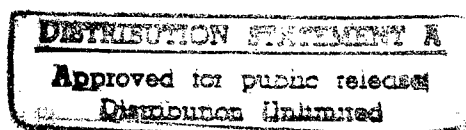


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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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17 April 1985

USSR REPORT

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S. STANCE AT UN ON INFORMATION ISSUES ASSAILED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 85 p 6

[Article by Yu. Kashlev, doctor of historical sciences: "To Serve Peace and Progress: UN General Assembly Session On the New Information Order"]

[Text] Questions pertaining to international information exchange occupied a prominent place among problems discussed at the latest, 39th session of the UN General Assembly. The very fact that these questions are regularly included on the agenda of an authoritative world forum and are discussed alongside the burning problems of preserving peace bespeaks the growing attention of peoples to what sort of information is disseminated and for what purposes. This concerns all the numerous channels of international communications: radio and television stations, newspapers, magazines and wire services.

Already, in the course of general discussion, delegates from many countries had touched upon this problem in the context of the struggle to strengthen international security and prevent nuclear war. The head of the USSR delegation recalled the standards of relations between nuclear powers, as formulated by K. U. Chernenko. These include renunciation of propaganda for a nuclear war of any type, either global or limited. The acceptance of such an obligation by nuclear powers would serve the cause of making the Declaration Condemning Nuclear War a reality; this was adopted by the previous session of the General Assembly at the initiative of the USSR. Specifically, in this declaration the "dissemination and propagandizing of political and military doctrines and concepts intended to substantiate the 'legitimacy' of a first use of nuclear weapons, as well as the 'permissibility' of unleashing a nuclear war" are condemned.

The task of stopping war propaganda, particularly propaganda for nuclear war, is an exceptionally timely one, if one considers the militaristic racket being stirred up in the USA and several other NATO countries. This is intended to ensure the psychological preparation of the populace for a new war, and provide a propaganda screen for the arms race.

One other area in which the utilization of mass information media for improper purposes is reaching an ever more alarming level was the object of discussions. This in connection with the question raised by the Soviet Union concerning the inadmissibility of a policy of state terrorism and of actions aimed at undermining the sociopolitical system of sovereign states. One of the elements of

such activity is ideological diversions, the "psychological war" of imperialism against socialist as well as many developing countries and attempts to interfere in their internal affairs. This includes interference by means of subversive propaganda. Within the framework of an anticommunist "crusade," subversive radio broadcasting by the USA is being expanded and the implementation of plans for global television expansion are being speeded up. There has even appeared the term "ideological terrorism." Diversionary, propagandistic activity by imperialism is a noticeable factor in the complication of the international situation.

In light of this it is understandable why the overwhelming majority of the UN members (117 countries) voting for the resolution concerning the inadmissibility of state terrorism also supported its articles condemning "any concept, doctrines or ideologies which are intended to justify actions by states aimed at undermining the sociopolitical system of other states."

Many articles of another resolution adopted by the session have a direct bearing on the field of information and propaganda. In this resolution Nazi, fascist and neo-fascist ideology and practice are condemned as incompatible with the goals and principles of the UN Charter. Specifically, in the corresponding resolution it is proposed that member states "take priority measures which would declare any and all dissemination of ideas based upon racial superiority and hatred and war propaganda, including Nazi, fascist and neo-fascist ideologies, to be a criminal offense."

Reports of the growth of militarist and revanchist tendencies in some capitalist countries, new activism by neo-fascist organizations and the continuing practice of racism remind one just how timely these articles are. One should hope that the UN will bring these important decisions to the attention of the broad public, mass information organs and journalists, and will aid in their practical implementation.

The proposed resolution entitled "Information Issues" provoked heated discussions in the UN General Assembly session. It was presented in the name of the "Group of 77." Its basic intent was support for the demands of developing states concerning the decolonization of information and cooperation among countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the creation of their own, national systems of mass information, the training of journalist cadres, and the establishment of a new international information order. It is well known that at this time developing countries, in which more than half of the Earth's population lives, have only seven percent of all television stations, one-fourth of all radio stations and approximately 20 percent of total newspaper circulation. However, what is mainly disseminated through these organs is information obtained from Western countries. This information distorts the true picture of international life and politics. The essence of developing states' position lies in putting an end to the practice of "information imperialism"; this is practiced by transnational corporations, wire services and radio and television stations.

It is significant that it was the USA and its closest NATO allies which opposed the very nature of UN informational activity. In the organization's Secretariat there exist subdivisions which handle the printing and dissemination of magazines and brochures, press releases, movies and radio and television programs.

UN information centers operate in 67 countries. In a special General Assembly resolution a list of priority topics was established, to which topics the Secretariat's information subdivisions should devote themselves. These include questions concerning the UN struggle for peace, disarmament, decolonization, human rights, economic and social development and for a new international economic and information order. The UN Secretariat is conducting a considerable amount of work toward carrying out this resolution. However, this displeases the USA and its allies. For they are in an objectively unseemly position when the UN votes on questions of peace and disarmament. It is a fact that in the latest UN General Assembly session alone the USA voted 26 times (including 10 times as practically the only dissenting vote) against resolutions pertaining to various aspects of strengthening international security; these were accepted by the overwhelming majority of states.

Obviously, it is for this reason that representatives of the USA, England, the FRG and a number of other Western countries have attempted to accuse UN information services of conducting "anti-Western propaganda," calling established priorities into question and emphasizing minor problems.

Things reached the point where a "study" by the Heritage Foundation, one of the most reactionary organizations in the USA, was distributed at the UN. This "study" was filled with slander and threats against the UN and its information services. However, the overwhelming majority of the delegations did not submit to pressure and spoke in favor of broadening the organization's informational activity in the spirit of the preservation of peace and the strengthening of mutual understanding among states.

The discussion concerning the UN's relationship to UNESCO acquired fundamental significance in the General Assembly. As is well known, the campaign of persecution begun by Washington against this authoritative organization continued throughout all of 1984. This campaign was launched under the pretense that UNESCO, in attempting to achieve a new information order, was allegedly undermining the principle of "freedom of information." Washington attempted to intimidate developing countries and force them to withdraw their anti-imperialist demands pertaining to information issues. As is well known, the USA withdrew from UNESCO, but achieved nothing else. In a resolution adopted by 122 votes the UN General Assembly expressed its complete support for UNESCO activities and noted its "central role" in the field of international information.

Important tasks face mass information organs in connection with the upcoming celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism in World War II and the 40th anniversary of the founding of the UN. One of the resolutions adopted by the session affirms the significance of "the important contribution which mass information media around the world can make to the strengthening and consolidation of peace, the deepening of international mutual understanding and cooperation toward justice, equality and national independence." It also contains a call to increase activity in the struggle for these noble goals.

On the whole one can affirm that the documents on information issues which were adopted at the last UN General Assembly session expressed the spirit of the UN's main decisions on matters of preserving peace, preventing the threat of war and deepening cooperation and mutual understanding among peoples. It is the duty of all information organs and journalists to heed the voice of this most representative of all international organizations.

INTERNATIONAL

JOINT USSR, U.S. NATIONALITY LITERATURE SYMPOSIUM PRAISED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Feb 85 p 7

[Article by S. Belza: "We Are Looking Into the Future"---On the Cooperation of Soviet and American Literary Scholars]

[Text] In 1983 a Soviet-American symposium, "Literature and National Self-Consciousness," was held at the Institute of World Literature imeni A.M. Gor'kiy---the first of several which have been planned on this topic.

Three Soviet-American symposiums were held last year---two of them in Moscow (they were devoted to the creative legacy of Pushkin and Faulkner), and one in the United States ("Russian-American Literary Relations During the 18th and 19th Centuries").

In January of this year a new Soviet-American symposium was held on the topic of "Literature and National Self-Consciousness"---this time on the basis of the materials of the literatures of the peoples of Central Asia. The work of the symposium was directed by the deputy director of IMLI [Institute of World Literature imeni A.M. Gor'kogo of the USSR Academy of Sciences] and corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences USSR V. Shcherbina, and the head of the American delegation, professor of Columbia University E. Allworth.

The American scholars presented the following reports at the symposium: Professor E. Allworth---"Ethical Consciousness as Expressed in Contemporary Central Asian Dramaturgy"; Professor A. Bodrolighetti---"The Importance of Classical Turkish Literature for Understanding the Cultural Heritage of the Turks of Central Asia"; S. Soucek ---"National Consciousness in Kirghiz Prose"; Professor U. Khanauey---"National Consciousness and the Search for Self in Contemporary Tajik Poetry"; Professor V. Feldman---"The Oral Epic as a Special Characteristic of Uzbek and South Central Asian Cultural Originality."

The Soviet side was represented by the following: Doctor of Sciences Z. Osmanov (report---"The Artistic Conception of the Individual in the Literatures of the Soviet East. The Dynamics of the Traditions and of Contemporary Artistic Experience"); Doctor of Sciences Z. Kedrina (report---"National Consciousness and the Way of Forming the Personality of the New Man During the Period of Developed Socialism. The Positive Hero in the Multi-National Soviet Literature of the 1970s and 1980s"); corresponding member of the Academy of

Sciences of the Uzbek SSR M. Koshchanov and Doctor of Sciences E. Karimov (report--"The Uniqueness of the Establishment of Realism in the Literatures of Central Asia and Kazakhstan"); corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR M. Shukurov (report--"The Birth and Development of Contemporary Realistic Tajik Prose and the Formation of its National Consciousness"). Scholars from Moscow and from the republics of Central Asia took an active part in the discussion of the reports.

Upon the conclusion of the symposium the American delegation made a trip to Tashkent where it held meetings with its Uzbek colleagues and became acquainted with the monuments of ancient culture and the present spiritual life of Uzbekistan.

After the return from Tashkent a concluding meeting was held between the American literary scholars and the director of IMLI, the corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences USSR G. Berdnikov, the deputy director of IMLI P. Paliyevskiy, and other associates of the institute. The Soviet and American symposium participants gave high praise to its results and took note of the fruitfulness of such a form of cooperation.

The United States scholars shared their impressions about the symposium and about their stay in Tashkent.

Professor E. Allworth. The most favorable impression has remained with us from how the Moscow symposium was organized and conducted. We were not only well received--the symposium was of a genuinely businesslike, working, and not formal character. There was a constructive exchange of ideas, and an elucidation of how our ideas differed from one another, which was useful. We became acquainted with interesting and knowledgeable people. We shall preserve our pleasant memories from the meeting in the Tashkent Institute of Language and Literature imeni A. S. Pushkin.

Professor U. Khanauey. For me this was my first experience in participating in a scholarly conference with Soviet specialists.

I was astonished by the high level of the Uzbek theater. We saw two plays--a dramatic and a musical one--and the directors and the performers were remarkable.

Professor S. Soucek. The symposium was successful, but, as it seemed to me, very brief. I would like to have had more time for unofficial conversations; it would have been a good thing to have visited the regions of our individual interests--for example, Professor Khanauey has been lured for such a long time by Dushanbe, while for me the prospect of seeing Chingiz Aytmatov would have been very alluring.

We were touched by the cordiality of our colleagues in Moscow and Tashkent, and by their readiness to discuss the proposed topics.

One felt that people lived well in Tashkent. This was witnessed not only by the theater, but also, for example, by the market---a real colorful Eastern bazaar with heaps of drying fruits.

Professor A. Bodrolighetti. I would like to take especial note of the collection of manuscripts which we were shown in Tashkent. We, of course, knew about its existence, but we were astonished by the wealth of the funds and the superb conditions of maintaining the manuscripts: it is remarkable that expeditions are constantly organized for the finding and acquisition of these manuscripts.

Professor V. Feldman. The schedule of our work here was strenuous, but we are satisfied with the results and with the fact that we obtained the opportunity to visit Central Asia. I noticed in Tashkent that under Soviet power the possibility exists there of organically combining the national traditions of applied art and architecture with the demands being put forth by the present day.

In summarizing, Professor E. Allworth said to the correspondent from Leningrad University:

I hope that the past symposiums, including the last one will be only a beginning for more extensive cooperation. We are looking to the future when interaction between Soviet and American scholars will become much more intensive. Joint research and a broad exchange of experience is essential--then we will be able to know one another and create a more favorable intellectual climate in the relations between our countries.

Such meetings are without question useful. Without mutual understanding our present and future contacts would be impossible. And I again repeat: this is only the beginning. Now we are inviting Soviet scholars to our country. I believe that despite all of the difficulties the ties between us will develop and I am confident that through our joint efforts we shall be able to achieve much greater scholarly results than if we conducted our research in isolation from one another.

2959

CSO: 1830/331

INTERNATIONAL

SFRY PRESS QUESTIONS U.S. FILMING OF MUSSOLINI'S LIFE

LD202247 Moscow in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia 1700 GMT 20 Feb 85

[Text] The periodical LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has carried a dispatch by Aleksandr Shakin, Belgrade correspondent of Soviet Radio and Television, entitled Foreign Exchange and Conscience.

The Belgrade paper BORBA has carried an article with this title in connection with the filming in Yugoslavia of the television serial on Mussolini, Aleksandr Shakin writes. The film with the provisional title The Dictator, is the fruit of cooperation between one of the largest American television companies and the Yugoslav studio Jadran-Film in Zagreb. The conditions of the contract are as follows: The scenario, the main protagonists, and the dollars are American, while the location, support actors, extras and so-called technical services are Yugoslav. The value of the project is estimated at \$9 million, of which Jadran-Film will receive at least \$3 million. As regards foreign exchange everything is clear. But what about conscience? Jadran-Film managers assert that the television serial on [words indistinct] is devoted chiefly to the private and family life of Benito Mussolini. They also say that the film is antifascist in nature. But this is precisely what many people doubt. In particular after what (Stirling Silifante) the author of the scenario and Hollywood professional, said: I wanted to write something human about a phenomenon which everybody hates. Locations where scenes from the Duce's private life are filmed, are not merely picturesque towns, luxurious villas, and olive groves on the Adriatic--this is the country where the fascist dictator has left bloody and indelible traces.

