war "was the culmination of the age-old conflict between Jews and Christians, or between Jews and non-Jews in general." There is yet another Zionist view on the causes of the Second World War. It is expressed in a text for Ort vocational-technical schools (created by the American "philanthropic" organization of the same name and the Israeli Ministry of Education): "The Nazis viewed the existence of the Jewish people as an obstacle to the imposition of their ideas on the world."

Reasonably, Yaron Beker has this to say about the Israeli falsification and its stupefying effect on the younger generation: "Instead of an ideological debunking of Hitler's fascism, taking account of the danger arising out of West German neo-Nazism and the rebirth of various forms of fascism in the world, including Israel, our pupils are getting a diet of 'totalitarian' gobbledygook which distorts the true nature of Nazism--an openly terrorist dictatorship of monopolistic capital."

"History of Our Time" is yet another hefty dose of lies. It repeats the well-worn theses of imperialist slander regarding the Soviet-German nonaggression pact. Here is Yaron Beker's opinion: "That pact gave the Soviet Union almost 2 years of precious time to prepare for the struggle against fascism not for its life but to the death and, moreover, helped to save hundreds of thousands of Jews. The Soviet Union was the only country which gave safety and shelter to Jews in most difficult and frightful times. It was the driving advance of Soviet troops which saved half the Romanian Jews, most of the Hungarian Jews, and many others still alive in the concentration camps."

The Zionist leaders of youth always pass over in silence the USSR's decisive contribution to the crushing of Nazi Germany and inordinately exaggerate the role played by the Western countries which participated in the anti-Hitler coalition. Thus, after describing ad nauseam the military operations in North Africa, the authors of the "Brief History" for Ort schools state tersely: "The Germans also suffered a massive defeat on the Stalingrad Front." Also!?

Another mockery of the memory of those who fell in the struggle against fascism is the Zionists' lofty lie that during the war years "no outside forces came to our aid," that "we rescued ourselves." Moreover, the authors of some textbooks, for example the "History of the Israeli People in the Modern Era," cast the vilest aspersions on the people of the socialist countries of Europe, accusing them of conducting anti-Semitic policies during the war years. In the face of the historical truth, a certain Professor Ettinger, without the slightest twinge of conscience, offers this lie: "The Polish people did not lift a finger to help the Jews even during the uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto."

The Zionists also crassly slander the history of the Resistance Movement, including in the concentration camps, they slander the brotherhood of antifascists of all nationalities, which was welded together by the blood they shed. Thus, Israeli television broadcast a film about the uprising in the Sobibor concentration camp. And not a word was said about the fact that it was organized jointly with Soviet war prisoners and was spearheaded by a Soviet officer. Yaron Beker is eminently right in saying: "The tragedy of the Second World War, which affected many peoples, is portrayed in the Israeli education system as an event which had meaning only to Jews. Textbook authors say not a word about the fate of the Slav people. They are silent about the fact that the Jews' allies under the occupation were mainly representatives of left-wing forces, especially communists. It was they who were the most implacable enemies of Nazism and anti-Semitism."

The ideologues and practitioners of Zionism have filthily desecrated the memory of the Jews themselves who died on the war fronts, in the Resistance, and also those who died in the gas chambers and were burned in the furnaces of the crematoria. They assert that the victims of genocide were like a herd of sheep meekly going to the slaughter. In doing so, they resort to the criminal slogan "The Worse the Better." In particular, the authors of "Brief Outline of History" shamelessly declare that Hitler's pogroms were necessary in order to provoke a "Zionist and religious awakening" among German Jews. It is no accident, as Israeli sociologists point out, that among a substantial proportion of young people the fate of the Jews during the war evokes a feeling not of compassion but of revulsion.

A highway alongside Napoleon's Hill, which is just a stone's throw from the Lebanese border. A column of vehicles carrying occupation troops who, no doubt, also dream of sensing themselves to be "sharp as knives, merciless and terrible," is rolling toward the border. And it seemed to me that they have brought to life the photographs which I had just seen of humanoid beings wearing the black uniforms with the swastika.

6854

CSO: 1807/194

INTERNATIONAL

'COSMOPOLITANISM,' RELIGIOUS THEMES IN WESTERN PROPAGANDA HIT

Moscow MOSKVA in Russian No 12, Dec 84 pp 150-158

[Article by Yuriy Budantsev: "Spiritual Terrorism. Notes of a Publicist"]

[Excerpts] The organizers and troubadours of today's global operations, including phrases like "human rights" and "international terrorism," also pursue the aim of destabilizing and eroding many spheres of our ideology, not only our political views and convictions (although those primarily), but also our laws, morality, aesthetics, and arts...in short, all spheres of ideology. That's why in each of these spheres we find recurrences of ideological subversion under the familiar slogans. It was only natural that the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum raised the critical matter of organizing a unified, dynamic, and effective system of counterpropaganda, the necessity of showing clearly what, in what form, and through what channels the ideological saboteurs attempt to insinuate themselves into us through their informational-propaganda intervention.

In 1976, Secretary of State H. Kissinger, the darling of the ruling elite, declared: "Soviet power continues to grow partly as a result of their ideology and partly as a result of the development of industry and technology." The priority assigned to ideology by H. Kissinger, who knows which side his bread is buttered on, speaks for itself. Indeed, one must pay for spiritual poverty [bezdukhovnost'], it costs a great deal in confrontation and competition with us, with all humanity. But the powers that be do not skimp. The logic of those who demand that others renounce their own spiritual life is understandable: it is easy to conquer a people who have forgotten or renounced their culture, and if they have assimilated the enemy's culture even before being invaded one need not conquer them for they are already conquered.

The gentlemen's pretensions are not aimed at just one people, just one nation. Imperialist propaganda encourages the ignorance of the history of all peoples and obscures the historical self-consciousness of people of all continents, in order that the working people might read and know little--for then they will take on faith that the homeland of "international terrorism" is Russia and that Russia has always waged wars of conquest. Then they can be easily convinced that all history is the history of a particular nation, a single country, a "citadel," a "defender," a "shepherd of long-suffering humanity." And then genuine "defense of human rights" is replaced by "defense of humanity

against international terrorism" to the extent that, for bourgeois ideology and propaganda, every human being is a cosmopolite, that is, not a citizen of his own native land but a kind of "citizen of the world," a "free man," for whom "shepherds" like Reagan, Kissinger, Brzezinski and their ilk are responsible.

The idea of cosmopolitanism, which arose at first as a consequence of the imperial ambitions of slave-owning states, even then incorporated the concept of an enlightened "center," which supposedly embodied all the best, and a dark "hinterland" which was the focus of evil in all its manifestations. Different states have been just such "centers" at different times. According to the Western troubadours, the present such "center" is the bourgeois society of the United States.

Contemporary imperialism and the slave-owning system are linked to one another by a shared exploitative genealogy. It is no accident that Count Artur de Gobino, the precursor of the fascists of the 20th century, the creator of the racial theory (whom K. Marx called "an ass" and "swine"), longed not for the historical past as such but specifically for the era of slavery. Relations between "the center" and "the hinterland" reflect relations between master and slave.

Honest and serious American scientists frankly point out that the United States is perfecting a technology for the creation of an exemplary slave-owning state. In his book "Siluety Vashingtona" [Washington Silhouettes] our historian N. N. Yakovlev cites one such profoundly disturbing assessment: "Cryptocracy is a fraternity which recalls the ancient secret societies.... Cryptocracy controls the United States government.... Cryptocracy systematically manipulates America. Justifying its existence by reference to the menace of communism, it justifies its own totalitarianism. It convinces leading politicians that fire must be fought with fire. The practice of cryptocracy...includes espionage, kidnapping, blackmail, and murder.... As a result of the disintegration of the foundations of political institutions, cryptocracy has been stealthily spreading for almost 4 decades now, as only a handful of decision-makers know."

Clearly, our comparison of contemporary imperialism with slavery is not far-fetched, just as there are no illusions with regard to slavery itself. Equally obvious is the spiritual continuity. Historical memory, which no one can take away from the working people, quite accurately records the relevant ties, and that is why the first words in our first red primers were: "We are not slaves, no slaves are we." Communards will never, never be slaves.

The specific content of modern cosmopolitanism, of the reactionary bourgeois theory of "world citizenship" with the "rights of citizens of the world," protected against "international terrorism," is reflected primarily in the rejection of national progressive traditions, humanistic culture, and patriotism, it consists in the denial of national sovereignty in all spheres of social life for the sake of the "center's" cryptocracy. It is an invitation to slavery.

The rejection of national sovereignty in all spheres of social life links cosmopolitanism to the political concepts of "defending vital interests" which extend to the whole world, "a new nuclear strategy," "limited nuclear war," "reciprocity," and "the last frontier." In these concepts, nuclear war, as is well-known, is not allowed in the "center"--that is, the United States of today, but in the "hinterland"--that is, in Europe. To mankind, Europe is one of the citadels of world culture; to the cosmopolites, meritocrats, and cryptocrats it is merely one of the "hinterlands."

The cosmopolitanism of imperialism derives from the same idea about relations between peoples as the cosmopolitanism of slavery: the idea of the impossibility of an enduring peace between the "center" and the "hinterlands," between "civilized people" and "savages," whose slot in this idea is occupied today by communists and the population of the socialist countries.

Ideas like this themselves sow fear, exacerbated by a peculiar culture which grows out of violence and glorifies violence. Yet it is all done chiefly under the guise of the struggle...against violence, against "international terrorism."

A great variety of violence of all gradations and colorations is propagandized under this pretext of fighting against violence. This is tantamount to fighting to abolish execution by guillotine by showing it every evening on television, describing the mechanism of this hellish machine in detail and how it "operates," or, condemning mass public executions while showing them with relish. A superman like James Bond, the favorite of the current American President, represents the cultivation of violence in accordance with the laws of the cryptocracy. The latest Bond adventures reflect an openly anticommunist, anti-Soviet, and anti-Slavic bias, as reflected, in particular, in the biographies of those whom Agent 007 fights--most often they are Soviet intelligence agents, Russian by nationality.

In appealing to the mass mentality, bourgeois propaganda strives to portray cosmopolitanism as a kind of universal phenomenon devoid of any national coloration. But cosmopolitanism does possess and embody national features. It is a phenomenon of the most reactionary aspect of the national culture of bourgeois society. In essence it is the nationalism of oppressors, the nationalism of the very top, the bourgeois elite, the cryptocrats-meritocrats, by no means an abstraction.

The concept of cosmopolitanism in the sphere of spiritual culture, and pretensions to the defense of mankind and civilization, as interpreted in the meritocratic-Bondian manner, is one-sided in character. The ideas of cosmopolitanism serve the present elite of international exploiters. It is a matter of defending the rights of the oppressor-cosmopolite with his global "cosmopolitan interests," on the one hand, and the deliberate cultivation of the "cosmopolitanistic consciousness" of the oppressed both in the "center" and in the "hinterlands," that is, the consciousness of slaves, on the other.

The working masses of their own country and their "foreign audience" are in this way transformed not into "citizens of the world" but, via "mass culture," bound as slaves to the class policies of the oppressor elite, which is the goal of bourgeois propaganda.

The cosmopolitanism of the oppressors constitutes terrorism with regard to the humanistic culture of mankind and the imposition of their own antihumanistic culture on the masses. For the oppressed, it is the "right to culturelessness." These purposes are also served by total discreditation of the classics, the golden fund of which comprises national progressive cultures rather than some kind of abstract, cosmopolitan culture.

It is not some abstract "European" culture that is threatened with destruction but rather the culture of all peoples populating Europe. And it is not what you love that can be destroyed, as we know, but that which you hate, or that to which you are indifferent.

A New York book publisher who hates genuine culture once organized an anti-Soviet "Reception on the Occasion of the Third Moscow Book Fair." All 18 participants in the "reception"--degenerates, renegades, political frauds, and criminals--were promised, according to the press, "the all-out support of the United States."

The United States, above all, represents a citadel of today's imperialism, and it is only logical that a promise of "all-out support" should come from there. The center of "world citizenship" with its appropriate "rights and defense against terrorism," as declared by all right-wing, fascistic, and Zionistic circles, is also located in the United States, finding there substantial financial-oligarchical, propaganda, and other class-oriented sources. And since it is the communists, who have inherited the best in human culture, who have successfully resolved the nationality problem in the Soviet Union, thus opening broad possibilities for reciprocity and the enrichment of national cultures, we are primarily the ones on whom the "center," drawing on the theoretical foundations of cosmopolites like Bernstein, dump their products as upon a "hinterland" and thus attempt to disrupt these progressive processes. They want to make us the spiritual slaves of the imperialists. The channels for the penetration of alien ideology are various, but the cosmopolites see war as the best means of spreading their "culture."

But one sphere of spiritual life in which a substantial portion of the working masses participates draws the special attention of today's bourgeois propaganda. In this sphere the bourgeois propagandists sense themselves to be more reliably protected; they even consider it their own and declare themselves its faithful "defenders." We are speaking here of religion. The most warlike speeches in the White House, like the speeches of Hitler in another time, are sanctified by the name of God, and the "crusade" against communism is a thrust of foreign policy.

It is no accident that the flow of religious programs broadcast by a variety of Western "voices" increases as if by waving a magic wand; the religions

vary, the chorus is but one. The religious feelings of believers are cruelly exploited. They are exploited politically, although as a rule the relevant political formulations are reflected very little in the broadcasts.

The "voices" pray, and announce the fact, at every step. The "voices" report what and to what the elite pray. Carter, they report, turns to God, by his own admission, at least 25 times a day, and Reagan even oftener, heaven is with him and for him at all times. In the United States, more than 1,000 radio stations and about 30 television studios broadcast religious programs which are heard and viewed by more than 130 million persons weekly. The superstars of "all-embracing evangelism" glorify God without, however, forgetting profits and politics. One such star, J. Falwell, the son of a millionaire and himself a millionaire, the founder of the Moral Majority movement (the stronghold of the "New Right"), during his "Old Testament Hour," which is broadcast on almost 400 television channels, has a congregation of more than 50 million viewers in the United States, Canada, and the Caribbean basin, plus listeners to 500 radio stations. In his book "Listen, America!" Falwell declared: God does not approve of equal rights for men and women, unemployment compensation, detente, the reduction of military budgets, SALT II, liberalism, communism, and so on.

But most religious programs intended for audiences abroad represent a kind of political, class-based anagram, in which politics are not purveyed in pure form as they are in the "Old Testament Hour" yet are infused invisibly in every word. The anagram in this case is as follows: "You are with God only when you are with us." This "us" is the elite of the "center," the cosmopolites. Russian and Uzbek believers, German and Polish believers, Iranian and Afghan believers are obliged to serve them. Let us recall that the buckles worn by Hitler's troops bore the words "God is with us." And dollar bills proclaim "In God We Trust."

The elite of the "center" are very nervous about the fact that a great many believers and clergymen are fighting for peace. It is they who have put into circulation the thesis: "Communist ideas are the same for atheistic communists as religion is for believers, but the truth is in God." There is faith on this side, they say, and faith on that side, only the true faith is religious; therefore, one can expect nothing good from communists nor from communist governments. The sermons of the "voices" contain not even a hint--nor could they--of understanding of the genuine content of truth (and it is always scientific in character).

Manifold are the maneuvers of these broadcasts. Shameless speculation on the "clericalism" of Bach is attaining universal proportions. The propagandists of the bourgeois radio pulpit claim that all human culture began with religion--hence, "civilized history" in Rus begins only after the adoption of Christianity. Before Christianity, they say, Rus was uncultured and savage; its culture, like its history, was "nothing" compared with the culture of other countries. The bourgeois interpreters of our history are diligently silent about the fact that in Rus, in Novgorod, ordinary people were literate, they knew how to read and write at a time when even kings in many Christian

countries did not. Kievan Rus was powerful and mighty long before the reign of Vladimir Yasno Solnyshko, the "Baptizer," but they are silent about this also.

With the persistence of people schooled in lies and meanness, these foreign sponsors set their Christian "true" prerevolutionary Russia up against today's socialist Russia. In this historical mystification it is difficult to do anything with language, the keeper of a nation's history, but the cosmopolite culturologists think that language, like architecture and painting, can be saturated with such a "modern" vocabulary that it ceases to be the nurturer, the keeper of national history: perhaps then the nation will lose its memory of the real past.

Western propoganda very often plays a mean game with people's national feelings. It is no accident that Mr J. Falwell conducts his hysterics on the "Old Testament Hour." Spiritual tortures are conducted in full accordance with such "programmatic" Old Testament declarations as those of the Prophet Isaiah, millennia ago, characterized by Academician Rybakov as "malicious and misanthropic Biblical prophesies": "I condemn you to the sword, and ye shall all bow down to slaughter, for I called and ye answered not, I spake and ye heard not but did evil in mine eyes and chose that which was displeasing to me. Therefore, thus saith the Lord God: Behold, my servants shall eat, and ye shall hunger; my servants shall drink, and ye shall perish of thirst. My servants shall rejoice, and ye shall be in shame, my servants shall sing of the gladness of their hearts, and ye shall cry out from the sorrow of your hearts and weep from anguish of the spirit. And ye shall leave your name destined for damnation. And the Lord God shall kill thee but shall call his servants by another name." What is this if not a program for the destruction of culture, national history, genuine knowledge of reality, condemnation of us to an outlying position? The image of the patriot as modeled from the radio pulpit, programmed into the listeners' consciousness, is inevitably that of a believer. Patriotism is identified with faith, made synonymous.

But let's take a look under the shell of this kind of "Christian-culturological patriotism" and we will clearly discern the cosmopolitan factor. This "patriotism" expunges many centuries of our homeland's pre-Christian past, alleging it to be degrading to man, "slavery," "uncivilized," although slavery never did exist in Rus in the sense that it did in the slave-owning states and in America itself. This "patriotism" links the prerevolutionary Russia of "Nicholas and Alexandra," who have been canonized in the United States, to an alleged natural history, which relegates Soviet history outside of this "natural historical" development and characterizes it as a kind of misunderstanding. This is the kind of "patriotism" which leads to that "center"--the citadel of contemporary capitalism. Some ideologues of the citadel, crossing themselves, unceasingly declare that communism will be written off as a strange and unnatural phenomenon in the history of mankind.

Imperialist propoganda is frightening the whole world with war, the advent of the end of the world, and suggests to unsophisticated believers: "See how similar this is to that which is spoken of in the Old Testament. The

coincidences are astounding." People who do not know the true history of mankind are astonished, although there is nothing astonishing in these coincidences, since they are set up and fabricated.

The "prophets" rave on openly about the "end of the world" for the godless, while bourgeois politicians strive to back up these prophecies with "quiet diplomacy." Then when the latest provocation contrived by the special services comes off, both the "prophets" and the politicians declare: "We warned the nations. Everything is going according to God and the Bible, everything is coming together."

Such is the concrete-historical, class-oriented characterization of bourgeois culturological propaganda on the religious front of the ideological struggle. "A Marxist must be a materialist," V. I. Lenin emphasized, "--that is, an enemy of religion, but a dialectical materialist--that is, one who puts the matter of fighting religion not on an abstract plane, not on the basis of abstracted, purely theoretical, always similar homilies, but on a concrete plane, on the basis of the class struggle, acting in a practical manner and instructing the masses more and better than anyone."

Within the context of bourgeois ideology and bourgeois propaganda, religion becomes the same kind of weapon as the law, morality, science, art, and philosophy--with the difference, however, that an all-infusing function attaches to it. While advocating religion, the bourgeoisie are concerned only for their own earthly interests, in this world rather than the hereafter. In rewriting the history of mankind on the biblical, Old Testament format, the bourgeois Kulturtraegers place an equals sign between religion and culture, religion and art.

With regard to human culture in the past, however, it arose long before religion in general, not just Christianity. Neither did art come into being in the bosom of the church.

Culture was born long before the birth of the bourgeoisie, it was born with human society, at the stage of human development that we call the primitive commune. The bourgeoisie's pretensions to special status in the sphere of culture, historically, are simply unfounded.

Neither the church nor the bourgeoisie constitute a kind of natural center of gravity for humanistic culture--and at the same time, it is no accident that the church and the bourgeoisie gravitate internally to one another. The church, which meticulously served feudalism during the Middle Ages, was at that time the first estate, having usurped all rights of pardon and punishment in the sphere of spiritual life. National culture developed not because of but rather in spite of the church. It is the class-based premises in the church's development, its vast experience in the struggle against humanistic culture, born in the heart of the people, that are most attractive to the bourgeoisie, whose aim is to make use of the church's medieval experience in order to enslave mankind.

As you can see, dear reader, contemporary imperialism is not just very similar to the era of slavery and the Middle Ages, and Goldwater and Falwell are not

merely similar to the Venerable Augustine--historically they pursue the same line. And contemporary imperialism wants not merely to return to the past and repeat it: the "chosen," the "worthy" have their own programmed goals, with roots in the past.

That is why, I repeat, the misanthropic incantations of the Old Testament sound so "modern." They want "their own" future and they prophesy it, attempting to program all mankind for that same future.

6854

CSO: 1807/191

INTERNATIONAL

SOUTH AFRICA CRITICIZED FOR VIOLATING TREATY WITH MOZAMBIQUE

Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 84 p 3

[Excerpted article by A. Vasil'yev: "No Peace in Southern Africa"]

[Text] When on 16 March 1984 Mozambique and the Union of South Africa concluded the "Accord of Nkomati," Pretoria and Washington hurried to herald the beginning of an "era of peaceful politics" in southern Africa. However, the facts show that the racists, supported by the White House, have in no way renounced subversion against Mozambique.

The British newspaper, The Times, has called the President of the Republic of South Africa, Pieter Botha, many-sided. There is Botha the oppressor, whose internal politics have brought forth a storm of indignation both in South Africa and throughout the world. There is Botha the "reformer," who thought that with the aid of pseudo-reforms he could extinguish national anti-government speeches. There is Botha the military man, who with all his might flexes the military muscles of apartheid and who does much to see that South Africa has nuclear weapons. And finally, there is Botha the "peace maker," who concluded a security treaty with Mozambique.

By signing this agreement on 16 March, the racists hoped to find a way out of their dense isolation created around them by African states. Such too were the hopes of their patrons in Washington.

This is why Botha began speaking of peace as if glancing over Ronald Reagan's shoulder at his speeches on peace and disarmament. This is why this supreme racist embarked on a trip through Western European countries attempting to teach their leaders not to fear shaking his hand in front of many witnesses. This is why he exerted all his strength to attract the representatives of Mozambique to talks to take advantage of the difficult position of that country. Mozambique suffered from a terrible drought which destroyed crops and created a severe food problem. But the people of Mozambique suffer still greater pains from the sabotage and terrorist acts of the MNS, the Mozambique National Resistance, a puppet anti-governmental organization comprised of racists. According to an official report the government of Mozambique published this year, counterrevolutionary attacks in 1982-83 cost the country

333 million dollars, almost equivalent to the gross value of the nation's exports. Having pushed the proposal to hold talks, South Africa resolved to take advantage of Mozambique's plight.

By the "Accord of Nkomati," Maputo forbids support to the armed struggle for freedom to the soldiers of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa in exchange for a promise from Pretoria not to support counterrevolutionaries from the so-called "Mozambique National Resistance." The government of Mozambique, in fulfilling its promise, declared, however, that its political and moral support in the just fight of the people of South Africa remains unchanged.

And what about Pretoria? Did it fulfill its promise? It did not. Right after signing the "Accord of Nkomati" South Africa transferred to Mozambique new detachments of terrorists as well as arms, ammunition and food.

Aid to the counterrevolutionaries continued even after 16 March. In the Mozambican province of Inhambane where their thugs were operating, in September new supplies of arms and ammunition were parachuted at night over their base at Kakhune. At the same time three paratroopers, white South Africans, landed at the camp. Terrorist Simiao Fernandu told this to a correspondent of the Mozambican telegraph agency when Fernandu was seized by the troops of the People's Forces for the Freedom of Mozambique.

Such was the situation when on 30 October after the three-month talks in Pretoria, the declaration concerning relations between Mozambique and the MNS was adopted. According to the announcement from the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, R. Botha, the MNS somehow would promise not to carry out acts to undermine the government of Mozambique and would recognize its authority. This would provide Mozambique's people an opportunity to be done with the destructive acts of the thugs and move towards the peaceful building of the African president, P. Botha, while officially proclaiming the agreement, right then and there declared that the war "will continue," and that "conditions as is remain unchanged." Just 20 minutes after this announcement the terrorists carried out a new subversion. Mozambique radio informed that they had blown up two power transmission towers which carried electricity to Maputo. As a result the capital suffered a severe power shortage.

The bandits had literally gone wild. In a statement published in Lisbon, they said that they were beginning a massive military offensive operation under the codeword "Thunder," in which, according to various sources, 10-20,000 people were to partake.

At the same time, the leaders of the "Mozambique National Resistance" put forth political demands which clearly indicated at whose urging they function. The resistance demands that the Mozambican government give these thugs several ministerial posts in the cabinet. They demand a change in state policy in the area of economics and the return of confiscated property to the Portuguese colonizers who fled Mozambique in 1975 after Mozambique's people won their freedom.

The words of Mozambique's Minister of Foreign Affairs, J. A. Chissano, serve as a rebuke to these impertinent claims of Washington's puppet and Pretoria. In response to a question from a correspondent of the Italian newspaper "Corriere della Sera" about the possibility of enlisting the counterrevolutionaries in running the country he said, "I don't understand how it would be possible to pose a similar problem. It is enough to say that they are leaders of a 'partisan movement.' These are the same people who spoke out against Mozambique's independence. Moreover, many of them are not even Mozambicans. They do not support any contact with any part of Mozambique's people. They fight simply for the sake of maintaining outside interests and foreign influence here. From this it follows that there can never be anything in common between them and us."

Mozambique's government is mobilizing its forces in the struggle against counterrevolutionary gangs.

8504

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REGIONAL

ESTONIAN CC HOLDS 17TH PLENUM

Information Report

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 2 Dec 84 p 1

[Text] Communiqué on the Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee

The 17th Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee took place 1 December in Tallinn.