The public is worried. Representatives of the Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia and of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia have come out against the filming of the serial on the fascist dictator. The justified question whether such a film is necessary has been asked not only by BORBA but also by POLITIKA, VECERNJI LIST, KULTURNI ZIVOT, and the periodical NIN.

Yugoslavia has its own memories of Italian fascism, of Mussolini, Belgrade writer Branko Kitanovic has said. Mussolini's name means terror, blood and slavery to us. Our people will never forget either the mass executions or the concentration camps in Trebinje, Bare, Zadar, Podgorica and Mostar. They will not forget how the Duce had Yugoslav partisans publicly hanged

in town squares. Therefore, the attempt to create some sort of different, human, image of the fascist henchman is a desecration of the memory of the patriots and offends us as a nation. It is a disgrace to shoot this film in our country, now in the 40th anniversary year of the victory over fascism. But the shooting goes on at full pace. According to the latest reports, 169 actors and units of the Yugoslav People's Army are taking part in it.

CSO: 2800/266

INTERNATIONAL

TROFIMENKO DISCUSSES 'TELEBRIDGES' WITH U.S. ORGANIZER

ID072145 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0835 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0835 GMT on 7 March broadcasts a 15-minute program entitled "USSR-United States: the search for mutual understanding" which features a studio discussion between Soviet and American participants concerning a previous television linkup between Moscow and San Francisco on an unspecified date.

The opening shot shows a big screen displaying the words "World Beyond War" and "Space Bridge: Moscow-San Francisco" in both English and Russian. This is followed by a brief shot of an auditorium crowded with people and a clip of technicians watching television monitor screens. This sequence is accompanied by the following introduction from an unidentified announcer:

"The space bridge which linked our capital with the American city of San Francisco was 140,000 km long. Thanks to it thousands of doctors, scientists, public figures, and students not only saw each other but spoke to each other. Some were at Ostankino, others were at the Masonic Auditorium. The time difference, the distance, and the language barrier did not get in the way of this, because the Soviet and American participants in the program were united by a common aspiration, to build a real bridge of mutual understanding and trust."

The camera then shows three people seated at a table in a separate room. These are identified as Professor Genrikh Aleksandrovich Trofimenko, head of a department of the United States and Canada Institute and a specialist on Soviet-U.S. relations; an American, Harriet Crosby, "who works hard and spends much time on organizing such telebridges." The third person, identified by caption at the end of the program as Svetlana Starodomsкая, chairs the discussion and acts as interpreter. Crosby says that Soviet and American people must conduct a dialogue since they share so many problems. These problems must be resolved.

Trofimenko goes on to say: "The main problem is how to improve the political climate in the world and, most important of all, how to avoid nuclear war; that is the task."

Starodomsкая and Trofimenko then have the following interchange:

[Starodomsкая] "I looked through your journal. In it I found an article which contained the following analysis: The world, and relations between our two countries in particular, is going through a very complex and serious period. How can this fail to have an impact on the talks which are to be held in Geneva?"

[Trofimenko] "These two things are interrelated. On one hand, the world is indeed going through a very complex period, because the arms race is in full swing. Furthermore, during Reagan's first term in office the U.S. administration damaged relations with our state fairly seriously. On the other hand, the Geneva meeting is an attempt to start afresh, to erase, perhaps, the experience of the first 4 years, to come to mutually acceptable agreements on curbing the arms race, which would make it possible to actually lighten the military burden on the U.S. and Soviet peoples, and apart from that, to resolve a range of other problems -- the problems of improving political relations."

Crosby then says many Americans believe the differences between the two countries can be resolved. Starodomsкая leafs through a selection of letters from Soviet citizens calling for peace and an end to war. A fourth person, who is now doing the interpreting for Crosby, can be seen in the room.

Starodomsкая recalls seeing the film Star Wars in the United States and says: "I recall the reaction of the children in the cinema. They were so glad when good triumphed over evil. The term star wars no longer refers only to this film; the film has probably been forgotten. Eight years have passed. The term is now used by politicians and journalists."

Trofimenko reminds her that 3 Star Wars films have been made and another is planned; he says: "When politicians talk about star wars they use the title of this popular film to sell a not very good idea to the people, the idea that another round in the arms race should be unleashed and that space weapons should be developed. They say that this will solve all problems of a defense. The United States will be able to defend itself; the Soviet Union will be able to defend itself; and everything will be okay. They use the term star wars because the film showed good people fighting against an evil empire, so to speak. We will be doing the same thing, that is how their argument runs. But in fact this is an attempt to use any means to steel a lead, to dictate terms once again, to indulge in power politics on the world arena again. They are pretending that star wars will be a war fought in space between two different systems, but this war will be fought on earth. All these star wars and all these systems which they want to deploy in space, thereby forcing us to follow the Americans and launch our own systems into space, will be nothing other than a further stage in the military rivalry. So we say: "Let's put an end to the militarization of space, let's agree on parity. The Soviet Union does not want anything more than parity." Trofimenko goes on to remind watchers of the vast amounts of money being spent on the arms race,

and states the Soviet position: "The Soviet Union sets the following objective; this is what Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko stated clearly in his replies to foreign correspondents. If we resolve this problem, if we do not begin the militarization of space, it will be possible, first, to greatly reduce offensive weapons and then, to reach real agreement on how to jointly resolve all the problems which really do face mankind, which require a solution, and which cannot be solved without joint effort. This is the problem."

Crosby then talks about the Institute of U.S.-Soviet Relations, which she is connected with, and the bulletin which it publishes. She says the bulletin contains news of positive developments in Soviet-U.S. relations and that she is in Moscow to prepare a telebridge devoted to the 40th anniversary of the victory in World War II: war veterans and participants in the meeting on the Elbe will take part in it. She says nuclear war is the common enemy.

Trofimenko says the principles of cooperation and noninterference which were formulated in the wartime agreements between the allies are still valid and that these principles should be reflected in a code of behavior for the superpowers. Cooperation between states with differing social systems is possible, and not only in wartime, he says.

Crosby says it is difficult for Americans to understand the true meaning of war and pays tribute to the 20 million Soviet citizens who gave their lives during the war. She recalls the successful Soyuz-Apollo flight. Trofimenko finishes by saying that space must be kept peaceful and not turned into a minefield. Video shows a final shot of the earth as seen from space.

CSO: 1807/249

INTERNATIONAL

COMMUNISTS IN STRUGGLE AGAINST NEOFASCIST THREAT

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 12, Dec 84 pp 72-91

[Article by V.D. Yezhov, doctor of historical sciences, professor: "The Communists in the Struggle Against the Neofascist Threat"]

[Text] The CPSU and the World Communist Movement

The communist parties and other progressive forces are devoting increasing attention to the struggle against modern fascism. They regard it as one of the most reactionary outgrowths of the capitalist society in its imperialist stage, and one of the most dangerous for mankind, as one manifestation of the increasingly worsening general crisis of the capitalist system.

It is primarily the communists, relying upon Marxism-Leninism, which are rebuffing the bourgeois ideologists who attempt to depict fascism as a chance development in history, which, they would have us believe, was not brought about by social factors and has receded into the past forever, and to depict the terrorist and other actions of the neofascists as the follies of small groups of fanatics.

The communists link the growing neofascist threat with the development of militarism and revanchism in the capitalist states, with imperialism's attempts to enlarge and intensify the anticommunist propaganda, with the intensification of its aggressiveness in foreign policy and its assault on the rights and interests of the workers in the internal area, and they do so with complete justification.

Applying the experience they have acquired, the communist parties are calling upon all people of goodwill to be vigilant and are striving for unity of action by all the antifascist, anti-imperialist forces. They proceed from the premise that the working class and progressive, democratic circles can and must raise an insurmountable barrier to neofascism.

In this situation it is extremely important to analyze fascism from both the contemporary and past positions of Marxism-Leninism. This makes it possible to reveal the social and class nature of neofascism and its place within the modern imperialist society's power structure, and permits progressive forces to work out the most effective forms and methods for combatting the fascist threat.

Today, fascism is manifested in the activities of neofascist parties and groupings with different degrees of power and influence, which exist in the form of military dictatorships propped up with imperialism's direct support in many capitalist nations. Not of least importance is its manifestation in the growth of extremely reactionary trends in the area of state power, which inevitably entail corresponding changes in the area of foreign and domestic policy.

The communists use the Leninist understanding of the nature and the forms of capital's political power for revealing the general nature of various manifestations of fascism. V.I. Lenin studied capital's ability to alter its forms of dictatorship, depending upon the circumstances of the class struggle, to reject the method of "liberalism," reforms and concessions, and to employ the "method of force, the method of rejecting any sort of concessions to the workers' movement, the method of maintaining all of the old and moribund institutions, the method of relentlessly rejecting reforms."¹

The communists regard fascism as an extremely violent method by which monopolistic capital exercises power. In this respect, the classic definition of fascism as open terrorist dictatorship "of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital,"² provided by the Comintern back in the 30's, is still completely valid.

The building-up of internal conflicts within the state monopolistic system, its inability to resolve global problems confronting mankind today, and its increasing aggressiveness outside itself are inevitably driving capitalism toward the forcible method of domination, toward the rejection of "liberalism" and concessions, toward the application of direct pressure on the laboring strata of the population.

Ruling circles, particularly those of the United States, are responding to the constantly increasing strength of world socialism's positions, to the growth of the national liberation struggle and to imperialism's loss of its former influence in the world with extremely aggressive, terrorist actions in the international arena. Still fresh in our memory are the truly fascist methods employed by the United States for conducting the war against the Vietnamese people, whereby thousands of peaceful citizens were killed and enormous areas were turned into lifeless wasteland with toxic substances. The actions of American imperialism led to the overthrow of the legitimate government in Chile and the establishment of a military dictatorship by Pinochet, who has followed directly in the path of the Nazi butchers in its struggle against the people, in its terrorist suppression of all opposition.

The United States is employing threats, suppression and blackmail against revolutionary Nicaragua, against every liberation movement. Under the aegis of American imperialism, Israel's military clique is practicing genocide against the Arab peoples, every bit as bad as the brutalities of the Nazi cutthroats. The seizure of little Grenada by the United States and the establishment of a regime of terror and concentration camps on the island are actually a direct repetition of what fascist Germany did to carry out its aggressive plans.

The fascist danger today therefore exists as an internal factor, that is, as the possibility of a switch by the imperialistic bourgeoisie from the "liberal"

method of domination to one of terrorism in its own nations, as an external factor--the employment of its aggressive fascist methods in the international arena to maintain its imperialist positions.

From the methodological standpoint, it is important to determine neofascism's place in the policy and strategy of contemporary monopolistic capital. The question of involving obviously neofascist parties and organizations in the direct exercise of state power does not arise in the main capitalist nations today. Furthermore, capital is not now showing any special interest in having the neofascists take an active part in the parliamentary game. They must be constantly at hand, however, in a state of readiness to rapidly gain power, to create a mass base and take over the instruments of state power. Neofascism today is an important political reserve for the monopolistic bourgeoisie, one which can go into action rapidly and effectively, should class interests force the bourgeoisie to switch from the "liberal" method of domination to the terrorist method.

It is important to underscore the fact, however, that imperialism, particularly American imperialism, has already taken into its arsenal the fascist methods of suppressing the national liberation, anti-imperialist movement, even to the point of establishing fascist military dictatorships outside the main developed capitalist nations. Soviet scholar V.V. Zagladin states the following:

"...Support ...of fascist and neofascist organizations in other nations by American imperialism is in great part not so much the result of a serious social threat within the USA itself as it is of the danger to the existence of the capitalist system as a whole, on the world scale, and also of the danger of the United States losing its position as a world power."³

The bourgeois society's crisis constantly produces a large number of dissatisfied people in various strata of the population. This dissatisfaction is manifested to a significant degree in the stepped-up activity of left-wing, progressive forces and in the intensification of demonstrations against the monopolies by the more aware members of the working class.

As V.I. Lenin pointed out, however, the working masses are frequently unable to comprehend the developing political situation or orient themselves correctly in the struggle "particularly during years of great fatigue and exhaustion caused by excessive hardships and suffering." They do not always take the proper path, but "give in to sentiments which are in no way progressive."⁴ Fascism comes to the fore in this case, functioning as a trap for the dissatisfaction and directing it into a channel which not only does not pose a danger, but is actually advantageous to the monopolistic bourgeoisie.

During the 20's and 30's the fascist parties found support among the unemployed, mainly among the unaware workers who found themselves blocked off from life in the time of crisis. Unemployment is a permanent thing today. It does not essentially drop even during years of good economic conditions. A total of 33.5 million unemployed people were officially registered in 24 industrially developed capitalist nations in 1983. At the end of 1983, unemployment reached its highest level since the world crisis of 1929-1933.⁵

A climate of dissatisfaction is also created by many other flaws in modern capitalism. These include a constantly growing rate of crime and terrorism, the

loss of moral values and many other things. Considerable masses of dissatisfied people extremely susceptible to political manipulation are produced and constantly regenerated. They include many young people who cannot find their place in life after graduating from school, even from higher educational institutions. They frequently follow those who select the most attractive-appearing slogans, who protest in glaring ways. And fascism has a great deal of experience in this respect, as we know.

Many young people, including youth from the working class, failing to find their way to the true revolutionary forces for various reasons, join their class enemy, sometimes without knowing it, and find themselves in a net of right-wing extremism and neofascism. Complex processes take place among the petty bourgeoisie, where fascism has traditionally derived human and ideological resources. Monopolistic capital ruins the petty bourgeoisie, forcing it to scramble for a foothold in life. Many end up in the very camp of neofascism, linking their hopes for consolidating their social position with it. Others take the path of leftist, extremist struggle and promote terrorist methods.