Participating in its work were the first secretaries of the party gorkoms and raykoms, the chairmen of the gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms, the directors of the ministries and departments not included in the Estonian CP Central Committee, the directors and secretaries of the party organization of the agro-industrial complex of the republic and rayon links, the leading workers of the trade unions of agriculture, national control, kolkhozes and sovkhoses, responsible workers of the Estonian CP Central Committee, republic soviets, and trade union and Komsomol organs.

The plenum examined the questions:

1. The results of the October (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the tasks of the republic party organization resulting from the plenum decisions and the speech there of Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.
2. Information on the course of implementation of the 9 April 1983 decree of the 10th Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee concerning the further increase in production and an expansion of the assortment and an improvement in the quality of consumer goods in the light of the demands of the 26th CPSU Congress.

K. Vayno, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee, presented a report on the first item of the agenda.

Participating in the discussion of the report were V. Roosmaa, first secretary of the Payde Raykom; Kh. Vel'di, first deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Estonian SSR Agroprom; L. Puulayd, tractor driver for Kolkhoz imeni I. Lauristan in Khar'yuskiy Rayon; V. Udam,

first secretary of the Pyarnu Raykom; E. Erilt, chairman of Kolkhoz imeni E. Vil'de in Rakvereskiy Rayon; M. Leosk, first secretary of Pylvas Raykom; Yu. Rakhula, first deputy chairman of the Vil'yandi Rayispolkom and chairman of the Vil'yandi RAPO [rayon agroindustrial association]; Kh. Toomiste, director of Laatre Sovkhoz in Valgaskiy Rayon; E. Tuberik, manager of the Raplaskiy Rayon Production Association for the Production and Technical Provision of Agriculture; L. Ananich, minister of the building materials industry of the Estonian SSR; and Kh. Myagedi, chairman of the Khaapsalu Rayispolkom.

The plenum adopted a broad decree on the question under discussion.

N. Ganyushov, secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee, presented information on the course of implementation of the 9 April 1983 decree of the 10th Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee on a further increase in production and an expansion of the assortment and an improvement in the quality of consumer goods in the light of the demands of the 26th CPSU Congress.

A corresponding decree was also adopted in this question.

After doing so, the Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum concluded its work.

#### Vayno Speech at Plenum

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 4 Dec 84 pp 1-3

[Speech by K.G. Vayno, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee, on 1 December 1984 at the 17th Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee]

[Text] Results of the October (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and tasks of the republic part organization flowing out of the decisions of the plenum and the speech there of Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Report of Comrade K.G. Vayno, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee.

Comrades! The CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which took place on 23 October of this year, discussed the question "On the Long-Term Program of Land Improvement and Increasing the Efficiency of the Use of Improved Lands for the Purpose of Steadily Increasing the Country's Food Resources."

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, presented a lengthy speech at the beginning of the plenum. He analyzed in depth the situation in the country's agroindustrial complex and summarized the results of the implementation of the Food Program. Comrade Chernenko set forth the current tasks relating to the entrance of the party into the period of practical preparation for the upcoming 27th Congress as well as to the development of plans for the 12th Five-Year Plan and for the longer term through the end of the century. The main goal of the plans is to establish a

dependable basis for a significant improvement in the material and intellectual standard of living of the Soviet people.

The positions and conclusions included in the speech of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko were fully supported by the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which obligated party, soviet and economic organs, public organizations, and labor collectives to be steadfast in conforming to them in their daily practical work.

The plenum approved the Long-Term Program of Land Improvement and Increasing the Efficiency of the Use of Improved Lands, a program worked out by the government and confirmed by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and set forth by Nikolai Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in his report.

The communists and workers of our republic received with enthusiasm the decisions of the October CPSU Central Committee Plenum. They see in them a clear program for further action in one of the key links in the socialist economic system, and they are prepared to increase their contribution to the national task of intensifying agricultural production.

Only two and a half years have passed since the adoption of the country's Food Program at the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. But that was a fruitful period. The volume of agricultural output last year was the greatest in the entire history of the country. And this year, despite exceptionally difficult conditions and a lengthy drought in a number of regions of the country, there is a struggle to maintain the positions achieved. Notable progress has been made in animal husbandry, there was a significant increase in the production of milk, meat and eggs, and the harvest of vegetables and fruit increased. All of this made it possible to improve the food structure and to raise the level of consumption of the Soviet people.

Success did not come by itself. Behind it was the further consolidation of the material-technical base of agriculture, the self-sacrificing work of the field and farm workers, the intensive work of party, soviet and economic organs in the rural areas, and the great help of the city and all sectors of the national economy.

Positive changes were also noted in agriculture in our republic. The last 2 years were characterized by record volumes of gross output. It is expected that at the end of this year the milk yield per cow will exceed 3,800 kilograms. In the production and sale of milk, the republic is ahead of schedule in approaching the amount for the end of the five-year plan. There was a good harvest of grain and potatoes. We no longer have a single unprofitable farm.

In the rural areas as a whole, large-scale social and cultural development is being carried out successfully. The rural population is stabilizing.

With the establishment of the agroindustrial associations at the rayon and republic levels, there has been an improvement in planning and in the engineering and transport servicing of the farms.

All of this represents significant achievement and tremendous progress. But we also see that we have unfinished work. As a whole, the republic is still not coping with the tasks of the five-year plan for the purchases of cattle and poultry, milk, potatoes and flax. That is, in the last 2 years it did not succeed in covering the deficit that arose at the beginning of the five-year plan because of the difficult weather conditions.

We still have great differences in the management level at kolkhozes and sovkhozes as well as in the rayons. The yield of the improved lands could be higher. The economic mechanism of administration requires further improvement and adjustment. Agricultural science is not giving sufficient consideration to the requirements of contemporary practice. On the other hand, some of its studies and recommendations are slow in reaching the fields and farms. Not all sectors have enough key personnel who meet contemporary standards for intensive enterprise management.

The responsible tasks put before us by the Food Program require better use of the accumulated potential, more harmony in the work of all links of the agro-industrial complex, and a concentration of attention on those sectors where the greatest effect can be achieved in the shortest time. It is a matter of initiative and a creative approach to the resolution of urgent questions.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government, having made an in-depth analysis of the situation in agriculture and of the first results of the implementation of the Food Program, have come to the conclusion that it is essential to undertake large-scale additional measures to intensify agricultural production.

As was noted at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, a decisive factor in making further advances in agriculture is the large-scale development of land improvement and the improved efficiency of the utilization of reclaimed lands. It is still necessary to reduce to a minimum the vulnerability of agriculture to the caprice of weather and to create large-scale zones of stable farming.

This question is of vital importance for our republic. Following the May (1966) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which was devoted to this question, the scale of land reclamation became several times greater in our republic as well. Since that time, our land reclamation specialists have completed work valued at a total of more than 800 million rubles. Drainage systems have been built and rebuilt in an area of more than 600,000 hectares, and these are mostly covered drainage systems. There is irrigation on more than 10,000 hectares. Technical crop work and the liming of acid soils have been carried out over large areas. The production of bedding peat has been worked out in all rayons. On the average, the area of cultivated lands has increased by almost 8,000 hectares annually as a result of land improvement.

Our reclaimed lands now play a decisive role in agricultural production. An average of 850 feed units more was received from each hectare of these lands last year than in the years 1966 through 1970, when we began to carry out the new large-scale reclamation program.

A truly vast amount of work has been done. But there is still a great deal to be done. In accordance with the decisions of the October plenum, the tasks have been established for our republic to expand technical crop measures, to eliminate the small-scale contours of the fields, to lime acid soils, and to cultivate agriculture lands with the goal of increasing the production of fodder and grain.

In the next, 12th Five-Year Plan, the republic will have to drain 85,000 hectares of land, including the reconstruction of drainage systems on an area of 50,000 hectares. In other words, it is to assimilate 180 million rubles in capital investment, which is 8 percent more than in the current, 11th Five-Year Plan.

The task has been established of basically finishing the construction or irrigation and drainage systems by the end of the next five-year plan to create a stable feed base for large-scale animal husbandry complexes and zones of guaranteed production of vegetable and early potatoes around large cities and industrial centers. It is planned to increase the total harvest of vegetables on reclaimed lands to 30,000 tons by 1990, grain to 790,000 tons and quality fodder to 1.11 million tons expressed in feed units.

And for the year 2000, the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers defines the following basic tasks for us in the realization of the Long-Term Program of Land Improvement: increase the area of drained lands to 650,000 to 700,000 hectares; concentrate most of our attention on raising the yield and increasing the overall harvest of grain and fodder crops on reclaimed lands; and conclude the reconstruction of reclamation systems.

What do we need to do to achieve these goals and for the unconditional implementation of the tasks put forth by the October CPSU Central Committee Plenum? What are our omissions and unfinished work in the area of reclamation and how can we overcome them? What internal reserves can we put into action? What is the best and most expedient way to make use of those assets that the government is allocating to land improvement? These are the questions in which we must now have clarity to begin confidently a new and responsible stage in the work.

At the present time in our republic, reclamation has been carried out on about 75 percent of the area intended for drainage. That is, we have already done the greatest part of the work in the 18 years since the May CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The remaining 25 percent of the area is next. But we must acknowledge at the outset that these are the most difficult lands. They comprise more than 220,000 hectares. With 30,000 hectares, Pylvaskiy Rayon has more of these lands than any other rayon. There are still many such lands in Pyarnuskiy, Tartuskiy and Yygevaskiy rayons

Heretofore we have not had a unified, scientifically based and integrated approach to reclamation. For this reason, the development of construction capacities also did not always correspond to the amount of land in need of improvement. For understandable reasons, people sought to carry out the work first of all on the easier lands requiring relatively smaller labor and physical input. In addition, preference was given, as a rule, to the sounder farms

with large and stable harvests that consequently can repay the capital invested in reclamation more quickly. There is, of course, a rationale in this. In the end, however, such a practice led to unjustifiably large differences among rayons and farms in the implementation of reclamation work.

We need to correct this clearly abnormal situation, shift the emphasis, and, in determining the sequence of reclamation work, we must conform not only to immediate economic considerations but also think about the social consequences of the decisions made. In failing to pay attention to weak enterprises, we put them in an even more difficult position. This is not only unfair but is also generally false economically. For precisely in the improvement of backward farms is found one of the greatest reserves for increasing the production of grain and feed and consequently of meat and milk. It should be clear to everyone that backwardness cannot be overcome without land improvement.

In the near future, the republic's Agroprom must work out a specific long-term program of land improvement and reconstruction and repair of fields broken down by rayons, and it must determine clear priorities in the selection of top-priority projects. With regard to the disproportions that have developed between rayons, it is doubtless more complicated to change the situation here.

But it is certainly necessary to do this. Agroprom must pay particular attention to rayons that are lagging behind in land improvement. It must help them to consolidate their own construction base, and it must send more equipment there. It must provide help through the efforts of already existing reclamation detachments from other rayons. In short, it must work actively and persistently seek ways to solve the problem.

Another important question that needs to be solved is that of the construction quality of drainage networks. Here farmers often present justifiable grievances against builders and planners.

There are a number of reasons for the inefficiency of drainage systems, including the poor quality of drainage pipes and filtering materials, miscalculations in planning, the negligence of builders, and deviations from the technology of reclamation work. Errors are also made in exploiting drained lands. In extreme situations, all of this is manifested and is associated with great irreparable losses and, in the final analysis, it creates serious difficulties in animal husbandry and in its provision with feed.

To be sure, much has been done in the republic in recent years to improve the quality of reclamation work. But the situation as a whole can still in no way be called normal. Construction organizations often do not adhere to available technology and the dispersion of effort at numerous projects results in weak discipline in execution.

A share of the blame goes to the enterprises supplying materials for land improvement. In particular, the drainage pipes produced by the Azeriskiy Ceramics Plant are characterized by low frost resistance. The introduction of progressive technology in the construction of covered drainage using narrow-trench excavators and wood chips, straw, and filter blocks and elements as filling is still slow.

The more extensive application of polymers would make it possible to be more successful in solving such an important problem as the reliability of drainage, to raise the productivity of labor, and to lower operating expenditures. The reclamation specialists are not at all pleased with the small amount of plastic drainage fittings produced at Khar'yuskiy Raysel'khoztekhnika [Rayon Agricultural Equipment Association]. And the reclamation specialists are expecting the Talleks Production Association to introduce a more economical narrow-trench excavator into series production. It is also clear that the quality of improved lands also depends directly upon the level of planning decisions. The main planner in our republic is the Estmelioprojekt Institute. On the whole, it works rather well, gives the customer the necessary documentation on time, and its planning decisions basically meet the demands of scientific-technical progress in farming. But there have also been annoying failures in the work of the planners.

In planning it is very often necessary to present various versions of technical decisions so that there can be the possibility of a choice, to be more flexible, to give more consideration to the peculiarities of various regions and the recommendations of science, and to be sensitive in listening to the opinion of experts.

For example, many of our fields suffer not only from excess moisture. We all know that the opposite often happens; there is a serious shortage of water and the last drops are being lost through the drainage canals. The pastures are turning yellow, and the potatoes and vegetables are being slowed in their growth. Light soils are particularly sensitive to periods of drought. In these cases, the double regulation of the water system is fully justified. To be sure, such systems make land improvement somewhat more costly--approximately 20 percent. But on the other hand, the experience of Saku Sovkhoz, for example, shows that the average annual harvest in areas with double regulation of the water system is also 20 percent higher. And the main thing is the stability of harvests in all years, the guarantee against possible drought. And we have drought conditions every 3 or 4 years.

At the present time, such systems exist on only 3,000 hectares in the republic. It may be that we should once again weigh the economic aspects of their creation, reach agreement here and, if necessary, make a decision and consider it in the planning and reconstruction of drainage systems. If something new is justified, then it should be put into general practice as soon as possible.

And there is still another circumstance that should be considered more carefully. That is the possibility of making effective use in the new lands of up-to-date agricultural equipment and technology. Involved here are the configuration and dimensions of reclamation projects and also roads and secondary railroad lines. The average size of a field in the republic is now only a little over 6 hectares. That is the average. And we still have so many fields that are so small that there is hardly room for a combine or tractor to turn around. In this way we lose a great deal in labor productivity, we burn up extra fuel, and we lose valuable time in moving equipment from one section to another.

Without a doubt, the future is on the side of large-scale units. This must be considered in choosing new projects as well as in the course of reconstruction.

In addition to the construction of irrigation and drainage systems, we are paying more and more attention to the question of the exploitation and capital repair of drained lands. An inventory of these lands in the republic shows that only 79 percent of them correspond to the requirements of industrial production technology. On 14 percent of the area, the technical condition of the drainage network can be considered satisfactory, but in the interests of a further intensification of production they are also in need of partial reconstruction. The remaining 5 percent--more than 30,000 hectares--are in a clearly unsatisfactory state. Here the open drainage network and the covered drainage system have been depreciated and the reclamation state of the fields does not permit the use of up-to-date equipment and technology.

From this we can conclude that we must increase the amount of overall capital repairs to intraorganizational drainage systems and in the near future we must increase these repairs to 18,000 to 20,000 hectares annually. Only then will we be able to maintain the improved lands in good condition and receive good harvests from them.

The reduction of the amount of construction of new drainage systems makes it possible to concentrate our main efforts and resources on improving the state of the networks now in existence. During the last 5 years as a result of the measures taken, the volume of work to repair and look after drainage systems increased by a factor of 1.5 overall. But by no means is the need of kolkhozes and sovkhoses for repair work being met fully.

The task, in particular, is to raise the level of responsibility of the operational services for the final result and for the harvest.

Now, as is known, clear bilateral contractual obligations are being established for farms, operating services, and rayon agroindustrial associations [RAPO] in the use of improved lands, for the implementation of which the managers of the named subdivisions have not only moral but also material responsibility. This will make it possible to do away with the lack of personal responsibility in the utilization of renewed lands.

Nevertheless, the primary role here is always played by the managers of the land, the kolkhozes and sovkhoses. All the more so since more than 2,600 people on the farms are directly involved in land improvement, of whom 360 are specialists with a higher or secondary special education.

We have many farms where the care of the reclamation systems is organized in an exemplary manner. The experience of Sovkhoz imeni V.I. Lenin in Tartuskiy Rayon is deserving of particular attention and dissemination. Here they determine in a timely manner the projects and the scope of land improvement with consideration given to the actual condition of the lands and the reimbursement periods, and they take care that the full amount of fertilizer is applied to the new fields. A specialized group with the necessary equipment for reclamation has been established, and it is headed by Yulo Lyaenemets, the chief

reclamation specialist of the farm and an honored agronomist of the Estonian SSR. The annual planning of the fields has become an inviolable rule, and the careful control of the entire drainage network has been worked out. It is no accident that the sovkhos consistently receives 4,000 feed units from each improved hectare. The yield of grain and potatoes this year amounted to 41 and 280 quintals per hectare, respectively. This is a good example of persistence, consistency and the use of one's own efforts and means to carry out work together with water management organizations to improve lands and to increase their fertility. The importance of this approach is exactly what Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko pointed out in his speech at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Key personnel determine the success of any work. If one may say so, this is doubly applicable to reclamation. A large and harmonious family of reclamation specialists has come together in our republic, and their work is surrounded by well-deserved honor and respect.

The republic's reclamation specialists are competing for the early fulfillment of the tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan, and every year they fulfill and overfulfill the plans. The reclamation specialists of the Vil'yandi Raysel'khoztekhnika and the Tamsalu Mezhraysel'khoztekhnika achieved great success by overfulfilling the plans for all basic types of work. More than 250 already fulfilled their personal tasks of the five-year plan.

We have people who are outstanding masters in their own work. Thus, the brigade of Kheyno Vanker from Myar'yamaa Mezhraysel'khoztekhnika is performing outstanding work in the construction of covered drainage with a one-scoop excavator. A few years ago, it established a USSR record, having laid 100 kilometers of drainage in 1 year. And now a new record is coming about. With a month left in the year, the brigade of Arvo Matikaynen from Vil'yandi Raysel'khoztekhnika has already exceeded the 100-kilometer mark and is continuing to lay drainage lines.

Among excavator drivers, special note should be made of Yuri Oraste from Nuya Mezhraysel'khoztekhnika, who was awarded two gold medals by the USSR VDNKh [Exhibition of the Achievements of the National Economy], and Fridrikh Voyk from Vil'yandi Raysel'khoztekhnika, several times victor in republic and All-Union socialist competition. Well known among tractor drivers is Laas Leys from Khiyumaaskaya Raysel'khoztekhnika, a multiple winner of socialist competition.

So that the young reinforcements have someone to emulate, someone from whom to learn professional skills and loyalty to their work. Certain difficulties, however, have arisen in our training of the work shift. Older and experienced cadre are gradually retiring and the young people are still not fully prepared to replace them. Professional and technical school graduates do not have adequate practical skills, their initial labor productivity is low and accordingly so is their wage. Many cannot hold on and leave reclamation work.

The organizations involved in reclamation construction should probably occupy themselves and also more objectively with the question of moral instruction,

and they should attach newcomers to better and more experienced workers, help the young people to overcome natural initial difficulties and support them morally and materially as well. Close attention to the young key workers, to their living and working conditions, and to their occupational growth must become the inviolable norm everywhere. This demand appears even more important for those rayons where there is a particularly great amount of reclamation work ahead and where there is not enough manpower.

In regard to skilled key personnel with a higher education, there are enough of them in the republic. They are mainly graduates of the Estonian Agricultural Academy. On the other hand, a greater and greater shortage is being felt in specialists of the middle link--reclamation specialists and technicians, especially for the operation of drainage systems. They previously trained them in the republic but then quit doing so. Evidently Agroprom needs to examine the question of restoring this specialty that is very necessary for contemporary agricultural production.

As a whole, in speaking of key personnel, one must acknowledge that here as well there are many unsolved and not absolutely clear questions. In the very near future, it is essential for Agroprom to develop a complete idea of how many and what key personnel are needed for land improvement according to rayons, and of where and how we can train them.

This question is extremely important. Reclamation is continuing, we still have much work to do on the land, and it will always be in need of repair and care. And this means that people are needed who know and love this work. In the final analysis, they will put into effect the plans outlined by the October Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and they will fulfill the Long-Term Land-Improvement Program.

Land reclamation, of course, is not a goal in itself but a means to ensure large and stable harvests in horticulture and to create a reliable feed base for animal husbandry--our main agricultural sector.

Therefore, our most important task is the most rapid achievement of the planned yields on improved lands.

At the present time in the republic, we receive an average output of less than 3,200 feed units per hectare. Included in the plan is the receipt of 3,500 feed units as early as the fourth or fifth year after the project is put into operation, and the task for 1990 is to reach the limit of 4,000 feed units per hectare of reclaimed land. There is a very substantial difference between what we have now and what it should be. The question is how to overcome this difference and how to achieve the planned yield on all farms in the near future and proceed with confidence.

It is known that land improvement, as a factor in the intensification of agricultural production, is effective only together with high farming standards. Good results are achieved where they work with the land efficiently, observe all requirements of agricultural technology, and seek the full assimilation and cultivation of reclaimed areas in accordance with scientific

recommendations. In short, the essence is the qualitative side of the work. And here we still have much unfinished work.

It would be naive to suppose that after reclamation the land itself would immediately pay back the effort through a good harvest. Nevertheless, this opinion still prevails in places. How else can one explain the fact that in a number of enterprises the restored lands, especially those located far from the farms, do not receive even the minimal amount of organic fertilizer. Even when the quality of reclamation work is high, as experience shows, the humus layer is inevitably disturbed, and initially it is essential to be particularly liberal in restoring it. Understanding this, the best enterprises immediately apply up to 100 tons of organic matter per hectare of reclaimed land. And only after this does the field respond with a good harvest, which, after all, is the reason why the land improvement was undertaken.

With each passing year, we have to assimilate more and more difficult lands, lands characterized by a low level of natural fertility. This means that it will become more difficult to achieve the planned yield on them. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that one must pay a maximum of attention to the new lands and that initially one must not be stingy in applying organic fertilizer.

In the opinion of scientists and specialists, there are no cultivated lands in our republic from which it would not be possible to obtain at least 2,500 feed units of output per hectare. Nevertheless, last year--a successful year for us as a whole--almost 20 percent of the farms were still below this critical level. It probably makes sense to put these enterprises under special control and to involve ourselves with them just as persistently as we once did with the farms where the average milk yield was under 3,000 kilograms per cow.

Another important aspect not always considered in the enterprises is the selection for assimilation by the renewed lands of suitable crops that are capable of providing the largest yields under specific conditions. It must be admitted that here there is much that we have failed to do. It frequently happens that grain is sown and potatoes are planted in fields that are clearly unsuitable. Is that wise?

The RAPO's must raise the responsibility of the enterprises for the rational use of the new lands and for the achievement of the planned yields on them. They themselves must be more flexible and give more consideration to the special features of the lands in each enterprise in establishing the optimum structure of the sown areas.

The example of the best farms graphically shows what good results can be achieved under our conditions in the improved lands if one makes good use of the technical agricultural service, skillfully selects the crop rotation systems, and maintains the drainage networks in good condition. Thus, at Edazi Kolkhoz in Pyarnuskiy Rayon, they annually obtain up to 4,500 and more feed units per hectare of cultivated land. It would seem that this is by no means the limit.

Unfortunately, however, the achievements of the advanced workers still do not belong to all kolkhozes and sovkhoses. And today we have a right to put greater demands on the local party committees and soviet organs and to set the task of persistently striving for the planned yields at each enterprise and in the established time periods. Surely it is reasonable to listen more often to the reports of the farm managers and secretaries of the party organizations on the work being carried out in this important sector and on the yield of the improved lands and their correct utilization. This work should be under our constant control and within the scope of our attention.

We always viewed and still view the question of land improvement as being inseparably connected with the question of increasing the production of meat and milk and strengthening the feed base.

Our main problem is still that of supplying animal husbandry with high-grade feed.

Our horticulture covers only half of the need of public animal husbandry for feed, and this is despite the significant increase in the gross grain harvest in recent years.

At the seventh and eighth plenums of the Estonian CP Central Committee, we discussed in detail ways to solve this problem. Without belittling the achievements of rural workers, one must say that many tasks presented at these plenums and facing the workers of the agroindustrial complex remain unsolved or are still being resolved only slowly.

What is involved?

As we know, the soil and climatic conditions of our republic are well suited for the production of grass fodder. Our grass yield is now coming very near to 50 quintals of dry matter per hectare. That is near the planned level. Here it is more a matter of making full use of the biological harvest, of not delaying the harvesting of grass and of correctly using cultivated pastures. As calculations show, it is only through the improvement of the technology of the procurement of grass that it is possible to obtain as much as 20 extra quintals of fodder per hectare practically without additional expenditures. Here is our truly enormous reserve, which we are obliged to put into effect.

As before, we are profoundly troubled by the great and in no way justified contrasts in the supply of feed to cattle at individual kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Thus, 57 enterprises did not meet the plan this year for the procurement of fodder. The RAPO's must analyze in detail each kolkhoz and sovkhos that failed to fulfill the plan for the procurement of fodder, make an in-depth analysis of the miscalculations and omissions, help them to work out specific measures to change the situation, and take permanent control of their implementation.

Another important side of the question is the structure of the sown areas. We have done a great deal of work here in recent years. The areas put into grain, fodder and industrial crops are now in a more nearly optimum relationship. More land is now planted in rape, clover, alfalfa and other perennial field grasses. But it is expedient to expand further the share of crops rich in protein. As has already been said, this is the correct course under our conditions.

We also need to increase the production of grain, especially through an increase in yields. It would be proper to establish the clear task of raising the average grain yield in the republic to 36 quintals per hectare during the years of the next five-year plan. The varieties that we now have fully provide for meeting this goal. In practically all of our rayons, there are farms that consistently and long since obtain 40 or more quintals of grain per hectare. Once again, everything depends upon farming standards and the skillful organization of the work. This is now our single, most important question.

The Estonian CP Central Committee recently approved the plan of Agroprom measures for the testing and introduction into production of a scientific system for the intensive cultivation of grain crops. Such a system will make it possible to obtain consistently 40 to 60 quintals of grain per hectare. In accordance with the plan, within 2 years it is to be introduced in an area of 40,000 hectares.