They sometimes conduct this struggle with anti-monopolistic, anti-capitalistic slogans. In fact, however, it is only a situation of anarchy and fear which is being created, a situation in which anything is permitted, which ultimately permits monopolistic capital to turn the screws, to create the most advantageous starting points for opposing modern revolutionary forces. It is not surprising that in this situation, the line between the actions of the neofascists and those of ultra-leftist groupings is sometimes erased. The actions of both prevent the masses from recognizing those truly to blame for the crisis and are used by monopolistic capital to incite anticommunism. In this case the neofascists function as a forward assault detachment prepared to throw themselves into hand-to-hand combat against the revolutionary detachments, while the "leftists" with their ultrarevolutionary slogans serve as a force compromising the very concept of revolution.

In order to understand the nature of modern fascism, it is important to note that from the standpoint of their stated objectives and tasks, and of their slogans, the neofascist parties and groupings are in many ways proceeding parallel to and sometimes, together with, right-wing, conservative forces. They frequently provide each other with direct support--during election campaigns, for example. This gives monopolistic capital the opportunity to maneuver and permits it to operate flexibly with its reserves.

The neofascists move various ideological and political criteria to the fore in different nations, depending upon the situation. Two trends, which are practically always present--anticommunism and extreme nationalism--are always clearly visible in the motley propaganda array, however.

As an ideological principle and a specific campaign against communist parties and other progressive forces, anticommunism is the basis for the actions of all neofascist parties. Even when, for tactical reasons, they resort to criticizing individual elements in the capitalist society, world socialism, particularly the Soviet Union, and the communist parties and other truly class organizations of the workers remain the real source of all evil for neofascists of every stripe and shade.

Nationalism has been and still is a constant part of the bourgeoisie's arsenal in its class struggle against the workers. V.I. Lenin especially singled out "militant bourgeois nationalism, which dulls, stultifies and divides the workers, in order to put them under the thumb of the bourgeoisie..."⁶ In the contemporary situation, this kind of nationalism is especially apparent in the former fascist nations, which suffered defeat in World War II. It is merged with unconcealed revanchism. It is intensified with constant chauvinistic propaganda and is an indispensable aspect of the political functioning of neofascist parties and groupings. There has been a drastic increase in revanchist demonstrations in the FRG at a time when all of progressive mankind is preparing to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Victory over fascism.

Nationalistic sentiments also exist in other bourgeois nations. Outpourings of nationalism in the form of chauvinism in the United States in connection with the aggression in Vietnam, for example, and in England during the crisis surrounding the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands immediately resulted in a significant build-up of right-wing, extremist forces and created a good situation for neofascism.

Marxist-Leninists proceed from the premise that in order to spot neofascist trends, it is necessary to make a comprehensive study of the economic, political and ideological manifestations of imperialism in our time, of the main and attendant developments in the overall crisis of the entire capitalist system. A thorough study of the actions of right-wing imperialist circles in this situation will inevitably reveal their leaning toward fascist, dictatorial methods of domination, toward the use of force and terrorism not just in the international respect (which is, itself, manifested adequately graphically), but also internally, especially in the struggle against those forces seeking a way out of the crisis based on anti-imperialism.

First of all, it is essential to take into account the existence of an interdependence between the growth of crisis phenomena, militarism with its inevitable arms race and exacerbation of international tensions, and growth of the fascist danger.

V.I. Lenin pointed out militarization as a product of capitalism and as its main weapon in a crisis situation. He wrote the following: "Contemporary militarism is a result of capitalism. In both its forms it is 'a vital manifestation' of capitalism, both as a military force used by the capitalist states in their external confrontations... and as a weapon used by the dominant classes to suppress any kind of movement (economic or political) by the proletariat..."⁷

The intensification of militarism in the main capitalist nations invariably brings right-wing and ultra-right-wing political forces to the fore and creates a good basis for destroying the bourgeois democratic foundations and creating a dictatorial form of government based on military force. Furthermore, it is not at all essential for the transition from the liberal to the dictatorial method of government to occur in all the elements---that is, in the form of fascism as the most terroristic dictatorship of capital. The adoption of fascist methods is a gradual process. Furthermore, the forms are frequently greatly disguised and lack the outer features and attributes typical of German fascism, let us say, when it came to power in Germany in the 30's. The fomenting of

chauvinism, the ideological conditioning of the population in a spirit of anti-communism and the exacerbation of international tensions, these inevitable concomitants of militarism, create fertile soil for the development of fascism in its external and internal forms. When we study this problem we must look first at the main nation of international capital, the United States of America.

It was pointed out at the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that imperialism in general, and American imperialism in particular, "has become entangled in internal and international antagonisms, upheavals and conflicts."⁸ The state monopolistic system does not make it possible to overcome acute crisis developments.

Washington is implementing a more rigid policy in the area of militarization, in the matter of building up the international military-industrial complex and the further exacerbation of tensions everywhere in the world. Military outlays by the United States are constantly growing. They will considerably exceed 300 billion dollars per year in the second half of the 80's. Doctrines of "limited," "drawn-out" and "general" nuclear war, the preventive first strike, and the like come into being one after the other and are extensively discussed. Preparations are underway for the militarization of space. The mass media are actively building up war psychosis among all strata of the population, using the thesis about a "Soviet threat." The President declares the Soviet Union to be "a source of evil" and has announced a crusade against communism.

There is nothing surprising about the fact that in this situation there is occurring a significant move to the right in the area of state power, that the process of its merging with the military-industrial complex is moving ahead. Militaristic propaganda is increasing drastically, and ultra-conservative ideology is being spread on an ever-increasing scale. People with right-wing convictions are penetrating into the agencies of legislative and executive power with ever-increasing persistence, forcing out individuals with liberal inclinations. They are assuming control not only of the levers of national government, but also of the mass media.

The arrival in the White House of President Reagan and his people, who do not conceal their reactionary nature and blatant anticommunism, was marked by increased claims to empire and an undisguised attempt to achieve military superiority and use force to accomplish imperialist tasks through adventures and provocations, which has been so typical of fascist rulers in the past.

Analyzing Reagan's anticommunist and anti-Soviet statements, Henry Winston, national chairman of the U.S. Communist Party, states that "his demagogic statements cannot be distinguished from those of Goebbels, whose propagandistic trickery prepared the German people for fascism and mobilized it to wage the war."⁹

Repressive steps against leftist anti-fascists and anti-militaristic forces, primarily against the communists, have become more stringent under the Reagan Administration. In this respect, American reaction also has its eye on leftist forces in Europe and other areas of the world: Social Democrats, liberals and pacifists--practically everyone advocating peace, disarmament and international

detente. The White House is doing everything possible to maintain ultra-right-wing, anticommunist groupings in the West European nations, which it regards as like-minded and as its most reliable allies in the implementation of its reactionary, militaristic course. Its actions invariably result in the build-up and activation of neofascist forces. Reagan's anticommunism is being rapidly taken up by neofascist parties, military and terrorist organizations.

The 23rd National Congress of the U.S. Communist Party devoted a great deal of attention to "Reaganism" in all its reactionary manifestations. In the political report, General Secretary Gus Hall stated the following: "U.S. imperialism, in its mad attempt to establish domination over the world... has set out on a disastrous path of nuclear confrontation. It is the main goal of American imperialism to destroy world socialism, primarily the Soviet Union. It is precisely this basic fact which is the moving force behind all the Reagan Government's actions and decisions, and which governs them. This is the ideological foundation for its mad concept of a first strike. This is what motivates it to ignore the demands of tens of millions of people throughout the world and in the United States for disarmament, a freezing of nuclear weapons and detente."¹⁰

The American communists had their attention constantly on racist and other extreme right-wing organizations, which have drastically increased their activities in the period of "Reaganism."

At the end of the 70's, the bourgeois American press and the mass media in other nations pointed out the increased activity of conservative forces in the United States, which call themselves "the new right" and actually take neofascist stands. They have not yet become a well organized force, to be sure, and have not gained significant strength in the agencies of power. When we consider the sum total of incidents and general trends in the political and social development of the United States to the right, which has occurred as a result of the White House's reactionary foreign and domestic policy, however, the profascist movement of the "new right" should hold the close attention of the American and the world community.

We can add to this the fact that there is a National Socialist Party in the United States, which openly declares its adherence to Hitlerite ideas and preaches the use of force, extreme racist views and the total negation of any sort of democracy. It has a narrow base at the present time, and does not exert a great influence on political or social life. With Reagan's arrival in the White House, the party stepped up its activities markedly. H. Covington, its Fuhrer, recently announced that the influence of the Nazis is growing, that the party has many devoted friends in prominent positions in business and politics, that there are far more of them than is supposed.¹¹

The intensification of neofascist trends in the United States is extremely dangerous in view of that nation's position in the world and the influence it has on the course of international events and the domestic life of the Western Nations. The rise of neofascism in the USA is unquestionably strengthening the position of neofascist parties and organizations, ultra-right-wing and terrorist groups throughout the world, primarily in the nations of Western Europe.

Many bourgeois researchers claim that neofascism in Western Europe is restricted to the actions of right-wing, most frequently armed terrorist groups. They

call it the "Movement of the Losers," of those who, they allege, have no chance of gaining important social positions.

Neofascism is now to be found in one form or another in most West European nations. It is especially active in Italy, where it was born. The vitality and the widespread nature of fascist concepts there is due to the fact that fascism's roots were not destroyed after its military defeat in World War II, but numerous groups of people remained, for which it was a benefit and which have been given complete freedom to pass on and instill their attitude toward fascism in new generations. They are also a result of the fact that the agencies of power and the more influential bourgeois political parties are not only not combatting fascist ideology, but, on the contrary, are contributing to its spread by means of the mass media, literature and movies.

The leading detachment of neofascism in Italy is the fairly strong party, the Italian Social Movement-National Right-Wing Forces (ISM-NRWF). It has a branching structure and its own representatives in Parliament. This is only the tip of the iceberg; however, the invisible part is the profoundly conspiratorial, secret organizations with links to both highly placed elements and to the "leftists."

The 13th Congress of the ISM-NRWF was held at the end of February 1982, at which the beginning of a counter offensive by right-wing forces was announced. Typically, the Italian neofascists openly oppose the nation's present constitution. The ISM-NRWF has set the task of introducing a new fundamental law and creating a corporate state extremely reminiscent of the one which existed during the rule of Mussolini.

Right-wing, fascist terrorism, which has become widespread in Italy in recent years, is closely interwoven with the legal activities of the ISM-NRWF. Prior to going underground, many terrorists were members of that party, were in charge of its organizations and even ran for election. The party's youth organization, (the Youth Front) has actually become a training center for preparing new terrorist cadres.

The Italian neofascists have created a Mussolini cult, which extolls the nation's fascist past. The authorities have essentially looked the other way. Furthermore, a series of programs devoted to the 100th anniversary of Mussolini's birth were shown over state television in mid-1983. They depicted the fascist dictator as the statesman who had made the greatest contribution to Italy's development.

Unlike the ISM-NRWF, the main neofascist force in the Federal Republic of Germany, the National Democratic Party (NDP), declares that it functions within the framework of the nation's constitution. While promoting extreme nationalism and chauvinism, openly praising many features of the fascist Reich, taking thoroughly revanchist stands and demanding restoration of the empire's 1937 borders, the NDP still constitutes an ordinary bourgeois democratic party. With respect to a number of important positions--and this is not especially difficult to identify--the revanchist and other reactionary demands of the NDP are contained also in the political platforms of right-wing bourgeois parties. This is especially true of the brutal Christian Social Union headed by Strauss.

Neofascism's offensive in the FRG is proceeding in several directions. The NDP as its legal division, is consolidating its ranks and waiting for its time. The youth organization of the National Democrats, whose chairman announced as early as 1978 that it "is eliminating communism in Europe," is becoming more active from its inordinately extremist positions.¹² Neofascist, semilegal and entirely clandestine, paramilitary organizations and groups systematically resort to acts of terrorism, selecting communists and other members of leftist groups as their targets. The Hamburg neo-Nazi newspaper STURM, has stated that the fascist fighters have lists of "judges, policemen, lawyers and communists" for day "X."¹³

There are also neofascist parties, organizations and groupings in Spain, England, France, Austria, Belgium, Turkey and a number of other West European nations. They are not active on such a broad scale as those in Italy and the FRG, but nonetheless, they produce valid alarm in the communist and democratic communities of those nations. The neofascists operate in different ways, sometimes exhibiting flexibility in their combination of legal and underground methods, and demonstrating the ability to take advantage of every opportunity to spread fascist ideas. Nonetheless, we can identify general features in neofascism's praxis, which vary only in the form in which they are manifested, depending upon the specific conditions and the political situation at the given moment.

The roots of the neofascist movement ordinarily go back to the Nazi past. This is true primarily of ideological views and of the leaders. The British "League of Saint George," formed out of the followers of the fascist Mosley, openly set as their goal "the publicizing of the positive side of the functioning of national socialism."¹⁴

According to the French press, the activities of neofascist groups in France are directed by individuals involved to one degree or another in the Petain regime. They openly praise Hitler and his ideas, appear at assemblies in the Nazi uniform, sing militaristic songs and use the Nazi greeting. G. Albertini, one of the organizers of neofascist propaganda in France, was the right-hand man of Marcel Dea, minister of labor in the governments of Petain and Laval.

The neofascists' propaganda is based on anticommunism, on the arousal of hatred for all leftist forces. The French neofascist magazine NOTRE EUROPE has stated that "it is not a crime to kill the reds."¹⁵ The communist and the other leftist press in Spain has repeatedly pointed out that legal fascist forces and secret formations are maintained in case the representatives of monopolistic capital should decide that the development of democracy has gone far enough, that the process needs to be halted by forcible means.