What is the meaning of this system? Large and stable harvests are to be ensured through the use of the most suitable varieties of grain in combination with a certain model for the application of organic and mineral fertilizers. It is also planned to develop and assimilate effective methods for combating plant diseases, pests and weeds.

For us this will be an important qualitative leap in farming, which also should help to pull up those who are lagging behind. This will be a graphic lesson of what can be achieved under our conditions and on our lands, not just at individual enterprises but on a mass scale.

This is why we must work especially persistently and purposefully for the fulfillment of the adopted plan and seek its full realization.

Special note should be made of the assimilation of intensive crop rotations. Here is a great reserve for increasing the output of plant production, and full use must be made of it as well. We have experienced an unjustifiable delay in this work. At a number of farms, such crop rotations have not been introduced at all or have been introduced only partially.

And finally, one more problem in connection with the fodder base. From year to year we experience a worsening in the utilization of natural hay lands. Our enterprises have more than 300,000 hectares of such lands, but they use at most 50,000 of them, significantly less than 10 years ago. Many kolkhozes and sovkhoses have practically ceased planning the procurement of fodder from natural lands. What does this say? Above all it says that additional fodder resources remain unused at the farms. And it also indicates that we have begun to neglect what every peasant has always attended to.

Of course present-day equipment cannot be used on all natural lands. Here it more often happens that one must work in an old-fashioned way, in a manner of speaking. But if at each farm one carefully weighs in advance where and how and with the use of which forces these grasses can be harvested, then it certainly seems that we can make use of this sizeable reserve as well. Needed here are clarity, constancy and the long-term allocation of natural hay lands

under specific conditions to sponsoring organizations and families of kolkhoz farmers and workers who keep their own cattle. On the whole, all of these forms must be well thought out. As you can see, the problem of consolidating the fodder base is a complex and multifaceted problem. But it has something like a common denominator. In the final analysis, everything that we are talking about here--about land improvement, the structure of sown areas and crop rotations, increasing the yields of grain and grasses, and the use of natural lands--depends upon the ability to organize things properly and to manage the land wisely. That is, the problem is in the human factor.

Therefore, the new long-term stage in land improvement puts higher demands on party, soviet and economic organs and on the managers of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, above all from the point of view of organizing the work and directing the coordinated efforts of all links in agricultural production to the achievement of better final results.

This also applies fully to the wintering of livestock that has already begun. We have arrived at the stalled period in animal husbandry with good indicators for milk yields and daily weight gains in the fattening of livestock. The results of the first 2 months of the wintering period indicate that livestock specialists have not diminished the intensity of their work. The productivity of the milch herd in October and November exceeded last year's level. A record milk yield per cow will be achieved this year, and a large step has been taken toward the cherished mark of 4,000 kilograms. And four of our rayons--Rakvereskiy, Paydeskiy, Pyarnuskiy and Khar'yuskiy--are already surpassing it. The gross production of milk will increase by approximately 6 percent over last year.

These are great achievements that give us confidence in our strengths and opportunities.

The party organizations of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses and the labor collectives of the farms supported the appeal of the livestock specialists of Khar'yuskiy Rayon to provide the maximum yield from each kilogram of fodder in the winter period and to consolidate and develop the successes that have been achieved in the production of milk and meat.

The party raykoms, RAPO's, and enterprise managers and specialists must consider the peculiarities and certain complications in this year's wintering and, in particular, the different structure of the fodder balance relative to last year. We have less hay and fodder straw and more haylage and silage. In addition, as has already been said, a number of farms have stored up less feed than was planned, and there is a danger there of a fall in production. All of these enterprises are known to the rayon organs and the republic Agroprom by name. The approach to them must be specific. What is needed here is real help and it must be provided, having redistributed the existing resources.

As a whole, in all rayons and farms the main task is that of making careful and efficient use of existing fodder. We have just about as much of it as we had in the last wintering period, but the quality is somewhat worse. But, as experience shows, this can be compensated for with no less output. It all

depends upon an effective approach and upon the disposition of the labor collectives to precise work and the achievement of good results.

The objective nature of the large-scale plans outlined by the October Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee is based not only upon the increased material possibilities of our country but also upon those enormous additional investments that the state is making in agriculture. To a significant degree, it is determined by the well-established organizational and political work of the party in the masses and by the creative and resourceful approach to the questions before us.

Speaking at the meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on 15 November of this year, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko again indicated in this connection the necessity of improving the style of party leadership and of making it correspond to the high demands of today. It is essential to provide for a systematic analysis of the economic situation of each rayon, enterprise and farm, to be skillful in seeking an optimum solution to the established tasks, and sternly to take the key personnel to account for the assigned work.

We all note that with the organization of the RAPO's and Agroprom, significant changes for the better have taken place in the management of agricultural production. This is indicated by the very results of management. And perhaps the main thing is that the partners of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the enterprises and organizations servicing agriculture and connected with it, no longer consider themselves observers from the sidelines as before. They are more and more actively and boldly being drawn into the orbit of the common work and common interests. And this was possible largely because of the great and persistent work of the party committees. They support in every way the initiatives of the RAPO councils and their resolution without delay of additional agreements on all operational questions. The party raykoms now have more possibilities to concentrate on organizational-political work, on the selection, distribution and training of key personnel, on the determination of the most promising lines in raising the efficiency of agricultural production, and on the resolution of the central questions in the development of a rayon's economic system and culture.

In some of the republic's rayons, however, there is still no clear delimitation of the functions of party, soviet and economic organs. The party raykoms often resolve current economic questions without consulting the agroindustrial associations, and they involve themselves in matters that are in the competence of the specialists and managers of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Some RAPO managers, having become accustomed to the fact that some questions are being decided without them, frequently begin to await instructions from above and essentially do not demonstrate their own initiative and perseverance in overcoming the difficulties that do arise.

Despite some definite positive changes in the work of the RAPO's, one must say that they could do more. Many questions are still being resolved superficially, hastily and unspecifically. Improvement is required in the economic side of the interrelationships of kolkhozes and sovkhozes with other enterprises and organizations included in the RAPO's and in particular with procurement and processing enterprises and the associations of sel'khoztekhnika. This also relates directly to the previously mentioned shortcomings in the resolution of

the problems in land reclamation. The republic's Agroprom must resolve these questions more quickly. The concern of the party raykoms is to improve the style of work of the RAPO's.

It would obviously be useful to analyze the work of the RAPO primary party organizations and of the agricultural sections established 2 years ago in the rural raykoms. Have they found themselves everywhere? Were they able to work out a clear strategy and tactics? For it is no secret that amidst the everyday troubles there is always the danger of becoming a sort of dispatching service, a transmission link for all kinds of administrative rulings. Experience shows that many of our rayon committees--the Pylvaskiy, Ryarnuskiy, and Kokhtla-Yarveskiy committees, for example--are able, based upon continuous analysis, to find the most important central problems in the development of agricultural production in their own rayons. Thus, for example, the agricultural section of the Kokhtla-Yarveskiy Raykom concentrated its efforts and attention on organizing intraorganizational cost accounting. In this connection, the well-organized work helped to improve the situation, particularly in the weak enterprises. This is truly serious and specific work.

The reports and elections in the republic's party organizations were recently concluded. They provided a great deal of material for thought and conclusions for the future and for improving all of our work. And the first thing that we should note is the increase in the diligence and strictness of party organizations. At the meetings, there was a feeling of high-mindedness, a directness and openness in the analysis of the situation, and a greater responsibility for the final results of labor. There was more specificity in the statements of many communists, more constructive criticism and competent and balanced proposals. Most of them involved improving operations. One-fifth concerned ideological and political-educational work. The Estonian CP Central Committee Buro evaluates this as a positive phenomenon reflecting the higher level of activity in the party organizations.

We should also like to note that the characteristic feature of the present campaign was the broad participation in it of leading party and soviet workers and of the economic managers of all ranks.

We carried out this entire large-scale and very important campaign in accordance with the demands of the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Participation of the Leading Personnel of the Estonian SSR in Political-Educational Work Among the Workers."

In the future as well, the Buro and Secretariat of the Estonian CP Central Committee will organize their work so as to ensure regular meetings of the leading employees with the workers and their appearance in labor collectives. This is especially important now, when we are beginning the active preparation for the 27th CPSU Congress. In his speech at the recent meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko put special emphasis on the great political meaning of the work ahead of us. In this connection, the activity of our leading personnel is very significant.

Right now in the party organizations of the republic, there is a discussion of the information report of the Estonian CP Central Committee. This is the

final agreement of the report and election campaign taking place in an atmosphere of extensive publicity and a businesslike discussion of the issues.

The Estonian CP Central Committee Buro directed the party committees to pay particular attention to all critical comments and proposals. Operational review and generalization was put in order at the gorkoms and raykoms, and control over realization was strengthened.

It is important not to neglect any of the questions raised. It would be correct, without delaying matters, in the near future to discuss progress in the implementation of the decisions of the report and election meetings as well as in the reaction to the comments and proposals made there. Such work gives people confidence that their voice has been heard and that a useful initiative will always find a practical application. Such a relation stimulates the activity of communists, develops the will to struggle against shortcomings and, in the final analysis, it helps to improve all of the work.

One must take care that more help be given to the election aktiv, and especially to the newly elected secretaries of the primary and shop organizations as well as to the party group organizations. It will be proper for the employees of the party gorkoms and raykoms to take part more often in the organizations, especially where new people who still lack sufficient experience in party work have been elected as secretaries. This also applies to the reclamation system, where--one must say it right out--our party influence is still weak. There are very few party organizations in the administration of land improvement. It is also essential for us to give some thought to strengthening party influence among such categories of reclamation specialists as brigade leaders and foremen. For to a large extent, it is precisely these people who determine the successful implementation of production tasks in each project and at each farm.

The report and election campaign in trade union and Komsomol organizations is now coming to an end. Report and election conferences are taking place in the cities and rayons. It is very important that the trade unions and the Komsomol also find their place in the resolution of the new important tasks in the area of land improvement and increasing the yield of the land. In increasing discipline and order, activating socialist competition in the collectives of reclamation specialists, in the introduction of the cost-accounting brigade contract, and in the dissemination and generalization of the experience of the advanced enterprises--in all of this the role of trade union and Komsomol organizations can be strengthened.

The party considers--and this was noted at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum--that the Long-Term Land Improvement Program will receive the enthusiastic response and support of the Komsomol. The young people of our republic are already doing a lot in this regard. Every year seven detachments of the Estonian student construction team spend the summer working at Sel'khoztekhnika enterprises and at reclamation projects. Envoys of our Komsomol work in the Karel'skaya ASSR as part of a shock Komsomol detachment. The Komsomol Committees of the Azeriski Ceramic Plant and the Talleks Association have sponsored the output of machinery and equipment for land improvement. This is

good. But there is still much work to be done. The romanticism and labor hardening for our young people is to put thousands of hectares of renewed lands at the service of agriculture.

The ideological workers and our mass communications and propaganda media must also contribute to the realization of the decisions of the October Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. For to a great extent the success of the implementation of all of the important tasks outlined by the party will depend upon the understanding of their importance by each labor collective and each worker. There must be a broad effort to explain the Long-Term Land Improvement Program and to provide local assistance in the in-depth study of the materials of the plenum, making every effort to attract our entire party-political aktiv for this work. It is necessary to reveal the essence of the land improvement program as a component of the Food Program and to organize the study of the materials of the plenum in all forms of political training and economic education.

The agricultural problem is now being explained in the pages of the newspapers and in radio and television broadcasts. But at times these materials lack depth. It is necessary to do a better job and to be more comprehensible in propagandizing rural labor and in relating the experience of the advanced enterprises and their party organizations. The main thing is to show the man of labor, the participation of a specific worker in the implementation of the tasks set by the party, and the ability to overcome difficulties. More attention must be paid to the work of reclamation specialists, more must be said about their concerns, needs and interests, and more must be told about the advanced workers. Heretofore the pages of the newspapers have included almost no serious material dedicated to the problems of reclamation.

Unfortunately, some other questions of considerable importance in the work with reclamation specialists are also being neglected. One very rarely encounters a lecturer or a team of agitators at the projects, and no provision is being made for the delivery of recent newspapers and magazines. And why not, for example, spend political education days directly at the reclamation sites?

It should not be forgotten that the work of reclamation specialists is not easy. Because of the nature of their work, they are often separated from the large collective, rayon centers and their families for a long time. More attention must be paid to them.

On 15 November at the meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the draft of the plan for economic and social development was reviewed and basically approved, as was the draft of the country's 1985 budget. Comrade K.U. Chernenko presented a lengthy speech at the meeting. His speech includes fundamental positions on the further development of the economy, and the main tasks are determined for the party, soviet and economic organs, public organizations and labor collectives in the struggle for the early fulfillment of the plans of the final year of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the drafts of the plan and budget were confirmed and became law.