The organization of Turkish neofascist fighters, the Gray Wolves, which operates within the nation and abroad, frankly proclaims that it strives to protect the Turkish workers from the influence of leftist forces by all possible means, including terror. The West German magazine STERN, which has described in detail the operations of the Gray Wolves among Turkish workers in the FRG, cited the words of Gun Sazak, deputy leader of the Turkish Turkish neofascists, who made the following statement at a meeting calling for contributions to the Gray Wolf fund: "These contributions are just as sacred as the bullet which pierces the head of a communist."¹⁶

Violence and terror are the main modus operandi of the neofascists. The creation of an atmosphere of public chaos, uncertainty and fear--this is what the neofascists consider to be the main prerequisite for a transition to a totalitarian, dictatorial regime. The LA VIE OUVRIERE has calculated that 122 acts of terrorism were committed against trade union figures, leftist activists and organizations, including political assassinations, in France during the 3 years between November 1977 and November 1980.¹⁷ The Austrian neofascists have formed special assault groups, which have repeatedly arranged bomb explosions in the streets of cities, bloody battles in university auditoriums, and attacks on the headquarters of democratic organizations. According to the EUROPA PRESS, the Spanish fascists committed 500 terrorists acts in the land of the Basques alone during the period 1975-1980, as a result of which 38 people were killed and 128 wounded.

We must also not ignore the efforts by the neofascists to organize international cooperation and to create a unified organization for that purpose. At a meeting of representatives of the neofascist organizations of the FRG, Italy, Spain and certain other nations, held in Malmo in 1951, an attempt was made to form a permanent "Black International." According to some information, its meetings have been held almost every year since then. We know, for example, that the neofascists met in the suburbs of Munich in 1972-1973.¹⁸ The Italian magazine PANORAMA has stated that the "Black International" was reorganized into a totally clandestine organization during the second half of the 70's, which is guided by national-socialist ideology and employs the tactics of armed struggle. An international conference of fascist leaders was held in August 1977 in Saint-Cloud near Paris. They worked out a plan of terrorist operations. All of the acts of gangsterism which took place in Italy and other nations in the 70's were directly linked to the "Black International."¹⁹

The West: German magazine DER SPIEGEL cites a number of facts about international cooperation among the neofascists. It states that the output of neofascist propagandistic literature intended for use by European neo-Nazis has been organized on a large scale in the United States. The West: German neo-Nazis maintain permanent contacts with like-minded people in 35 nations. Instructors from the FRG direct the military training of Spanish neofascists at a camp near Madrid. In lower Austria, local fascists and foreign "guests" conduct military exercises involving, among other things, firing at cardboard "Bolsheviks."²⁰

Along with a well-organized system of international cooperation among the terrorist groups of the fascists, there is also a secret network of contacts between illegal groups and legal neofascist forces and representatives of the business world who support the fascists.

The following tenet which stems from the Marxist-Leninist approach to analyzing the development of capitalism is particularly important from the methodological standpoint for studying both past and contemporary fascism: Fascism is not a fated phenomenon, not an objectively conditioned, inevitable phase (stage) in the development of the capitalist society, but one of the ways of realizing the domination of monopolistic capital, that is, a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The tenet of Marxist-Leninist theory that imperialism is not heterogeneous, that there are internal conflicts within it and that individual representatives of monopolistic capital take different approaches to social and political problems,

including forms of rule, as well as to matters pertaining to the implementation of foreign expansion, is highly important for analyzing the neofascist threat. There are realistic trends and therefore, political figures representing them, in the contemporary capitalist world. They understand that irreversible processes have occurred in the world and understand the need for and the mutual advantage of prolonged peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The collapse of fascist states of the past and their military defeat, which was accompanied by considerable losses also for the monopolies of those nations, are forcing many members of the large bourgeoisie to reject (at least for now) the establishment of an undisguised terrorist dictatorship, that is, to refuse to make direct use of their political reserve, fascism, with all the ensuing internal political and external consequences. In the international arena, they sometimes even lean toward mutually acceptable agreements with the socialist nations and toward the rejection of direct aggressive intervention in the affairs of other nations. In the internal respect, the members of this wing of the bourgeoisie seek to reinforce their social positions and their power within the framework of bourgeois democracy, combining class pressure with social demagoguery and certain economic concessions to the working masses. Furthermore, as demonstrated by the experience of the USA, the FRG and other nations, capital has enough means within the framework of bourgeois democracy for persecuting the communists and other democrats, for taking reprisal against political foes and for the anti-communist conditioning of the masses.

And so, the question of fascism's political use as an object not just of inter-class struggle, but also one of intra-class conflicts in the nation of the monopolistic bourgeoisie. This approach inevitably leads to the conclusion that the antifascist movement in the capitalist nations can create a balance of social power in which the extremist wing of monopolistic capital is not in a position to resort to a fascist dictatorship, and the social significance of neofascism is reduced to a minimum or eliminated altogether.

It is possible to overcome the fascist threat in practically all the capitalist nations. Two main factors are required to accomplish this, however: a proper understanding of the nature of contemporary fascism and a constantly increasing struggle against it. The working class is unquestionably the main antifascist force. It is the natural and most consistent fighter against fascism by virtue of its own class interests and as the class reflecting the interests of all the society's democratic strata. The overall intensity of the antifascist struggle and the force with which the offensive by right-wing reaction is repelled depend upon how active it is.

Expressing the will of the working class, the communists have always been the most consistent and determined fighters against fascism. They are still that today, when fascism is acquiring new features and employing new methods for achieving its goals. Participants at the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969 analyzed the neofascist danger and set the following task: "...to intensify the struggle against the fascist threat and rebuff pro-fascist sallies without mercy."²¹

The American communists are relentlessly combatting fascist trends in the United States and the ultra-right course of the White House. Their possibilities for

mobilizing the working class and other democratic strata of the society for this struggle are extremely limited, however, because of the anticommunist climate which has been maintained for decades in the United States by the bourgeois parties, the mass media and secret services. Nonetheless, they are making a worthy contribution to the cause of defeating anticommunism and the spread of ultra-right views in the USA.

The U.S. communists see their main task as one of countering reaction's offensive and fascism with a broad alliance of democratic forces with an anti-imperialist platform. "The increased activity of right-wing forces," the Main Political Resolution of the 22nd National Congress of the U.S. Communist Party stated, "is making it even more urgent to advance antimonopolistic initiatives and seek alternatives...."²²

These questions were discussed with even greater acuteness at the 23rd Congress of the U.S. Communist Party. Gus Hall pointed out the unprecedented campaign of anticommunist hysteria which has been launched in the nation under the Reagan Administration and which has become an all-out effort. This campaign, as G. Hall expressed it, is worthy of Hitler, Mussolini, Goebbels and others. Reagan's demagoguery, especially his ideas about peace, are having their effect on millions of Americans. It is the main task of the communists and of all progressive circles to demonstrate to the people that Reagan's rhetoric about peace is a deception and a cover for a policy of arms race and a creep toward nuclear catastrophe. G. Hall reminded people that Hitler once used that very same narcotic and that 50 million people died as a result. Today, the exposure of the great lie could save mankind from a nuclear apocalypse.²³

The American communists link the development of anticommunist, extremely right-wing trends in the nation with that threat to peace stemming from the right-wing forces which have come into power. For them, the struggle against the neofascist threat is primarily a struggle against "Reaganism" and militarism, against a policy fraught with the danger of nuclear catastrophe.

The development of fascist trends and the establishment of terrorist dictatorships in contemporary Latin America are primarily the work of American imperialism, which is attempting to preserve its empire status on the continent. Struggling against local dictatorial regimes, the communists in the Latin American nations are conducting a determined struggle against U.S. expansion, against the activities of the American secret services, which are using local reaction and right-wing military people for arranging conspiracies and effecting fascist overthrows by force.

The communist parties call upon the democratic community to exercise constant vigilance with respect to the fascist threat, to be prepared to repel American and local reaction. They believe, however, that despite the stepped-up expansionist activities of the Reagan Administration, the further, extensive spread of fascist regimes on the continent is not inevitable, that the democratic forces can and must block the way to fascism.

R. Arismendi, leader of the Uruguayan communists, expresses the opinion that American imperialism's choice of fascism as the main means of maintaining its

domination in Latin America and restraining the national liberation struggle is narrowing the field for maneuvering by local reaction and, conversely, is increasing the possibilities of the antifascists in this respect, that their ranks are being joined by broad segments of the population, for which military-fascist regimes constitute a vital threat. This factor, in R. Arismendi's opinion, "will lead to fascism's defeat, if all possibilities are used for joining efforts, if we can unite all of the forces for opposing and defeating fascism...."²⁴ Calling for vigilance toward contemporary American imperialism, Geronimo Carrera, member of the Central Committee of the Venezuelan Communist Party, states the following: "It would be dangerous also to overestimate the real force of U.S. imperialism in Latin America today, however. This could retard the popular struggle and cause a switch to disastrous defensive tactics."²⁵

The revolutionary struggle in Latin American is inevitably merging with the struggle against military-terrorist regimes, against the fascist-expansionist policy of U.S. imperialism in that region. This important conclusion was drawn at a conference of communist parties of the Latin American nations. The Declaration issued at the conference states the following: "The path of revolutionary reforms in Latin America calls for a coordinated and constant struggle, in which the battle against fascism and in defense of democracy, against imperialism and oligarchies, as well as the people's active participation in political life, constitute a single process."²⁶

Cuba's revolutionary successes, the victory of the revolution in Nicaragua, the struggle waged by the Salvadoran patriots and the broad protest movement in Chile and other nations with fascist military regimes are all convincing proof of the fact that the anti-imperialist, antifascist struggle on the continent is developing ever-increasing force and involving more nations, more strata of the population, and the democratic community.

An active struggle is being waged against neofascism on national soil and in the international arena by the communists of the FRG, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Austria, of practically all the West European nations in which a neofascist threat is emerging in one form or another. This matter was discussed at conferences of European communists and workers' parties in Karlovy Vary in 1967²⁷ and in Berlin in 1976. The final document for the Berlin Conference stated the following: "We must eradicate fascism, prevent its rebirth in overt or disguised form, and oppose the organization and the functioning of fascist and neofascist terrorist organizations and groups, for the sake of democracy and social progress, for the preservation of peace and international relations based on mutual trust and friendly cooperation."²⁸

The German Communist Party regards the struggle against neofascism as one of its most important and responsible tasks. It calls upon the democratic community in the FRG to assess the neo-Nazi threat soberly and objectively. The decision coming out of the Mannheim Congress of the DKP [German Communist Party] states the following: "We must provide an explanation for all the cause-and-effect relationships and oppose both the underestimation of neofascism's danger and opinions to the effect that we are somehow still at the threshold of 1933."²⁹ This sort of weighed attitude toward fascism in the FRG is extremely important today from the standpoint of mobilizing the masses, making them certain that an antifascist

struggle must be waged and confidence that it is realistically possible to achieve victory in the struggle. This idea was convincingly voiced at the Hanover Congress of the DKP. One of the resolutions contains the following statement: "We must give special attention to the struggle against fascism in the past and today, increase the antifascist focus of statements against the policy conducted by the bourgeois mass media and, most importantly, demonstrate with explicit examples the successes we have achieved in countering the intrigues of the neofascists."³⁰

The communists are constantly mobilizing the masses to oppose neo-Naziism's main force in the FRG, the National Democratic Party, carefully following its maneuverings, and countering attempts to create a mass base for fascism and to infiltrate nationalistic and chauvinistic concepts not just into the middle, petty bourgeois segments of the population, but into the proletarian strata as well. The DKP sharply condemns the sallies of the revanchists and former Nazis, which have recently become more active in the FRG, and conducts mass demonstrations against them.

The Italian communists criticize the authorities and the bourgeois parties for taking a conciliatory and indulgent attitude toward neofascism, for their passivity in the struggle against its terrorists and other manifestations. They underscore "the need for more firm and determined actions against fascism and in defense of democratic legality."³¹ The ICP [Italian Communist Party] is fighting to see that neofascism has no place at all in the society and that the very broadest segments of the population come out against it. "...The main thing," it was stated at the 15th Congress of the ICP, "is to create a political and moral climate and a democratic and antifascist situation, which will promote active participation by all the citizens in the campaign against terrorism and crime, in the exposure of all kinds of covering and complicity, in the elimination of indifference and indulgence."³²

The communist press in France, Spain and Portugal constantly carries articles on the activities of neofascist parties and groups, and calls upon the democratic community to be vigilant and take determined action against the neofascists. Austria's democratic community extensively commemorated the 50th anniversary of the antifascist uprising of 1934, when the Austrian proletariat engaged in an armed struggle against fascism. Speaking at a meeting in Vienna, (F. Muri), chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, warned against underestimating the fascist threat today and demanded that the activities of all neofascist organizations be banned and that their propaganda be halted in Austria.

As they mobilize the working class for the antifascist struggle, the communists strive for joint action with the Social Democrats and the labor union organizations. The Social Democrat and labor union masses have been fairly extensively exposed to the idea of combatting the neofascist danger. In many West European nations, they are taking practical steps, together with the communists, against terrorist and other actions by the neofascists, turning out for demonstrations, publishing appeals and interfering with neofascist assemblies.

The anticommunist infection of many right-wing leaders of the contemporary Social Democrats, their inconsistency and their vacillation between fighting

communists and fighting fascists, interferes, and sometimes fairly seriously, with the joint actions of the workers. Fascism has always used anticommunism to introduce dissidence and vacillation into the ranks of its main enemy, the working class. And today as well, anticommunist attacks by right-wing Social Democrat leaders are disorienting the masses mobilizing for the antifascist struggle, lowering its effectiveness.