What characterizes the plan for next year? Above all, the growth rates of overall economic indicators are higher than the average for the preceding years of the five-year plan. The plan is oriented toward increasing intensification and raising the technical level of production, a comprehensive improvement in the quality of output, a fuller utilization of reserves, and the achievement of more harmony in the work of all sectors of the national economy. Foreseen is further growth in the material and cultural standard of living of the population, the consistent development of housing and social welfare, and the expansion of the production of consumer goods.

And our republic's draft of the plan for the coming year was developed in consideration of all of this. It was examined in detail and basically approved at the expanded meeting of the Estonian CP Central Committee with the participation of the first secretaries of the party gorkoms and raykoms. Within a few days, the drafts of the plan and budget for 1985 will be presented for the review of the session of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

The plan foreseen for next year is strained but realistic. In many sectors, there are even possibilities for its overfulfillment. And these possibilities must be fully realized.

Very little time remains until the end of the year. And under no circumstances can we relax in the work. Much depends upon this last month. If we finish the year successfully and begin the next in good fashion, then it will be possible to count on the successful conclusion of the five-year plan as a whole.

We must not merely fulfill the plan. The task is to achieve the greatest economy of material resources. In our time, precisely economy is becoming the most important source for increased production. Each enterprise must now work out a precise plan for practical action to save and strict control must be established for its realization. In all labor collectives, we must seek the fulfillment of the party task of working 2 days with saved material, raw materials and fuel. Before us is specific and very persistent organizational work and constant painstaking work with people. Personal saving accounts must be established everywhere--at the work places and in the brigades and shops. It is also necessary to establish republic, city and rayon saving funds. Questions of economy must also be reflected in the socialist obligations for 1985.

We have much important work ahead of us. It requires a further increase in organization and order, a strengthening of state discipline, and an understanding of the complexity and responsibility of the tasks before us. All of this must be convincingly brought to the consciousness of each urban and rural worker.

In conclusion and on behalf of the participants, Comrade K. Vayno assured the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo and Comrade K.U. Chernenko himself that the republic's party organization will do everything necessary to honorably implement the decisions of the October (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the large-scale land improvement program put forward by the party, and that it will make every effort for the successful conclusion of the tasks of the year and of the five-year plan as a whole and for the worthy celebration of the 27th CPSU Congress.

REGIONAL

PROVOCATIVE ACTIVITIES OF UKRAINIAN EMIGRE ORGANIZATIONS

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 15 Dec 84 (pp 3-4), 16 Dec 84 (pp 3-4)

[Article by I. Martynyuk and O. Mikhaylyuk: "Spectres in the Service of the Warmongers. Caught Redhanded"]

[Text] The Soviet people are occupied with peaceful work, directed at resolving the tasks assigned by the party for the planned and overall improvement of the development of socialist society. Our people must realize their creative plans, as Comrade K.U. Chernenko noted, "in a complex international situation, under conditions of an appreciably growing military danger, the threat of nuclear war and the sharpest ideological struggle."

The ruling circles of the imperialist states are undertaking desperate efforts and are trying vainly to weaken the growing influence of Marxist-Leninist teachings and real socialism on the course of world development. It was emphasized at the June (1983) CPSU CC plenum that the class enemy is openly announcing its intention to liquidate the socialist system. This aim was proclaimed by R. Reagan in his "crusade." All the reactionary forces of the modern world are uniting under its black banner.

In the anti-Soviet kitchen of monopolistic capital, some dirty work was also found for the remnants of the anti-Soviet emigration, the militant clerics and the renegades who were turned out of our country. Among these hirelings of the imperialist special services, there is also participation by the sworn enemies of our people - the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and their Uniate accomplices.

It is necessary for the Soviet people, especially young people, to know their ideological adversaries and to know the sort of dirty methods of subversive activity that they utilize. We call the reader's attention to a documentary article which relates how and whom the clerical nationalist accomplices of fascism, sheltered in the West, are now serving.

O you of the trident, fascist servants,  
 Bloody spectres, hated outlaws,  
 You still dream of sowing discord in your native land  
 And of inflaming us in the fire of a new war.

Dmitro Pavlichko

The Uniate spiritual pastors and the Ounovite servitors of fascism who fled to the West in the Hitlerite train have been utilized for a long time by the imperialist special services. In the first years after the war, they continued to fulfill the role of Cain in the camps for "displaced persons" and former prisoners of war in the American and English occupation zones of Germany: they hindered the repatriation of Soviet people to the homeland in every way possible and supplied agents from their midst for foreign intelligence services. Former Greek Catholic priests trained future spies and saboteurs in the methods of conspiracy and blessed the carrying out of subversive actions against the USSR.

The surviving members of the SS "Galichin" division and the Ounovite gangs dispersed in the USA, Canada, England and several other capitalist countries, where they established their bourgeois nationalist groups or seized control of similar organizations that already existed, as well as parishes of the "Ukrainian Catholic Church." Camouflaging themselves with sermons on faith and mercy, they began to recruit workers of Ukrainian origin in the struggle against "the atheist communists" and to teach the children of emigrants in the spirit of "crusading nationalist knights," preparing them for a new campaign against the Soviet Union.

In the "Cold War" period, the bourgeois nationalist and Uniate ringleaders, fulfilling the instructions of their masters in the intelligence and sabotage services of the USA and its NATO allies, promoted the supercharging of anticommunist hysteria in the West. This was particularly apparent during the aggressive war of the United States and its satellites against the Korean people. The Uniate and Ounovite leaders not only assented to their masters in the sentiment that this war had to be carried out to a "victorious conclusion," but also recruited "volunteers" from among the former UPA [Ukrainian People's Army] bandits and fascist police-legionnaires for MacArthur's army. For each mercenary of this type, I. Grin'okh, N. Lebed', V. Stakhiv and other clerical and nationalist leaders received \$200.00 and more.

Many young Americans of Ukrainian origin were enlisted in the American army and became participants in the Pentagon's venture in Korea. The recruitment of Ounovites was also conducted on West German territory. There, more than a hundred Greek Catholic parishes were actively operating, served by Uniate priests. Through their provocative sermons and talks, they untiringly inspired their flock with a zoological anticommunism and a hatred of everything Soviet.

The Uniate nationalist Judases greeted the news of American aggression in Vietnam with real joy. They did not conceal their hope that this aggression would develop into a new world war and that it would help them to return to Ukraine "on American tanks." The declaration made, for example, by the little newspaper, SVOBODA, in 1969 attests to the hopes of that time on the part of the Uniate-Ounovite leaders: "The Americans still do not fully realize that for them the Vietnam war is not a local war but, in its deep principle, a war against world communism." Other nationalist publications issued in Ukrainian in the USA and Canada aligned themselves with this opinion. Thus, the newspaper, AMERIKA, called on the imperialists abroad to build up their arsenals of weapons of mass destruction, in order "not to delay in striking a blow against the Soviet Union."

The Uniate KHRISTIYANS'KIY GOLOS, published in Munich, supported expansion of the war in Vietnam with particular zeal. This mouthpiece of the Bandera-ites entrenched in the FRG and their Uniate confederates called the executioners in American uniforms "defenders of freedom and democracy" - those who committed genocide on the territory of the Indochinese peninsula, wiping whole villages off the face of the earth, burning fields and forests, and sparing neither women nor children. The Uniate pen-pushers urged the United States authorities to pay no attention to public protests and to achieve an "impressive victory" at any cost.

Working in the camp of the ultra-reactionary forces of America, the Uniate nationalist leadership not only actively supported the USA's Vietnam venture, but also organized a campaign to recruit volunteers for this war. They sent packages, daubed with the signs of the trident and the cross, to the sons of nationalistically minded Ukrainians, who found themselves in the jungles of Vietnam, and called on them in letters "bravely to fight communism." Among the personnel of the "Green Berets" alone - those who particularly distinguished themselves in atrocities against the peaceful population, 2000 Americans of Ukrainian origin were numbered. In characteristic fashion, the Ounovite mini-fuehrer, Ya. Stetsko, at that time called upon the Washington administration not to stop at the point that had been reached, and to start a nuclear war in Vietnam. "Only the faint-hearted, who have lost faith in God, are afraid of nuclear war," raved this maniac.

Is it surprising that the commander-in-chief of the American forces in Vietnam, General W. Abrams, gave a very high rating to Uniate-Ounovite efforts to inflate the militarist psychosis in the USA? In his letter to the nationalist leaders, he emphasized the "usefulness" of their propaganda actions and did not fail to mention that they "raise the spirit" of the American "GIs."

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and Uniate clerics enthusiastically welcomed the counterrevolutionary coup in Chile, which roused the righteous indignation of the world community. The leaders of the Ounovites hastened to the embrace of the Pinochet clique. In 1974, a delegation of the Banderaite "representation" in Argentina came to a meeting with the leaders of the junta in Santiago, while the scandalously notorious Slava Stetsko,

wife of the Banderaites leader, visited there at a later date. At the same time, the nationalist newspapers began loudly to extol the Chilean fascists. Thus, the Ounovite NOVIY SHLYAKH (Canada), in its 13 October 1973 issue, enthusiastically reported that the junta's soldiers "conducted searches in all the houses in a 40 block area of the capital... and burned a large number of Marxist booklets and brochures." In addition, NOVIY SHLYAKH, together with other similar publications, proclaimed the Pinochet executioners to be "defenders of Christianity, civilization and Christian culture." The semi-official organ of the Banderaites, SHLYAKH PEREMOGI, went even further: in December 1973, it advised the Chilean fascists "to pay no attention" to the protests of the world community and to expedite the punishment of Luis Corvalan and the other leaders of the Chilean Communist Party.

Years and decades pass and the world changes. New states have appeared on its map, formerly enslaved peoples have entered the international arena, and a new generation of people who are striving for peace and social justice has entered into life. The Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist commonwealth steadfastly appear in the vanguard of the struggle for the peaceful future and progress of mankind. But there also still exist on the planet the aggressive forces of imperialism which are striving for world domination and are prepared, for the sake of this illusory goal, to plunge mankind into the abyss of nuclear catastrophe. As in bygone days, the imperialist warmongers are gathering the spectres of the past under their black standards...

Scarcely more than four decades ago, the Ounovite-Uniate leaders dreamed of the laurels of the fellow-fighters of Hitlerite fascism. The SS "Galichina" division was formed, and Grin'okh, Slipyy, Kubiiovich, Laba and hundreds of other followers of Hitler - in soutanes and without them, crowded into the waiting rooms of the nazi bonzes, zealously betrayed the Ukrainian people. "On to Moscow! Now or never!" howled the fascist mercenaries...

Now let us transport ourselves mentally to July 1983. The head of the American administration, Ronald Reagan, deigned to receive one of the current heralds of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, Yaroslav Stetsko.

"Your struggle is our struggle. Your dream is our dream... I am with you in your prayers." With these encouraging words, the master of the White House addressed the senile fascist collaborator.

G. Bush, vice president of the USA, exchanged a friendly handshake with him. The little Banderaites and Uniate newspapers reproduced this outrageous scene with tender emotion. On the photograph which portrayed the ringleader of the Banderaites, the leader of the so-called "Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations," together with the American vice president, there was this autograph: "To the esteemed Yaroslav Stetsko with my best wishes. George Bush."

What has engendered such sympathy on the part of Reagan and Bush toward the former mercenaries of Hitler's reich? The answer is simple: in their blind hatred of our country, the imperialists of the current Washington

administration shrink at nothing. The logic of anticommunism leads them to reaction and fascism. Even such political corpses as Stetsko have suited them.

The present Washington government, however, did not, as they say, open America. In the post-war years, beginning with the presidency of Harry Truman, the Ounovite and Uniate minions of nazism, thrown out of Soviet Ukraine together with the remnants of Hitler's hordes, found work after their own hearts in the West: shameless anti-Soviet subversive activities and provocations, as well as zealous participation in the aggressive acts of imperialism in various "hot spots" on the planet. The policy of an unrestrained arms race and the unleashing of a new world war, taken by the present master of the White House, has obviously encouraged the surviving Ounovites and their Uniate confederates.

It is known from documents of the fascist reich that Stetsko at one time received the nickname "Basmach" in the abwehr. This "Basmach" with an abwehr record recently directed his steps to the Pakistani border with Afghanistan in order to share his experience with the modern basmachi: the Afghan counterrevolutionaries. The reactionary Western press movingly depicted this meeting between the former Hitlerite agent provocateur, re-enlisted by the USA's Central Intelligence Agency, with the minions of the CIA who are committing bloody crimes on Afghan soil.

In trying to imitate their masters in everything and in acting according to the proverb, "jump, devil, as the master says," the Ounovites and the Uniate fathers repeat word for word the stereotypes of the Reagan administration that set one's teeth on edge regarding the "Soviet military threat" and the "necessity to complete the arming of the USA." It is sufficient to look at the headlines of the articles in the Uniate-Ounovite press to see its basic tendency: "The eve of a new war?" (UKRAYINS'KE SLOVO); "If war comes tomorrow?" (SAMOSTIYNA UKRAYINA); "Third world war build-up" (SHLYAKH PEREMOGI), etc., etc.

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists have always linked their hopes of "independence" with aggravation of the international situation and with an increase in activity of the aggressive intrigues of imperialism against the USSR. They do not hide their joy today over the expansion of the anti-communist crusade and they openly express their sympathy with the militarist circles of the USA, supporting their expansionist activities in every way possible.

The clerical-nationalist press frightens believers with "the Soviet threat," advises the governments of capitalist states to maintain a "hard line" in relations with the USSR and calls on the West to intensify the arms race. The little Uniate newspaper, AMERIKA, for example, frightened the inhabitants of the FRG with the fact that in the space of a few days the territory of their country, supposedly, "right up to the shores of the Rhine... may be occupied by Soviet divisions." At the same time, the press of the yellow and blues [i.e. Ukrainian nationalists] hurls abuse at the supporters of

peace in the Western countries. The fighters against neutron weaponry were also aimed at by the apologists for nuclear death. In "all seriousness," the Ounovites set out to demonstrate its "humane" character. "After a bombardment with neutron bombs," KHRISTIIYANSKIY GOLOS movingly wrote, "the city and houses remain whole..." It was not by chance that the Reagan administration's decision on full scale production of this weapon aroused rejoicing in the Uniate-nationalist camp.

A polarization has been observed recently in the Catholic Church and other religious organizations in connection with the real danger of thermonuclear war. Antimilitarist attitudes are spreading among part of the believers and clergy. The American Catholic Bishops' Conference has declared Washington's nuclear strategy to be amoral and nuclear war, a deadly sin. Representatives of the six most influential churches of Canada, including the Catholic Church, came out with a condemnation of any policy which proceeds from the condition that nuclear war is inevitable and they have called on believers to send letters to their deputies in parliament protesting against the government's granting of permission for tests in Canada of American guided missiles intended for delivery of nuclear war charges.

But the leadership of the Uniate Church in the USA, Canada, Australia and the countries of Western Europe are maintaining a diametrically opposed viewpoint. In sermons, in the press, in radio broadcasts, at "synods" and other assemblages, the Uniate pastors extol the USA's "new nuclear strategy" and the "resoluteness" of the White House in continuing the arms race and increasing tension in the world to a high degree. If they "criticize" their masters, it is only for insufficient resoluteness, in their opinion, in plunging mankind into the abyss of a destructive war. Thus, the Uniate AMERIKA reproaches the leaders of the Western countries for not yet "attacking Moscow!" Quite a "position" for a "religious," "edifying" newspaper!

The Uniate-Ounovite servitors of imperialism welcomed the USA's intervention in Grenada with particular joy. In this act of naked aggression, they saw a "display of firmness" by the White House in the struggle with communism in the Western hemisphere. "The president, government and army of the USA fulfilled their task brilliantly," wrote the Banderaites SHLYAKH PEREMOGI. In addition, by spreading the deliberate lie about the presence of Cuban and Soviet soldiers in Grenada and even about... "the capture of a Soviet four-star general," the pen-pushers of this newspaper demonstrated their total incompetence, since Soviet generals have not had such distinguishing marks for a long time.

By repeating the fabrications of the reactionary press regarding the "growing military potential of the USSR" and "possible nuclear attacks from the East," the Ounovites are trying their utmost to help the Washington administration frighten the average person, confuse him and rouse a turbid wave of chauvinist intoxication in America, which gives the military-industrial complex the possibility to inflate the arms race. At the same time, they strive to prevent an explanation of the USSR's peace loving foreign policy and an exposure of the myth of the "Soviet military threat." Particular

hatred is aroused in them by the statements of Americans of Ukrainian origin who have been in the Soviet Union and who report their impressions truthfully.

UKRAYINS'KI VISTI (New York), ZHITTYA I SLOVO (Toronto) and other progressive publications of the Ukrainian working emigration publish letters and statements which attest to the strivings by workers of Ukrainian origin to safeguard peace, support friendly relations between the USA and the USSR and struggle for the elimination of the threat of nuclear war.

"The allegation of a 'Soviet threat' is the great lie of the 20th century." Profesor F. Kovtonyuk of the University of Virginia published an article with this headline, which speaks for itself, in UKRAINIAN NEWS, the English language publication of League of American Ukrainians (LAU).

One of the progressive Ukrainian figures in Canada, P. Kravchuk, clearly explained in the pages of the weekly ZHITTYA I SLOVO why the Uniate-nationalist operators do not want a relaxation of international tension. "They dream day and night of a war for which they cannot wait," he notes, and he stresses that under conditions of peace "they are deprived of their last hope for the accomplishment of their insane plans to 'dismember' the Soviet Union and establish 'their own state' - however puppet-like it may be."

In the article, "The Troubadours of Nuclear Apocalypse," the same weekly draws attention to the fact that for the nationalist leaders, "destruction of the largest cities of the Ukrainian SSR by nuclear attacks is the price of liberation (that is, of the desired enslavement of Ukraine. /Author/)." In another issue of ZHITTYA I SLOVO, it says: "The Ounovites are now prepared to hang, shoot and torture Soviet people." UKRAYINSKI VISTI holds the traitors up to shame who advise their American masters to "make the first nuclear strikes in a future war on Donbass, Pridneprov', Krivoy Rog, Kiev, L'vov, Odessa and Kharkov..."

The instigators not only incite their imperialist masters to a new war, but also strive to make their own contribution by training cannon fodder for it. The former Hitlerite collaborators try to rear mercenaries of capital in their own likeness from among the children of the Ukrainian working emigration. This little task, however, is evidently beyond their capacity.

Among individuals of Ukrainian origin, a natural process of class stratification and ethnic assimilation is occurring. Young people from these families often marry individuals of other nationalities. "In many of our families, the native language is no longer used, Ukrainian books and our press are not read," complained the Uniate journal, GOLOS SPASITELYA (Canada).

Striving to prevent the assimilation of the young generation and to foster an anti-Soviet spirit in it, the Uniate-Ounovite ringleaders are intensifying religious and nationalist treatment of youth. They are attempting to do this inconspicuously and gradually, primarily through the cultural and

social sphere. They implant this kind of education from the time of kindergarten and carry it on in schools and in various societies, clubs and camps for teenagers, similar to those of the former scouts.

The "Union of Ukrainian Youth" (SUM), which is in the Banderaite sphere of influence, bosses these camps. In November of last year, in Toronto, when the regular "world" assemblage of SUM took place, Stetsko, the Hitlerite servitor, called on the members of SUM to inherit the legacy of Bandera, Petlyura, Konoval'ts and Shukhevich - these evil enemies of the Ukrainian and other Soviet peoples, enemies stained with the blood of many thousands of innocent victims.

But the efforts of the Banderaite troubadours of terror and vengeance are in vain and their appeals to the young to follow the path of evil memory of the OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists] and UPA are also in vain. Today, among the offspring of Ukrainian settlers, fewer and fewer young people follow the Uniate-nationalist "educators" of SUM.

The pitiful attempts to stupefy young people with nationalist attributes and religious mysticism, as well as with Ounovite calls to prepare for a new war are by no means new. Many forms and methods of making ideological fools out of young people were adopted by the present SUM "educators" from various kinds of clerical and nationalist organizations during the period of bourgeois land ownership in Poland.

Let us leaf through the archive files of the journal, UKRAYINS'KE YUNATSTVO, for the year 1935, as well as its supplement, GOTUYS', a sheet issued by the "Catholic Action of Ukrainian Youth" (KAUM) organization. There is the same subject matter as in the current SUM camps: a course of "Ukrainian studies" along shamelessly anti-Soviet lines, prayers at the beginning and end of lessons, talks on religious education... Among the authors of the propaganda materials for the members of KAUM, by the way, there is a fleeting glimpse of the name of the Uniate priest, I. Grin'okh, who was later posted as chaplain of the fascist punitive batallion, "Nachtigall," which "distinguished itself" by mass murders of the L'vov intelligentsia and then by executions of the peaceful population of Satanov, Zhmerinka and Vinnitsa, as well as in Belorussia and other places. The journal, UKRAYINS'KE YUNATSTVO, and the sheet, GOTUYS', issued under the editorship of the diocesan council of KAUM, propagated clerical nationalism and militant anti-Sovietism, and they extolled, with all their might, the "good deeds" of their "spiritual father," the long-standing admirer of Hitler, Metropolitan Sheptitskiy.

With equal activity, the Uniate clergy at that time ran the Ounovite youth and sports organizations, "Sokol," "Plast," "Lugi," "Sich," "Orly" and other nationalist "incubators."

In August of last year, the small "Plast" groups in the FRG, USA and Canada marked their 70th anniversary. The "Plast" members noisily celebrated this jubilee in the Gochland camp, not far from Munich. The Uniate archbishop, Platon Kornelyak, visited there, accompanied by "the mitred father of the

UKTs [Ukrainian Catholic Church], Ivan Grin'okh," as the nationalist UKRAYINS'KE SLOVO, published in Paris, reported. Yes, the same Grin'okh who, as chaplain of the "Nachtigall" punitive batallion and later a member of the leadership of the OUN, participated in many bloody crimes! Grin'okh conveyed greetings to the participants in the assemblage from the now deceased successor of Sheptitskiy, Cardinal Iosif Slipyy, and reminded them of the "responsibilities" of members of the "Plast" organization and about their oath of allegiance to their leaders "to be faithful to God," "to live according to the laws of 'Plast'" and "to submit to the leadership of 'Plast.'"

As we see, this oath demands unquestioning submission to the leadership: unthinking, blind loyalty to the Ounovite adventurers. It is precisely this type of youth, poisoned by anticommunism and Uniate narcotic, that is needed by the "educators" of "Plast" and other such organizations and societies, into which the nationalists try to drive boys and girls in the countries of settlement.

The uniate pastors and their Ounovite confederates, regardless of everything, try to preserve the so-called "national substance" in a world where another language is spoken. For this purpose, they would like to enclose the youth of Ukrainian origin in the countries of settlement within the walls of a distinctive Ukrainian patriarchal ghetto. In fighting for loyalty to imaginary "nationalist" and "Christian" ideals, the Uniate clergy and the Ounovite leaders, through the family, press, church, school and youth organizations, try to foster in the young a spirit of hatred for the native land of their fathers and grandfathers and readiness for "a liberating mission" on the side of imperialism.

The "members of the independence movement" regard the break between nationalism and Catholicism as "treachery" and "suicide." They demand that parents strengthen their influence on children and compel them to pray, confess and fast regularly, as well as to attend mass in a systematic manner, etc., etc.

Like the nazis and zionists, the clerical nationalist leaders entertain themselves with the false hope that "pure-blooded offspring" will be born with the mark of the cross and the trident on their foreheads, while they will have a stone in their breasts instead of a heart. As the American bourgeois scholar, D. Armstrong, noted, the Ukrainian nationalists have gone even further than the fascists in their requirements for "racial purity."

The Uniate-Ounovite leaders pay particular attention to family upbringing. Women are advised to have as many children as possible, in order to turn them eventually into imperialist mercenaries. They are also advised to read clerical and Ounovite literature, to pray regularly for a long time at home and involve the children in this as well. But pressures on women in a religious-nationalist spirit do not yield the desired results. The number of mixed marriages among individuals of Ukrainian origin in the West is

reaching 80 percent and religiosity is decreasing.

"Our hope lies in courses in Ukrainian studies," is the tocsin sounded by the clerical and Ounovite operators. Such courses are being created in a number of American colleges and universities. The past and present of Ukraine is presented in a distorted, falsified way to their students. Among the lecturers are many former fascist collaborators and various types of renegades, so-called dissidents and criminals, are invited to speak. One may imagine the sort of "knowledge" such educators sow! They poison the young people with their petty nationalist ideas, they inculcate hatred of everything Soviet in them and they educate them in the spirit of revanchism and preparation for a new war against the USSR.

Textbooks written for "schools of Ukrainian studies" by nationalist authors contain gross fabrications about socialism and are full of religious mysticism. Thus, in a history textbook, the betrayers of the Ukrainian people, the Hitlerite felons and criminals, are glorified. Considerable place in such "textbooks" is devoted to arousing hatred of and enmity to the work of peace and progress, the socialist countries and working people in general. Some authors openly propagandize for various methods of ideological subversion and call on the readers to participate in anti-Soviet provocations. It is not by chance that such a trend in books on "Ukrainian studies" has received a high appraisal from the Reagan administration and they are included in courses on the "study of communism" in some institutions of higher education in the USA. They are also ordered for students and universities in Canada.

Workers of Ukrainian origin are protesting more and more against the openly anticommunist trend of "schools of Ukrainian studies" and are refusing to help them. The truth about the Soviet Union and our republic forces its way through the fence of fabrications and slander. During the 1970s, the number of students in these schools declined by 3-4 times. There are fewer and fewer people who want to work in these hotbeds of lies and hatred. "The older teachers leave and vacant places remain. We urgently need young teachers," the little Uniate newspaper, AMERIKA, complained.

The clerical-nationalist ringleaders try to utilize the lack of conditions that exist in capitalist countries for rest and cultural pastimes for boys and girls in order to lure young people by any sort of truth and untruth into their summer camps. What, then, do the former mercenaries of Hitler or the "heroes" of the Vietnam war teach in these camps?