The communists are demonstrating self-control and restraint in this situation. They are persistently pursuing a course of uniting the working class for repelling the neofascist threat. They do not reject contacts with leaders of the Social Democrats, but attempt to weaken their anticommunist influence on the working masses, to explain to the workers the pressing need for prompt and vigorous actions against neofascism.

The communist parties are advancing the task of broadly collecting all antifascist forces and enlisting the middle strata of the population, the intelligentsia, the youth and the liberal bourgeoisie for the struggle against the neofascist threat. The task of creating a broad antifascist alliance stems from the historical experience and from the realities of the present. It must be borne in mind, however, that because of differences in the ideological platforms of its participants, such an alliance cannot be a firmly united and monolithic formation. It will inevitably be accompanied by diverging aspirations, intensified by subversive actions on the part of outside right-wing forces. It can only perform its antifascist task if the working class is the real backbone of the alliance, if the proletarian segment of the antifascist alliance is the most active and goal-oriented.

One hears the liberal bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats, and sometimes the workers, express the opinion that the very existence of democracy in the West European nations is a reliable factor in the struggle against manifestations of neofascism. There are possibilities within the framework of bourgeois democracy for mobilizing the popular masses to repel fascism, of course. Bourgeois democracy as a form of implementation of state power, however, does not contain adequate guarantees in and of itself for averting the danger of fascism. The experience of recent years has shown that the contemporary West European bourgeois states are unable, using their own tools (legal system, police and so forth), to cope even with the terrorist activities of neofascist groups, not to speak of the broad dissemination of neofascist ideas.

Underestimation of the social danger of neofascism and passivity on the part of the antifascists can have extremely sad consequences.

The communists advocate taking advantage of all possibilities for combatting the neofascist threat, including those provided by the bourgeois-democratic order. At the same time, they point out the danger of underestimating neofascism's social threat, and the inadmissibility of passivity on the part of democratic forces.

The struggle against fascist trends in the contemporary situation demands the maximum degree of vigilance, the focusing of all efforts and unweakening activity on the part of the communists and all people of good will. The fascist threat as such can only leave the lives of people along with capitalism. Even

during the period of imperialism, however, the forces of peace and progress are capable of raising an insurmountable barrier to the manifestations of fascism which are the most extreme and the most dangerous for mankind.

The communist parties, which take Marxist-Leninist positions, are performing the avant-garde role in the struggle by the working class, by all progressive and democratic forces, against reaction, militarism and neofascism, exposing the misanthropic essence of modern fascism, and doing everything possible to eliminate the danger of its broad dissemination.

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INTERNATIONAL

COMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM BACKED AT UNESCO MEETING

LD121415 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] Paris March 12 TASS -- TASS Correspondent Nikita Vermakov reports:

The 6th session of the Intergovernmental Council of the International Programme for the Development of Communications (IPDC) ended at the UNESCO headquarters. It was attended by delegations from the 34 member-countries of the council, by observers from 47 countries, and by representatives of international organisations.

The session discussed aid to the developing countries in the establishment and expansion of regional and national systems of information and communication. Activities under the IPDC are based on the provisions of the UNESCO declaration which formulated the principles of work for the mass media, which should be aimed at promoting peace and mutual understanding among nations, at protecting human rights and at struggle against racism and apartheid. The implementation of the programme is contributing to the establishment of a new, fairer and more effective international information order.

The session showed that the IPDC had become one of the most successful UNESCO ventures. Decision was taken to give developing countries assistance on more than 50 projects, among them the development of regional news systems in Africa (PANA), Asia (OANA), the Arab world (FANA), and Latin America (ALASEI), the development of mass communications in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the improvement of the Angolan National News Agency (ANGOP), the establishment of a press centre in Vietnam, and the training of women for jobs in the press, radio and television.

The USSR is actively participating in the programme. At the current session it contributed to the programme 1.1 million rubles and made available 50 scholarships a year for training specialists in mass communications and 30 scholarships for advanced training for specialists with higher education.

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INTERNATIONAL

IMPORTANCE OF 'WORKING CLASS' UNITY FOR ANTIWAR MOVEMENT STRESSED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 85 p 4

[Article by Vitaliy Korionov, PRAVDA political commentator: "Millions in the Peace March"]

[Text] No political movement in history has possessed the capability to take the pulse of world events with the sensitivity that the communist movement does. This is attributable to the very nature of our movement, which comes from the popular masses, and to the fact that it is armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, which makes it possible not just to precisely analyze the existing situation but also to foresee how it will develop in the future.

The highest standard by which the activities of political parties are evaluated in our extremely complex age is, first and foremost, their stand on questions of war and peace. After all, not just the fate of democracy and social progress but the very existence of human civilization is now directly dependent on the resolution of precisely this question. Unable to find an answer to the challenge that history has hurled at them, adventurers in the person of the "rabid" factions in the capitalist camp are placing their bet on nuclear war, counting on destroying socialism while leaving the citadel of imperialism "untouched." The absurdity of their plans does not make such designs any less dangerous. To remove the terrible danger of nuclear catastrophe from humanity--that is how communists now define their duty. They believe that the path for carrying it out lies in the uniting of all of the present day's progressive forces around the banner of peace.

V. I. Lenin once noted that one of Marxism's most profound and important positions is that "increasing the depth of a historical action's reach is bound up with increasing the numerical size of the historically affected mass." The victory of Great October in our country and, subsequently, the formation of the world socialist system marked a profound qualitative turning point in international relations. Socialism not only created a state whose policies were based on the most resolute defense of universal peace, it also brought onto the historical arena gigantic masses of working people whom capitalism had kept "outside politics," regarding them as the mere tool for carrying out its own designs.

Hundreds of millions of people have gained the possibility of actively influencing the development of international relations in a direction that corresponds to the vital interests of peoples. A situation has begun to be created in which the struggle for peace that is led by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries "from above," so to speak, is being reinforced by a struggle "from below" on the part of the popular masses, including those in the nonsocialist states. "Peace," noted V. I. Lenin, "cannot be concluded solely from above. Peace has to be attained from below."

Peace-loving forces are involving themselves more and more actively in the decision of the questions of war and peace. This is especially clearly evident at the present, extremely important stage of international relations. While greeting with satisfaction the news of the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons that are coming up in March, the opponents of war do not intend to remain passive observers of the dialogue in Geneva. The supporters of peace understand that the talks' success will depend to a large extent on the vigor of the actions of the popular masses. The louder the voice of public opinion resounds on behalf of the nonmilitarization of space and the reduction of nuclear arms, the more fruitful the talks' results will prove to be.

As was noted, for example, by a recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark, the understanding achieved between the USSR and the U.S. concerning the basis for the upcoming talks is a victory for all peace-loving forces. Responsibility should not be shifted entirely to the statesmen who are participating in the talks. The activization of peace-loving forces will help the talks produce results this time, the plenum stated.

The communist movement's mission as the standard bearer of peace is linked with its very nature. After all, it was established in the struggle against World War I, consolidated and expanded its positions during the years of World War II in the battles against fascism, and subsequently continued to grow stronger in the struggle against nuclear diktat by the aggressive forces of imperialism.

Communists and the masses that march with them possess great capabilities for attaining their lofty goals. Millions of working people see that the correctness of the communist world view and its strategy and tactics has been confirmed by history itself. Communists now govern the socialist part of the world, where nearly one-third of the globe's population lives and two-fifths of world industrial output is produced. Communist Parties now function in 95 countries, and the number of communists exceeds 80 million.

The socialist countries and communist movement place their prestige and influence in the balance of the struggle for the preservation and strengthening of peace and for social progress. Socialism has turned its might into an effective means of curbing the instigators of war. The knowledge of Marxism-Leninism gives communists the ability to determine where the true sources of the danger of war lie and what the most effective ways of combatting it are.

This, however, is by no means to underestimate the importance in the struggle for peace of other forces that declare their disagreement with the militaristic course of the ruling circles of the U.S. and other NATO countries. Communists have never considered themselves monopolists in this struggle. To the contrary, they favor the closest cooperation with everyone who is genuinely prepared to struggle against the threat of war.

As the urge of the working classes and toiling masses to repel imperialism's dangerous activities grows, realistic tendencies are manifesting themselves more than before in circles of the social democratic movement. Antimissile attitudes have grown noticeably stronger there, too. Socialist and Social Democratic Parties in the FRG, Greece, Finland and Sweden and the Labor Parties of Great Britain, New Zealand and Australia are now taking a much more definite stand in the struggle to avert the threat of nuclear war. The voice of the trade unions, whose ranks number more than 350 million members, is sounding more loudly in the defense of peace.

Never in the past has there been on the international arena such a mighty factor in the repelling of imperialism as the present antiwar, antinuclear movement of peoples. Despite all the militarists' attempts to weaken and undermine this movement and depict it as "waning," it is active and growing. In the broadest strata of the population there is a growing understanding that the global threat to the cause of peace requires a global rebuff.

The imperialist reaction knows that this movement's leading force is the working class. It is nothing but fear of the might of the international proletariat that has given rise to the obscurantists' efforts to combine the "crusade" against socialism with an assault on the working class, progressive political parties, trade unions and other working-class organizations. An example of this is the British bourgeoisie's actions with regard to the miners who are heroically defending their right to work. The international workers' movement, including Soviet people, is providing as much fraternal help as possible to the British miners.

Marx warned that one source of the bourgeoisie's preservation of its power lay in the division and splitting of the proletariat's ranks. The powers of capitalism are striving to play on national superstitions and kindle nationalism, counting thereby on gaining the capability in the future to shed the blood and squander the wealth of peoples in wars of plunder. Therefore, resistance to the imperialist reaction's attempts to set peoples against one another, and actions leading to the cohesion of all progressive, peace-loving forces are two aspects of one and the same struggle. The fraternal parties counter the imperialist strategy of trying to split up the detachments of the communist and general-democratic movements with a strategy of consolidating all antiimperialist forces.

An appeal to the French people that was made by the recently concluded 25th Congress of the French Communist Party notes: "Joined together in unified ranks with other peoples of the world, we can create an insurmountable barrier to the sinister specter of nuclear apocalypse and the monstrous "Star Wars"

plans with which Reagan threatens the peace, and can attain a reduction in weapons arsenals everywhere throughout our planet."

At their second conference, which was held this January in Nicosia, representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Middle and Near East, and the Red Sea region reaffirmed their firm intention to work together with their countries' progressive and peace-loving forces to intensify the struggle to prevent the militarization of space, stop the deployment of American Pershings and cruise missiles in Europe, prevent thermonuclear catastrophe and bring about a return to the policies of detente and peaceful coexistence. The results of the talks that were held at the end of 1984 between a CPSU delegation headed by Comrade K. U. Chernenko and a delegation of the Japanese Communist Party headed by Comrade K. Miyamoto evoked a wide response throughout the world. These talks, which took place in a constructive spirit and atmosphere of comradely mutual understanding, revealed the two parties' unanimity on the issue of the urgent necessity of bringing about the adoption of radical measures aimed at preventing nuclear war and achieving the complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons.

The meeting that took place last December in Prague to discuss the work of the magazine PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, in which representatives of more than 90 Communist, Workers' and Revolutionary Democratic Parties took part, demonstrated the common nature of their approach to the questions of activating the struggle of communists and all antiwar forces against the arms race, and it demonstrated a further intensification of the tendencies toward a strengthening of international ties and interaction among the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The high degree of activeness of interparty contacts at various levels and on various scales demonstrates that the desire to meet more frequently, compare views and appraisals and come to agreement on joint actions is growing stronger within the communist movement. The situation that exists in the world is making new, higher demands on the solidarity of communists.

The entire history of the struggle of the working class and working people against capitalism and its militaristic, oppressive policies irrefutably demonstrates that the proletariat's invincible weapon in this struggle has invariably been internationalism.

The present world situation makes it imperative to intensify the repulsion of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism, with the help of which the imperialist reaction is striving to strike a blow to the very heart of the antiwar and antiimperialist movement.

To strengthen the internationalist unity of communist ranks and work indefatigably to forge a front among all forces that favor peace and freedom--that is what events require of communists and their allies.

INTERNATIONAL

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INTERNATIONAL

RIGHTIST MILITARY REGIMES ACCUSED OF 'STATE TERRORISM'

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 84 pp 5-16

[Article by M.L. Chumakova: "State Terrorism in Central America"

[Text] Shootings of unarmed peasants and student demonstrators and the murder of women, children, priests, progressive public figures and activists from mass organizations, murders which are committed for the sake of "saving the region from international communism": these are the external features of the policy of state terrorism, to which reactionary central American regimes resort in the attempt to keep down the revolutionary wave at any cost and to suppress the democratic movement. State terrorism has reflected the debility of the ruling class and absorbed all of their rage. Its emergence is the result of a number of internal and external factors. The first include the caudillistic traditions; economic domination and political influence of the landed oligarchy; the professionalism of the military, which is aimed at maintaining the "domestic security" and at the struggle against subversive elements; the exorbitantly inflated apparatus of repressive state organs, and the massive propaganda of anticommunist ideology. Among the external factors, U.S. military assistance, the influence of American military-political doctrines, as well as the political experience of military regimes in the Southern hemisphere have decisive significance.

The doctrine of "national security" has a prominent place in the genesis of state terrorism. In this regard, the Central American military clique has stressed to an even greater degree than the South American clique the maintenance of political stability and "internal security"; in contrast with the military in Peru, Panama and Ecuador it has shown little concern with the problems of development.

With the growing liberation process in Central America the doctrine of "national security" and its variations--the concepts of the "domestic front" and "counterrevolutionary measures"--are used naturally in the interests not only of the local ruling classes but also of American imperialism and the maintenance of

its positions in this region of the world. The entire region is declared to be vitally important for the maintenance of U.S. security.