Their "educational program" includes the study of topography and signalling, war games and sports. During their lessons, they often build bunkers of the Banderite hiding place type and wage practice battles which end with "the taking of Bolshevik prisoners" (naturally, the survivors prefer not to remember the crushing defeat of the SS "Galichin" division and the UPA gangs). Among the required subjects are methods of military sambo wrestling, karate and firing practice with different types of weapons. In a word, this is the way future spies, saboteurs and murderers are trained. It is also not

surprising that the training and instruction of the "cadres" of the Uniate-nationalist organizations are financed basically by government circles in capitalist countries and by various types of monopolist foundations.

Overseas Ukrainian young people do not want to be puppets in the hands of Uniate-nationalist leaders. For that reason, the "best forces" from among the Ounovite functionaries are devoted to influencing them and making fools of them. In the youth organizations and training camps, professional thugs act as leaders. These include A. Kabayde (Zhukovskiy), former police chief in occupied Kiev, S. Mudrik, a Gestapo officer, R. Debritskiy, an SS officer, and E. Pobegushchiy (Ren), a former Sturmbahnfuehrer.

Is it surprising, then, that in the "Kholodnyy Yar" (Buffalo), "Barabu" (near Chicago), "Ellenville" (near New York) and "Vil'na Ukrayina" (Belgium) camps emigre youth is drilled in the spirit of the Nazi tradition?

The imperialist special services and propaganda centers are favorably disposed toward the actions of SUM, which are directed at training future mercenaries. The Western "moralists" and "defenders of human rights" are not at all disturbed by the fact that, for example, a school of "Ukrainian studies" and a cell of SUM are headed by a certain G. Tsebriy, a former UPA thug, and that among the "educators" working there is N. Stepanenko, an SS officer from the Hitlerite "Skorpion-Ost" sub-unit. A characteristic detail: Yuriy, the son of this SS officer, "distinguished himself" as a brutal member of a punitive expedition during the American aggression on Vietnamese soil... The Reagan administration is obviously favorably disposed toward the fascist and nationalist slogans of the SUM reactionaries, which are arranged with Uniate camouflaged postulates. In the SUM camps, they teach hatred and they teach killing, and this suits the imperialists. For that reason, the SUM leaders are provided with accommodations and given subsidies.

How many times has imperialist reaction assembled the nationalist survivors of every stripe under the black banner of anticommunism? The aged minions of Hitler and his punitive expedition members, the guards and SS men, all try to draw the young people whom they have stupefied in SUM, "Plast" and other such organizations into the "crusade" against socialism that Reagan has declared.

But despite all the efforts of the clerical and nationalist werewolves, a class consciousness is growing among the Ukrainian working emigration in the West and it is being more and more actively included in the movement of the supporters of peace, which is directed against imperialist plans to unleash a nuclear catastrophe. The time of complete dominion by the Uniate and nationalist leaders over the minds of the emigres has gone, never to return. Reason is prevailing over obscurantism. Citizens of Ukrainian origin in the Western countries are turning away more and more resolutely from the Uniate and Ounovite spectres.

The workers of Soviet Ukraine will never forget the monstrous crimes committed on our soil by these accomplices of the Hitlerite invaders. There is no forgiveness for traitors and war criminals and there never will be!

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REGIONAL

STATE OF RUSSIAN INSTRUCTION IN KASSR

Alma-Ata RUSSKIY YAZYK I LITERATURA V KAZAKHSKOY SHKOLE in Russian No 12, Dec 84 (signed to press 28 Nov 84) pp 3-7

[Article by K. Mukanov, deputy director of the North Kazakhstan Oblast Department of Public Education: "We Are Accomplishing Tasks of Primary Importance"]

[Excerpts] The culture and literature of the peoples of the USSR have undergone unprecedented development during the period of developed socialism and the scientific-technical revolution. And the Russian language -- a powerful means of intercourse and of the further rapprochement of nations -- plays an important role in the fact that all that is talented and genuinely national and international in the country will become common property. Fluency in one's own language along with Russian has become an objective necessity and requirement of every citizen of our country. The school system has been called upon to assist people of all nations and nationalities to master the language of international intercourse.

The North Kazakhstan oblast and rayon departments of public education and the educational collectives of schools with instruction in the Kazakh language have for more than a year already directed all their efforts toward the practical implementation of the recommendations of the party and the government.

The oblast and rayon departments of public education and their teaching services systematically control the conditions under which these subjects are taught and give teachers the necessary systematic assistance.

In March 1984 an inventory of educational equipment and visual aids was conducted in all the schools of Kazakhstan by instruction of the oblast department of public education. Precise claims for deficient instructional means were compiled.

In order to determine a student's level of knowledge, skill, and experience in the Russian language, questionnaires are used in the inspection of schools and control work on texts prepared by the oblast department of public education and the oblast institute for teacher qualifications and an oral examination of the students are conducted. The assimilation of qualification programs is controlled by visiting the classes.

Seminars, the purpose of which is to improve the teaching of Russian language and literature in Kazakh schools, have become traditional.

The seminars are particularly useful with respect to the exchange of experience.

We depend on the assistance given by the instructors of the Department of Russian Language and Literature in the Petropavlovsk Teachers' Training College in the effort to raise the theoretical level and educational qualifications of teachers.

We also enlist the services of scholars from other higher educational institutions for delivering lectures in courses at the oblast institute for improving the qualifications of instructors.

Recently, teachers of Russian language and literature in Kazakh schools have been sent to attend 2-month courses in the faculty for improving qualifications at the Kokchetav and Gorkovskiy Teachers' Training Colleges. In 1985 the plan is to conduct 2-month courses on a special program in our oblast institute for improving the qualifications of instructors.

We now have a stable staff of teachers of Russian language and literature in the Kazakh schools of the oblast. Of the 78 specialists in Russian philology, 62 have a degree in higher education and 15 are taking correspondence courses from higher educational institutions for teachers' training.

Well equipped subject study rooms have become a source of great help in the work of teachers of language and literature in the Kazakh schools of the oblast.

Beginning with the 1984/85 academic year an intensified study of the Russian language is being conducted in the Sartomarskiy Secondary School in Bulayevskiy Rayon and in the oblast Kazakh boarding school. Physical education and elementary military training are being conducted in the Russian language in all Kazakh schools of the oblast. This makes it possible for youth to assimilate sports and military terminology and to master the speech habits necessary for completing military service by the time of their induction into the Soviet Army.

Much attention in the oblast is being given to the study, generalization, and dissemination of the advanced experience of teachers of Russian language and literature in Kazakh schools.

We are preparing teachers of Russian language and literature for the Kazakh schools with a perspective for the future. For this purpose, every year we select graduates of Kazakh secondary schools who have an inclination to teach Russian language and literature and we send them to special departments in the Kokchetav Teachers' Training College or the Sumy Teachers' Training College in the Ukraine. After graduating from these higher educational institutions, they, as a rule, return to work in their own rayon.

Unfortunately, there are still many unresolved problems in the teaching of Russian language in Kazakh schools. Not all the Russian language study rooms yet meet contemporary requirements. Instructors do not have a sufficient supply of educational materials and collections of dictations and expositions and they do not have text books for working with linguaphone equipment and recommendations for conducting optional studies. In some schools Russian is being taught by instructors who do not have the appropriate training and do not engage in self-education. The monotony of the teaching methods applied by them and the absence of a system in conducting studies are the reason that their students have a weak command of the Russian language. Intraschool control is poorly organized in a number of schools, which has a negative effect on the conditions under which Russian language and literature are taught.

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REGIONAL

INTERVIEW WITH GOSTELERADIO OFFICIAL ON YOUTH PROGRAMS

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 22 Nov 84 p 3

[Interview with Stepan Ivanovich Lozan, president of MSSR Gostelradio, by SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA correspondent Atyem, on the occasion of the sixth All-Union Festival of Youth Television Programs and Films; date and place not specified; entitled "Review of Youth Television Broadcasting"]

[Text] For a month now, SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA's television viewers have been getting to know the heroes of tapes and transmissions of the country's 70 studios, from the presentations of the sixth All-Union Festival of Youth Television Programs and Films being broadcast under the motto: "Contemporary Youth are the Builders of Communism." On the eve of its official opening, correspondent Atyem had an interview with the president of the festival's organizing committee, MSSR Gosteleradio President S.I. Lozan.

[Question] Stepan Ivanovich, tell us, please, what are the aims and goals of the festival?

[Answer] The goal in carrying out such festivals is a review of the accomplishments of television broadcasting for youth in the republics, rayons, and oblasts of the country; and a sharing of experience from the creation of the best television programs and films reflecting on the work, training, relaxation, and military service of Soviet youth. The present festival is dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the conferral of the Komsomol imeni V.I. Lenin and the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people over fascist Germany. We are very pleased that the festival, commemorating these significant dates, is taking place in the capital of Soviet Moldavia, which has recently celebrated the 40th anniversary of its liberation from the fascist invaders and the 60th anniversary of the formation of the MSSR and the creation of the Communist Party of Moldavia.

Of the works presented at the festival, 46 television programs were selected for the competitive show in Kishinev at the hotel "Cosmos."

[Question] What is unique about the current festival?

[Answer] It is the first All-Union review of television programs and films to take place after the June (1983) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Also, it is being undertaken in the year during which the CPSU Central Committee made the exceptionally important resolution "On the further improvement of party leadership through the Komsomol and the expansion of its role in the communist education of youth." Appropriately, in light of these documents, questions of the perfection of youth broadcasting will be discussed at the seminar meeting which will be undertaken within the framework of the current festival.

[Question] Most likely, there are definite traditions which have formed in carrying out the festivals.

[Answer] Yes. Their participants--leaders of television committees, editors, producers, operators--look through and discuss the competing programs, carry on creative discussions, exchange opinions concerning perspectives for developing youth television broadcasting, and meet with representatives of labor, village, and artistic youth.

The best youth programs and films taking part in the festivals are shown on central television. This will also be the case this time.

[Question] I would like to find out about the results of the participation of Moldavian television in such festivals.

[Answer] Our committee has played an active part in the competitive shows of all previous festivals. The most successful for us turned out to be the third, which took place in Gorkiy in 1978, at which our program "The Youth Wave" was awarded first place, and the last one, in Volgograd, where we were also laureates, with the program "Meeting the Professions" taking third place. At the sixth festival, we are presenting the journalistic program "The Price of Moments...."

[Question] Could you tell us, please, what prizes await the laureates?

[Answer] A prestigious jury under the chairmanship of a hero of socialist labor, the leader of the Komsomol-youth collective trust "Promstroy," G.A. Seletskiy, will evaluate the competitive works. On November 25th in the hall of the Moldavian state philharmonic society, the awarding of the festival's winners and laureates will take place. I remind you that the program which has received the greatest number of responses from viewers will be awarded "The Viewers' Choice Prize." Prizes have also been established by the republic's artistic unions and social organizations. The festival decisions will be highlighted in summary television transmissions, "The Diary of the Festival."

We are sure that the sixth All-Union Festival of Youth Television Programs and Films, "Contemporary Youth are the Builders of Communism," will be a master school for television journalists and producers and will promote the task of perfecting youth broadcasting, an embodiment on the screen of the image of our young contemporary.

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REGIONAL

CONFERENCE IN DUSHANBE: THE PRESS AND MORAL OUTLOOK

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 18 Nov 84 p 3

[Article: "Conference of Dushanbe Journalists"]

[Text] A wide circle of problems in the activities of workers in mass information and propaganda were discussed at a reporting and voting conference of the Dushanbe city organization of the Tajikistan Union of Journalists.

In the summary report, which was made by the president of the city organization's buro of the Union of Journalists, the deputy editor of the newspaper "KOMMUNIST TADKHIKISTANA," T.P. Karatygina, and in the addresses of the delegates, it was pointed out that the collectives of the editorial staffs of newspapers, magazines, Gosteleradio, and the Tajik Telegraph Agency are working resolutely on the realization of the aims of the June (1983) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, directed by Comrade K.U. Chernenko.

Journalists are serving as battle assistants to the republic's party organization in its grand, many-sided work for realization of the economic and social policy of the CPSU, the education of workers, and the shaping of their political-ideological and moral make-up.

The striving of editorial collectives was mentioned as a means of making fuller use of the wide possibilities of the press, television, and radio for the solution of current problems in the development of the people's economy and the communist education of workers. Sharing a unity of aims and purposes, every newspaper finds its own way to make itself more interesting to a wide circle of readers. The most striking and interesting are the reports of the journalists of Gosteleradio, which have a wide audience.

Also discussed were the practical problems of journalists covering the anniversary of Republic Day, and those associated with preparations for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War and the havoc-filled preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress.

The delegates shared plans from editorial collectives regarding propaganda for the decisions of the October (1984) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and on realization of its provisions and conclusions, as contained in the speech of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade K.U. Chernenko at the meeting of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee regarding consideration of the draft plan for economic and social development of the USSR in the year 1985.

Questions of the internal affairs of the city's journalistic organization were examined.

At the conference, the president of the board of the Tajikistan Union of Journalists appeared, president of Gosteleradio in the TaSSR, G.N. Kalandarov.

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A meeting took place recently of the elected bureau of the Dushanbe city organization of the Union of Journalists, at which an organizational question was considered. T.P. Karatygina was again chosen as president of the bureau. (TAJIK TELEGRAPH AGENCY)

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