Sources of the "national security" doctrine

The ideology of "national security" was formed under the influence of American military-political doctrines, which exerted an influence on both the professional training of these armies and the world view of the Latin American officer class. Until recently those Central American countries which are backward and the most dependent on the USA had no major military and research centers. The local officers were content to reproduce the traditional aims: the identification of the state and the nation and the isolation of foreign and domestic enemies of the nation state to substantiate the need for the struggle against "communist subversive activity." At the same time the Central American dictatorships, as a consequence of the features of postwar development, frequently overtook other Latin American countries in the application of repressive aspects of the "national security" doctrine.

Thus the doctrine was assimilated in its most reactionary form, in which anticommunism became the alpha and the omega, having virtually excluded desarrolist ideas.

The utilization of the "national security" doctrine, which the French sociologist J. Comblin has called "an extraordinary simplification of man and man's problems,"¹ has influenced the policy of the military regimes, and it has been accompanied by the militarization of political systems and the emergence of the "national security" state. After the suppression of the Guatemalan revolution, there was a sharp increase in military cooperation between the Central American states and the USA as a result of intervention organized by the CIA; army and police officers who had trained at American military centers passed on the mysteries of the doctrine and the concept of the "domestic front." The Guatemalan army, along with the Somoza National Guard became the main recipient of American military assistance in the region and moved on to the practical application of the doctrine. The Salvadoran and Honduran military attempted to keep up with the dictatorial regimes of Guatemala and Nicaragua, which led the anticommunist "crusade" of the 50's and 60's.

After the victory of the Cuban revolution the concepts of the "domestic front" and "antiguerrilla warfare" spread throughout the region. The struggle against "subversive elements," i.e., against the revolutionary-democratic forces and rebel organizations, occupied a top-priority place in the activities of the Guatemalan military elite and the Somoza National Guard, and it became a component of the ideological platform of the Central

American Defense Council, which was formed in 1963. The basic propositions of these concepts amounted to a justification for the army's leading role in society, for the need to combine purely military actions to suppress rebels with the "creative mission" of the armed forces, that is, with the army's civil actions aimed at the "development of the nation."

In this period the "contrainsurgency" doctrine was supplemented by the experience of the Brazilian military, who had suppressed urban guerrillas and by the French, who analyzed the reasons for defeats in Vietnam and Algeria. The French version of the doctrine spread the idea of the "internal enemy" to all persons who did not support the government; in this way the forces supporting the rebels among the peaceful population were judged to be hostile and subject to destruction.² In this regard, particular significance was attached to the development of security services and to the establishment of a far-flung network of informers. As a consequence of the use of these new recipes the armed forces inevitably moved away from the popular mass movements.

The carriers of the "national security" ideology--members of the officer corps--were infected with anticommunist ideas and reacted hostilely to any manifestations of opposition. For eradicating subversive movements any means were good and legitimate--that was the basic credo of the Central American military clique, which took as its guide for action the doctrine of "national security," this "mixture of Creole militarism," European fascism and American McCarthyism."³

The USA and the armed forces of Central America

While absorbing the ideology of "national security," the Central American military involved themselves still further in the implementation of the plans of American military policy in the region, which is aimed at suppressing revolutionary movement with the aid of local armed forces trained by the Pentagon. Thousands of Central American military personnel attended American educational centers, where they learned counter-insurgency tactics and took special courses on psychological warfare.⁴ Even the "Alliance for Progress" included formulas for "internal security," and military assistance was oriented toward the maintenance of that security. The Pentagon's strategy in Latin America was transformed into a counterinsurgency strategy.

The generals who occupy the presidential seats and head the juntas studied at one time in American military centers where they learned about the latest concepts which justify the need to create a strong state and the exceptional role of the armed forces in the work of strengthening the "domestic front"; they acquired a taste for politics and entered into contact with the

CIA. It is no accident that when the Latin Americans recalled the role of the American military instructional programs, they named the School of the Americas the "school of coups."⁵

In the mid-60's the Central American military comprised half of those studying at counterinsurgency courses in the USA.⁶ In the 70's they took such special courses as "jungle operations," "urban counterinsurgency operations," "civilian activities" and "military intelligence."⁷ During their studies the future members of punitive expeditions expanded the range of their professional skills; by subordinating themselves to the imperatives of "national security," they removed themselves increasingly from the needs of their countries.

American policy in this region, which is aimed at preserving U.S. hegemony and at strengthening pro-imperialist regimes, played its role in the process of militarizing the political systems.

In accordance with American aid programs, the police and security forces received new equipment and weapons, including the latest pieces of "repressive technology."⁸ The political stability which is essential for American capital investors and military strategists was provided at the cost of human rights violations, the suppression of democracy and the escalation of repression.

The army and politics

In the process of economic integration and industrialization new groups of the industrial bourgeoisie arose, and the army's traditional ties were subjected to tests of strength. The original "symbiosis" of the army and the Latifundists collapsed; the struggle for hegemony in the ruling bloc became increasingly obvious.

As a consequence of the army's long-standing participation in politics, the military command established control over the state apparatus. Gradually the military found their own interests, apart from the interests of the oligarchy, and they acquired economic weight; traditionally their social prestige was high, and their political influence significantly exceeded the influence of the bourgeois parties. The military coups are becoming not only the key to power, but also a mechanism by means of which the army keeps power in its own hands; the colonels and generals change, which only creates for the regime the conditions for adaptation to the changing situation, but the essence of the regime remains. In order to give the appearance of legitimacy to the governments which were coming to power as a result of one coup after another, the military command resorted to elective procedures and proceeded to form political parties which represent essentially the mouthpiece of the army elite. Frequently these parties had a

personal nature, and their ideology reflected the policy of the ruling regime.

The Party of National Reconciliation represented the military establishment of El Salvador from 1961 through 1979. By the 70's the Guatemalan Movement of National Liberation, founded by K. Armas, had lost the monopolistic right to represent the country's military institutions as a result of the development of new parties, which formed the camarilla of the next military president. The Honduran military did not create their own parties; they made do with the pretexts of the traditional ones.

The parties created by the military command ensured the succession of the regime and guaranteed that the electoral procedures were conducted along the necessary lines.

The system of social ties which developed among the officers alienated them from the national context. The military elite put forth no small effort to isolate the soldiers and officers from the problems facing the countries of the region. In Guatemala, for example, officers who had a comparatively low salaries received a number of privileges: "social pay," the right to import cars and other goods duty free, military clubs and recreational facilities, special "Adolfo Hall" schools for children of the military, opportunities for study and recreation on Taiwan and homes with plots of land. The Salvadoran military had their own bank which granted them loans at low interest rates and allowances for housing construction; the Somoza National Guardsmen also enjoyed numerous benefits.⁹

The way of life and the values held by the families of those serving in the military brought them closer to the bourgeoisie. At the same time the traditional ties with the oligarchical clans were maintained, as were the ties with American companies operating in the region. The army and the police acted as defenders of the Latifundists' interests, and as supporters of the status quo in the villages.

The military command of Honduras was linked with the state banana corporation, the Salvadoran army with the owners of coffee plantations, and the Guatemalan military with foreign mining companies and with United Brands, an American corporation.

New "sybiotic" relations gradually took shape between the military and the state sector. The military headed ministries, as well as state enterprises and banks, crowding out civilian management personnel; they did well at the state treasury and with foreign subsidies. Having obtained access to advantageous places in the state apparatus, they attempted to provide relatives and friends with reliable sources of income and showed little concern with the problems of development. In the 70's individual at-

tempts to implement reformist plans failed ignominiously, running into hardened resistance from the oligarchy and the right wing officers.

Any manifestations of dissatisfaction and demonstrations by peasants or agricultural workers were suppressed harshly by the army, the police and the security forces. "Repressive militarism," which served the interests of local and American capital, was called upon to adapt the Central American states to the needs of the multinational monopolies.

The militarized state

Despite the differences in the genesis and formation of the militarized state, a number of general parameters of its functioning can be distinguished. In the ideological sphere they are unbridled anticommunism and adherence to the "national security" dogmas and "counterinsurgency" doctrine. In the economic sphere they include providing for the interests of the military corporation in general and of the private and state institutions which are working to strengthen it, as well as weak attempts to implement "desarrollist" plans. In the social sphere they are the defense of ruling class privileges and the preservation of extreme inequality in the distribution of incomes. In the political sphere they are the predominance of the functions of suppression and violence, the removal of the popular masses from participation in public life and terror against the revolutionary-democratic forces. In the foreign policy sphere there is reliance on the alliance with the USA and the most reactionary regimes.

Guatemala presents a graphic picture of the militarized political system. In the 60's its army and police were noticeably strengthened through the receipt of American aid for security programs, as well as through the significant contingent of people who received military training in the USA.¹⁰ The Guatemalan army "led" in the conduct of counterinsurgency operations and actions to "pacify" the rural population. In the 1966-1970 period alone, 15,000 peasants were killed as a result of punitive actions by Colonel Arana Osorio, who became president of the country soon afterwards.

In addition to the regular army, which included special Comandos-Caibiles subdivisions, the maintenance of "internal security" was ensured by the military police; the national police, which carried out criminal investigation; regional and presidential police, as well as the mobile military police, which operated in all departments of the country. Located next door to the presidential palace, the Regional Telecommunications Center is the main information organ of the far-flung security service; it is here that information about unreliable "subversive" ele-

ments is received from the entire country. This center, which is sometimes called an intelligence agency attached to the president's office, became the connecting link between officers of the police, the security forces, the ministers of defense and internal affairs, on the one hand, and the office of the president, on the other. All important political decisions and the compilation of lists of people to be destroyed took place at the Regional Telecommunications Center after consultations among the highest military ranks. The National Telecommunications Agency in El Salvador also carried out similar functions.

Employment in the "internal security" field and contacts with the American special services ensured a rapid ascent up the hierarchical ladder. Officers, who made their way through the "labyrinths of the American embassy" received a real chance to occupy key posts in the state apparatus.

In the 70's the Central American military, indoctrinated with the anticommunist spirit and instructed in counterinsurgency tactics, emphasized preventive actions in order to avoid the development of guerrillas and the appearance of influential political opposition. As a result of the Central American armies' assimilation of the "national security" ideology, all the countries of the region were seized by an "anti-subversion paranoia." The leadership of the special services declared Catholic priests, as well as leaders of the national reformist parties, trade unions and peasant organizations to be communists. For the Salvadoran ultra rightists President J. Carter was a communist, as was Ambassador R. White, who thought that Washington was making a mistake in Central America, "by confusing the security of the government with the security of the state."¹¹ For the Guatemalan rightists A. Haig was a "Castro ally."¹²

With the unleashing of the revolutionary and democratic movement and the increased activities of the military-political revolutionary organizations, the armies of Guatemala and El Salvador, increased their repressive actions; the Somoza regime resorted to very harsh terror. The leaders of the right-wing parties, who express the interests of the oligarchy and who draw their ideas from the arsenal of the Spanish falangists and the Chilean neofascists, acted as assistants to the army in carrying out terrorist actions and in spreading of profascist ideology. "I am a fascist and I am trying to model my party on the Spanish falange," stated Sandoval Alarcon, the leader of the Guatemalan Movement of National Liberation (MLN).¹³ He called his party directly the "party of organized violence." The MLN had at its disposal a semi-military organization with up to 3,000 members.¹⁴

Over a period of many years the Party of National Reconciliation, which draws its support from the semi-military ORDEN (expansion unknown), was analogous to the MLN. Since the 80's it has yielded

its place on the ultraright flank to ARENA, whose leaders are inspired by the example of Hitler and Pinochet.

The state security agencies and the police played a decisive role in the genesis of the ultrarightist groups and the semi-military organizations. With their help an organizational structure was formed, arms depots were established, appeals, leaflets and prescription lists were printed, and contacts were made with influential entrepreneurial organizations, which frequently finance the activities of these organizations and which are linked to rightist circles in the USA.

The activities of the "death squads" became part of the program of pacification worked out by the Guatemalan security service. It is typical that the blanks for future members of the "death squads," like those of the Secret Anticommunist Army, were kept... on the premises of Guatemala's Ministry of Internal Affairs.¹⁵ The Anticommunist National Organized Movement, the New Anticommunist Organization, the Anticommunist Command of Guatemala, the Anticommunist Brigade of Maximilian Martinez in El Salvador, "Mancha Brava" in Honduras and the Free Costa Rica Movement--this is a far from complete list of the ultrarightist terrorist organizations, which usually operate under the control of the military authorities. Their activities were one of the manifestations of the psychological war against the revolutionary-democratic forces, and they barred the way to participation by popular organizations in the political process. by popular organizations.

With the region's liberation movement on the upswing since the beginning of the 80's, the terror of the ultrarightists has been let loose with renewed force, and the number of factions with a profascist orientation has multiplied. In a situation of civil war in El Salvador the existing terrorist organizations were activated under the aegis of the military and new ones were hastily organized.

In connection with the accelerated militarization of the Honduras, which was carried out in accordance with a Pentagon plan, the Honduran Public Security Service and the National Intelligence Administration began a "preventive war against all the potentially dangerous elements."¹⁶ In 1982 the Honduras Anticommunist Movement (MACHO)¹⁷ was established in that country. The Association for Progress in the Honduras brings businessmen together; it was organized with the support of the military command and it also came out actively in favor of a military solution to the Central American crisis. In Costa Rica a new, semimilitary organization, the Organ for National Emergency Operations was organized; its members, who number 10,000, were instructed in counterinsurgency methods under the leadership of American advisers.¹⁸

The semimilitary and terrorist groups are working together on the Central American anticommunist front; they share their criminal experiences during conferences of the Latin American Anticom-munist Confederation. They are usually assigned the "dirtiest work."

State terrorism in action

In the militarized state, the repressive apparatus, which became, according to Guatemalan sociologist, E. Torrez Rivasa, the "epi-center of power,"¹⁹ came to occupy a central place. Army control over the state apparatus is a constant feature of the mili-tarized, or so called "emergency state."²⁰ The introduction of a curfew and a state of emergency; the concentration of criminal investigation, preventive and repressive functions in the hands of the military command; and the utilization of emergency laws which justify any repression are indispensable attributes of the "emergency state," which constitutes a counterrevolutionary dic-tatorship," called upon to establish and maintain the "order" and "stability" which are so dear to the heart of the bourgeois and the philistine but which frequently arouse indignation among this category of the population as well.

The lack of democratic freedoms, the outrageous violations of human rights, the torture of political prisoners and mass shootings have become daily reality in the "national security" state. The institutionalization of terror and the appearance of state terrorism are becoming a consequence of the long-standing repressive policy of the authorities. The policy of state ter-rorism combines the traditional as well as the latest methods; "selective" repressions are replaced by mass repressions, while punitive actions acquire the scale of genocide.

The events of the early 80's provide evidence that the Central American Pinochets are not experiencing difficulties in acquiring modern "repressive technology," supplied through American mili-tary and security aid programs and development; "they are given access" to the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. In November 1981 the Military Electronics School was opened in Guatemala. Argentine and Israeli specialists in-structed their Guatemalan colleagues in the use of computer equipment for tracking "subversive elements."²¹

The "pacification" policy

A policy aimed at a military resolution of the crisis situation in the region is becoming the core of the Reagan Central American policy. In an attempt to restrain the development of the revolu-tionary movement the U.S. president has embarked on an unprece-dented increase in military aid to El Salvador and Honduras within the framework of a Caribbean initiative. The training of

counterinsurgency battallions of the Salvadoran and Honduran armies was started quickly under the leadership of American military instructors.

The counterinsurgency strategy, according to the Pentagon's definition, includes "military, semi-military, political, economic, psychological and civilian measures which are undertaken by a government for the purpose of weakening subversive insurgent movements." ²²

The program of pacification and the eradication of communism was worked out in Guatemala in accordance with American recommendations. ²³ It called for mandatory, forced enrollment of all Guatemalans aged 18 to 50 in "civil defense" patrols. In this way the military authorities were trying to deprive the guerrillas of support from the public, to isolate them from the masses. The Rios Montt regime put forward a security and development plan which calls for the defense of "Guatemalidad" and the creation of a doctrine to oppose communism. ²⁴ Under Montt, a two-phase system of a of "rifles and beans" counterinsurgency strategy began to be implemented: the first phase ("rifles") was repressive, and the second ("beans") was "constructive"; it called for aid to the rural population. The essence of this new program was extremely simple: "If you are with us, we will feed you, if you are against us, we will kill you." ²⁵ As a result of its application about 6,000 Indians were killed, 250,000 Guatemalans were forced to abandon their native villages, 30,000 people emigrated to Mexico and 80,000 peasants were driven into the civilian patrols--all within just six months. ²⁶

Montt's successor as president of Guatemala, General Mejia Vic-an "honorary caybil" and specialist in counterinsurgency operations, is continuing the policy of his predecessor, having replaced only the slogan of the antiguerrilla campaign which is being carried out. Instead of the two "F's" (fusiles y frijoles), he put forward the three T's (techo, trabajo, tortilla--shelter, work and tortillas), devoting particular attention to developing a network of civil patrols, which are called on to become "the eyes of the army." ²⁷ According to data in the Kissinger Commission report, ²⁸ 400,000 peasants have already been enrolled in the patrols.

The civil war situation in El Salvador is being used to test the strength of the interventionist innovations of the American special services, which insist on combining counterinsurgent actions with the "constructive" mission of the armed forces. In 1982 the Plan for the Renewal of Rural Regions of El Salvador was worked out and implementation was started. ²⁹ This program of "pacification," which largely recalled the Vietnam plans for the creation of "strategic hamlets," and the Guatemalan two "F's" began to be implemented in the departments of San Vicente and Usulután. The

CIA is financing it. The Salvadoran version of the counterinsurgency strategy for the beginning stage stipulates the destruction of guerrillas in the course of an operation to "clean out" the territory, followed by the organization of "strategic villages" and the creation of civilian patrols, and in the concluding stage it calls for "civil" actions by the army to restore the facilities destroyed during the military actions, and the protection of the property of private and foreign entrepreneurs.

A national commission, consisting of representatives of eight ministries, was formed in October 1982 to guide this program. At the same time the Armed Forces Research Center began courses to prepare "specialists" in the restoration of destroyed facilities; canton, municipal and department committees were rapidly formed.³⁰ The new pacification campaign was carried out under the slogan "what the subversive elements destroy, the people and the armed forces restore."³¹ In this way the Salvadoran version of the "pacification" policy was called on to isolate the insurgents, to create an atmosphere of a sharply negative attitude toward them on the part of the population and at the same time a climate of "trust" between the army and the popular masses.

The Regional Educational Center in Honduras is conducting accelerated training for special battalions of guerrilla "hunters" under the leadership of American military instructors. Since 1980 there have been efforts to establish links between the Salvadoran and Honduran armies in the conduct of counterinsurgency operations.

With the escalation of Reagan's militaristic policy in Central America the process of coordinating antiguerrilla operations by the armies of the "northern triangle" countries was speeded up, and it was linked ever more closely with Washington's policy of destabilizing the situation in Nicaragua and helping the counter-revolutionary bands which have entrenched themselves in Honduran territory under the protection of the Pentagon and the country's military authorities. Questions of military coordination were discussed at a meeting of defense ministers from Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador in Tegucigalpa in July 1983 in the presence of the American General P. Gorman. In October of that same year an agreement was reached achieved on the renewal of the activities of the CADC (Central American Defense Council) at a meeting of the defense ministers from the three countries; a resolution was adopted on the need for U.S. military support in the event of "emergency circumstances" and on the utilization of forces "for the defense of democracy."

The revival of the CADC is included in Reagan's regional policy, which is aimed at overturning the Nicaraguan government and suppressing the insurgents in El Salvador. The series of large-scale American-Honduran maneuvers called "Big Pine," and the

"Granadero" maneuvers which followed them and included the participation of the Salvadoran army, provide evidence that Washington is counting on a military solution to the Central American crisis and on an alliance with reactionary military regimes under the flags of anticommunism and the defense of national security.

As the tragic experience of the Central American countries shows, the "theory" and practice of "national security" leads to the establishment of a militarized state without indications of any bourgeois legality, to the fascization of the ruling circles, to the spread of state terrorism "in breadth" and to its transformation into a regional phenomenon.

However, despite the escalation of repression, the suppression of democratic freedoms, the new waves of terror and the bloody crimes of the Central American military clique, which is supported by Washington, the leftist forces' struggle for democracy, peace, social progress and for the genuine national security of peoples continues.

FOOTNOTES

1. J. Comblin, "Le pouvoir militaire en Amerique Latine. L'ideologie de la securite nationale." Paris, 1977, p 169.
2. CUADERNOS UNIVERSITARIOS. Guatemala, 1979, No 5, p 115; "Centroamerica en crisis." Mexico, 1980, p 65.
3. P. Lernoux, "Cry of the People," New York, 1980, p 47.
4. In the period from 1950 through 1972, 1,851 officers from the Central American countries received training in the USA alone, and 1,227 received training in the American military education centers in Panama. D. Etchison, "The United States and Militarism in Central America," New York, 1975, p 105.
5. P. Lernoux, op. cit., p 181.
6. "The Politics of Antipolitics. The Military in Latin America," London, 1979, p 164.
7. "Capitalism and the State in U.S.-Latin American Relations." Stanford, 1979, p 149.
8. Ibid., p 161.
9. LARU STUDIES, Toronto, 1982, No 1, p 49.

10. From 1960 through 1971, 3,334 Guatemalan military personnel received training in the USA. FOREIGN POLICY, New York, 1981, No 43, p 98.
11. NACLA REPORT ON THE AMERICAS. New York, 1983, No 2, pp 26-28.
12. "The Central American Crisis: Policy Perspectives. Latin American Program." The Wilson Center. New York, 1982, No 119, p 138.
13. NACLA REPORT ON THE AMERICAS. 1983, No 1, p 5.
14. FOREIGN POLICY, 1981, No 43, p 100.
15. "Revolution in Central America," 1983, p 283.
16. ESTUDIOS CENTROAMERICANOS, San Salvador, 1983, No 419, p 763.
17. INFORME RELACIONES MEXICO--ESTADOS UNIDOS, Mexico, 1982, No 3, p 139.
18. Ibid., p 143.
19. "Centroamerica: Crisis y politica internacional," Mexico, 1982, p 60.
20. See A.F. Shul'govskiy, "The State and the Struggle for Democracy," LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, 1983, No 4, pp 5-6.
21. NACLA REPORT ON THE AMERICAS, 1983, No 2, p 30.
22. "Capitalism and the State....," p 144.
23. NACLA REPORT ON THE AMERICAS, 1983, No 2, p 22.
24. Ibid., p 21.
25. INFORME RELACIONES MEXICO--ESTADOS UNIDOS, 1982, No 3, p 104.
26. FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Washington, 1983, No 3, p 653.
27. LE MONDE, Paris, 22 September 1983.
28. "Report of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, Washington, 1984, p 100.
29. SENAL DE LIBERTAD, S.l., 1983, No 31, p 6; No 27, p 2.
30. TREINTA Y DOS. S.l., 1983, No 3, p 24.
31. Ibid., p 23.

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INTERNATIONAL

CATHOLIC GRASSROOT SOCIETIES SAID TO HAVE SOCIALIST LEANINGS

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[Article by V.P. Andronov: "Christian Grassroot Societies: A New Form of Social Protest by Believers"]

[Text] By virtue of the the specific conditions which have developed in Latin America the renewal of the Catholic Church, which was started by the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), is acquiring radical forms in this region of the world. Against a background of changes in Latin American Catholicism, the emergence and development of Christian grassroot societies (CEB's)¹ has become a most noteworthy phenomenon.

The CEB movement can be viewed as a kind of popular or "plebian" Christianity, which has been present in history since the times of Joseph Flavius and Pontius Pilate; it has manifested itself with particular clarity during critical periods. And in our time the emergence of the "people's church" in Latin America is linked to the failure of the traditional social structures. The victory of the revolution in Cuba, which proved the reality of the socialist alternative in this region, the success of the patriots in Nicaragua, as well as the civil war in El Salvador and Guatemala testify to the consolidation of the revolutionary-democratic and patriotic forces and to the intensification of their opposition to a united front of the local reaction, which is supported by North American imperialism. The sharp conflicts of these two opposing camps at the national and regional levels are accompanied by a devaluation of old political and ideological stereotypes. The disintegration of old ideas has touched Catholicism as well--both its ideology and practice.

The coming together of religious faith and worldly life, the condemnation of the system of "institutional violence" and social injustice and the turn toward the poor, oppressed majority was dictated by market considerations; they were essential and forced under conditions of the church's declining socio-political influence. At the same time those clergymen who were truly disturbed by the fate of the people sincerely supported the growing

aspiration of the simple believers for democratization of the church, the humanization of religion, and for the revival of the original spirit of Christianity. Thus a progressive tendency which provided the impulse for "plebian" Christianity emerged on the continent.

In his analysis of the mass movements of the middle ages F. Engels noted that "in the popular uprisings of the Christian West the religious exterior serves only as a banner and a pretext for an attack on an aging economic system."² Today the Christian grassroot societies of Latin America, which have become a mass movement, are also looking for a religious form for the expression of their protest against archaic social relations, although under significantly different conditions.

The opposition which the official church in a majority of the continent's countries shows to military regimes is, in the final analysis, only a policy which has clear limits. A change in the political situation in the direction of democratization will most probably lead to the disappearance of many church initiatives. But the nature and character of grassroot Christian societies are different. They have arisen as a movement of protest. Gradually, as they become aware of their social interests, they are growing quantitatively, bringing together mainly the most oppressed and disenfranchised strata of the population: rural residents, the poor of the suburban slums, the unemployed and Indians. By the late 70's the number of grassroot societies in the region was approaching 150,000. Moreover, in Brazil alone they numbered 80,000 and brought together approximately 2 million people. In Brazil some church parishes which consist almost exclusively of rural and urban poor are represented only by Christian societies and in this way they are a kind of "people's church." Several thousand societies exist in Chile, hundreds in Colombia and Paraguay. There are a great number of them in Central America. They show a continuing tendency to grow and to encompass more and more new countries. Although organizationally they are part of the structure of the church and they are developing under its aegis, nonetheless the CEB's have worked out their own attitude toward religion, giving it a revolutionary-democratic and liberation content.

In the 60's the episcopate in a number of Latin American countries approved an initiative by parish priests on the establishments of CEB's. Briefly, its essence amounted to the following: a large parish, which at times includes up to 10,000 believers, is divided into small cells (from 10-30 people), each headed by a layman, who has taken in advance an elementary course of religious instruction in order to perform rites (marriages, christenings, etc.) and to teach people the fundamentals of the Bible.

The official church saw in these societies a new method of evangelizing the population. This organizational innovation was called on to modify the ineffective and archaic structure of the parish, as well as to ease the acute shortage of priests and monks by unleashing the laymen's initiative within the framework of the church and to bring the church still closer to the masses. In other words, for the episcopate the grassroot society was a most effective practical measure to overcome the crisis in the church and parish; it is a measure which meets the immediate requirements of "aggiornamento."

From the very beginning the CEB was the focus of attention from progressive clerical circles. Under the influence of the church's declared shift toward the poor and the unfortunate, certain Catholic intellectuals, theologians and practitioners began to work out Christian models for developing consciousness and for raising the educational level of the believing masses. Take for example the pedagogical system of the Brazilian philosopher, Paulo Freire, the theologian of liberation.

Paulo Freire thinks that the people's salvation from poverty and disenfranchisement can be a consequence only of their own efforts. He sees the goals of enlightenment not only in teaching literacy but also in revealing to people the true picture of reality and in arousing them to interpret that reality critically and to refuse to accept it. "Enlightenment, consciousness, freedom" is how Freire understands the logic of the liberation process.³ The progressive clergy of the church who have chosen the Christian societies as the place to exert their efforts have gone further and extracted from Freire's teaching the main point, which is the need to develop believers' political consciousness.

Liberation theology, which is widely known today in Catholic circles, emerged within the mainstream of the renewal process, and it has exerted a great influence on the evolution of the CEB's. "Fifteen years ago," says Gustavo Gutierrez, its main ideologue, "we saw that the poor were growing into an influential social force in Latin America. They created a new situation within the church, because the deepening of their faith took place through an understanding of Jesus Christ which is different from the orthodox one."⁴ And, Gutierrez continues, liberation theology began firstly by recognizing the leading role of the poor in the history of the church and secondly by approaching an analysis of the experience of social struggle in the light of faith.

Gutierrez's adherents openly recognize the scientific significance of Marxist theory and utilize it in their criticism of capitalism. However, while they share the Marxist thesis that "religion is the opiate of the people" with regard to the official church, they have also put forward a new theological inter-

pretation of the holy scripture. Turning to the sources of original Christianity, to the "catacomb" church of the poor and the persecuted, they view it as a genuinely popular church which should be revived.

Because the grassroot societies, which were conceived as a modern form of Catholic missionaryism, have come under the sphere of influence of the clergy with leftist convictions, they are evolving for the most part toward the formation of populist-democratic religious expression as the crisis within the traditional church institutions deepens. Naturally, they are characterized by an extreme heterogeneity. Some of the societies retain a missionary-evangelical orientation, but in other the socio-political emphasis is clearly expressed. But the common social and religious motives for the activities of the Christian grassroot associations make it possible to discover general tendencies in their development, to draw conclusions with regard to the prospects for this alternative movement of the Catholic masses in Latin America.

The Christian grassroots societies should be defined as a unique form of democratic organization for the masses and a social movement, as well as a form of religious protest by the urban and rural poor. As devout people, they are aware of themselves and their place in the world only through their faith, and through the correlation of their deeds with a radical interpretation of the holy scripture. Having obtained direct access to the Bible, they read it as the living word of history. They draw parallels and comparisons, finding similarities between historical situations, between their life and the poverty of biblical times; they are convinced that this is not the first time the rich and the strong have deprived them of their rights. Injustice, protest and resistance appear to them in a new light. Imbued with these convictions they came to believe that God is on their side because there cannot be any genuine prayer in slavery. While declaring themselves the chosen "people of God," the members of the societies understand more and more that a religious principle does not exist in and of itself, but rather calls one to action. "As Christians we are called upon to love our neighbor," one of the documents of a Christian society says. "To love means to create those political, social and economic conditions under which our neighbor can develop."⁵

The Christian society is beginning to feel itself a participant in a centuries-old tradition of liberation and salvation. It interprets history as a process of liberation.

One can judge the nature of the demands which the grassroot societies are making on the official church from a collective document, compiled by representatives of 128 societies, who gathered in the city of Juan Pessoa (the state of Paraiba, Brazil)

in 1978. In it they expressed a desire for the following: greater lay participation in work of the episcopate; greater lay representation in pastoral councils and parishes; the observance of equality among laymen, monks and priests; as well as unified action aimed at freeing the poor, and not at "justifying those people who stand in the way of the interests of the oppressed class."⁶ In other words, they were talking about demands for the all-around democratization of the church--at the level of its organizational structure, ideology and dogma.

With time the CEB's developed a more or less unified system of functioning. As a rule, all the members gather weekly for joint discussions. Any event or problem which is bothering everyone can serve as the subject of discussion. For example, the death of a child may prompt a discussion about poor nutrition, the lack of medical aid, the unfair distribution of wealth, etc. In the process an attempt is made to find a practical resolution of the situation which has arisen. They look in biblical texts for a justification of the decision which has been made. The reading of those texts, as well as joint prayer are mandatory components of every meeting. But the prayers are not abstract; they are related to the concerns and needs of the people. The role of the clergy in the Christian CEB is extremely relative. The church cannot dictate directly to the CEB what it should do or how. It can exert a disciplinary influence only on the person serving the cult, who coordinates the activities of the society, but not on the actual leaders of the societies, who are represented by lay people.

One of the society leaders describes in the following manner the significance of their religious services: "The word of God plays an important and determining role in the resolution of the problem which we face, because this gives us a genuine feeling of justice and shows historically whose side God is on and how His word extends over the laws which dominate in our society...The discussions amount to discovering why a given problem exists, what caused it, and who is guilty of what in regard to its appearance. We propose actions to destroy the devil and his roots. The entire society is drawn into the discussion. Religious acts are seen in relation to the situation, problems, achievements and hopes of the poor. We even have ways of praying that are different from the ways of the exploiters. We must not allow ourselves to be deceived or fooled."⁷

The transition to concrete actions is a consequence of the discussion of local problems and the reading of the scriptures. Small landowners form cooperatives to purchase tools, as well as to grow and sell produce. Neighboring societies get together and jointly build roads and schools and bring in water. By joint action they try to defend their plots of land from encroachment by the landowner; they may fight for land reform or demand better

working conditions, fair payment, and transportation to and from work. The people are imbued with the spirit of collectivism and mutual assistance. The old religiosity, built on submissiveness and obedience is fading into the background. The believers are replacing it with a religion related to their sufferings, hopes and the struggle for liberation. That is their new understanding of Christianity.

All this constitutes the first but already noticeable steps in the development of the socio-political consciousness of a previously scattered, unorganized mass. One can observe a gradual departure from conformism, passivity, individualism and fatalism. Opposing the powers that be arouses class solidarity.

The members of the Christian grassroots societies are gradually lifting the curtain behind which the social and not the religious significance of their association lies hidden. Evidence of this can be seen, for example, in the "Handbook for the Formation of Societies in Rural Regions," prepared by societies in the department of Choco in Colombia. It says specifically: "...We have our problems and we cannot wait for others to solve them for us... No one is doing that or intends to do it...The various supposedly Christian groups, committees, etc. which are currently in existence try to please everyone and to offend no one out a fear of being banned, and in fact they serve the existing system. For this reason it is senseless to demand their revival or modification... We, the peasants, must learn to understand that those who have in their hands the power which money, culture, arms, prestige and religion give them nearly always rule us." "We need our own peasant organization," the compilers of the document state categorically. "If we are not organized, they will continue to rule us."⁸

Having appealed to the sources of Christianity "as a religion of slaves, exiles, the rejected and the oppressed," the believers have discovered that the causes of poverty are purely social in nature. People, and not God, created this situation and only they can change it. The first practical successes in this direction proved that in the struggle against poverty solidarity and the associations are of great significance. The believers set their own organization and religious experience in opposition to the structurally organized class of the exploiters. "The societies are the elementary school of political action," states the Brazilian bishop, Antonio Batista Fragoso. "Faith and politics are related, and the peasants understand that if you do not participate in politics, you are not a believer. Faith without action is death. In my diocese confessing the faith is a political act, a struggle for change in an unjust society, which is contrary to the kingdom of God. I do not tire of saying that faith without political action is dead."⁹

It would be an exaggeration to extend the views of Bishop Frago to all or an overwhelming majority of Christian societies. But that is their tendency. A new "reading" of the Bible has provided the impetus for the development of believers' social consciousness, a consciousness which arouses people to action and which is aimed at creating a just society of "brothers and sisters," that is, a classless system in their understanding.

In their analysis of the capitalist system many ideologues of the grassroot societies movement have come to the conclusion that Marxist categories help one to know that system better. They have found analogies as they compare the scriptural "values" with the tenets of Marxism. Their views at times constitute a kind of unique alloy of these tenets and the Christian concepts of goodness, fairness, etc. When they are mistakenly called communists, they reply that they know nothing of communism, but they understand the word of God and for this reason they are prepared to be revolutionaries. It is not by accident that the well-known Brazilian theologian L. Boff notes that "The members of the Christian societies accept Marxism as a tool for self-defense against the capitalist system in the struggle for their liberation."¹⁰

A very great shift to the left is typical of the Christian societies of Brazil and Central America. In the 60's the Brazilian church, while resolving its own purely internal problems (an acute shortage of priests, etc.), began to break parishes down into small subdivisions, headed by lay people. The broad dissemination of P. Freire's ideas among the Brazilian clergy, the influence of liberation theology and the criticism of the military regime contributed to the transformation of the societies. In such major dioceses of Brazil as the Nova Iguasu, Resif and San Paulo, the mission of unifying or bringing man closer to God is linked to the opportunity for him to participate in a process of both personal and societal liberation.¹¹ The defense of human rights, the demands to give a human face to economic structures and the conversion of believers into "creators of their own history"--all of these themes are components of the clergy's sermons related to the appeal to the parish to promise to begin building the "Kingdom of God" on earth.

At present the political role of the Christian grassroot societies in Brazil is not a matter of doubt. In the late 70's, when the military government announced the transition to democratization, it was revealed that "outside the church there were no forces capable of stimulating political life," notes Brazilian sociologist L. Sousa Lima.¹² The political organizations, which had been weakened during the years of repression, did not have a sufficient mass base to begin their activities. The members of the Christian societies turned up in the political parties and trade unions, not only at the lowest level but also frequently

among the leaders. Even organizational methods are taken from their long experience. "There is a natural link between the Party of the Working People and the Christian societies," says theologian L. Boff. "Those who make up the societies are the ones who fight in the factories and who form the party."¹³

With the "restoration of bourgeois freedoms in Brazil, the process of the "Christianization" of those political organizations which have arisen continues, despite proposals about the departure of the church from the political sphere. It is curious that "years after the fall of Christian democracy in Latin America," thinks Sousa Lima, "the Catholic grassroots organizations have taken upon themselves responsibility for the political formation of Brazilian society."¹⁴

Analogous processes are also taking place in other countries of the continent. A high rate of CEB activity is observed in Central America. The acute struggle in El Salvador and Guatemala and the desperate attempts by the reaction of various stripes, including the church elite in Nicaragua, to oppose the democratic initiatives of the Sandinista National Liberation Front government are contributing to the massive shift of the Christian societies in these countries into the ranks of the revolutionary forces.

The first Christian society in Nicaragua was organized in 1965 by the priest Ernesto Cardenal (now the minister of culture) in Solentinam in the small islands in the southern part of Lake Nicaragua. From the very beginning he and his two companions did not limit their activities to the realm of religious duties; they linked them to the development of the cultural level and the political consciousness of the people. A poet, artist and sculptor, Cardenal taught in the school which he established; he taught the bases of painting, sculpture, and work with wood, cooper, bronze, leather and silver. The crafts which were produced were of such high artistic quality that they became well known outside the country and even the continent. An atmosphere of trust and freedom reigned among the residents. Life in the community took on the coloration of the early Christian societies as Cardenal imagined them. At that time he talked about himself as a "Christian communist," whose style of life is joint labor and creative work on this earth. In 1977 the community was hit by repression. That which had taken years to create was destroyed. Cardenal joined the ranks of the guerrillas. Later he wrote: "At first we talked about a revolution without violence. But very quickly we began to understand that at the present time a non-violent struggle is impossible in Nicaragua. Any true revolutionary prefers non-violence to violence, but he does not have the freedom to choose."

In the 70's the Christian societies, which are not guided directly by the church hierarchy, arose all over Nicaragua sporadically. In 1971 a society of Catholic university students, headed by the French priest, Uriel Molina, was organized. The increasing repression and violations of human rights and university autonomy contributed to the rapid radicalization of the society. The members of the society and U. Molina took a sympathetic attitude toward the Sandinistas' struggle. Cooperation developed. Later several students became part of the Front's leadership.¹⁵

A direct correlation existed between participation by believers in the general struggle and their membership in the CEB's. The fighters of the Sandinist movement first found understanding and support in the regions where the societies had spread. Here the population was more willing to join the political organizations of the Sandinist NLF. And now, when the official church has taken a hostile position with regard to the Sandinist government, the Christian societies continue to be faithful supporters of the defense of revolutionary gains. They are uncompromising in their demand for active participation by lay people in the process of church renewal; they support an end to persecution of those priests who oppose church authoritarianism.

"We want peace!" "There are no conflicts between Christians and revolutionaries!" "A united people is invincible!" shouted the participants in a demonstration of believers who numbered a half million and who gathered at the central square in Managua during the appearance of Pope John Paul II. In response to the removal of progressive priests, the parishioners have arranged protest marches, occupied churches and demanded that the church leadership recognize their legitimate right to participate in the process of renewal within the church. The "people's church" states that the principles of the Sandinist revolution, which is attempting to put public and private property at the service of the nation and to resolve the essential problems of the population, do not contradict the social doctrine of Catholicism. It rejects any attempts to divide people into two categories: those who are for revolution and those who are for the church. In other words, for the "people's church" Christianity and revolution and Christianity and socialism are compatible."¹⁶

In El Salvador the Christian societies began to spread immediately after the conference in Medeline (1968). They were established under the aegis of the church. The general church hierarchy took the leadership into its own hands. Bishop Chavez was one of the first organizers. The centers for the instruction of the so-called Catexists and delegates who headed up the societies trained 15,000 people. These people studied not only the Bible and liturgy; they also learned about agriculture, medicine, etc.

Some researchers think that the growth of leftist popular organizations in El Salvador cannot be explained without consideration for the role of the CEB's, which must be viewed as one of the moving forces in the Salvadoran revolution.¹⁷

In 1974 the first mass organization of people fighting against the regime, the Front of United Popular Action, was founded in El Salvador. It arose on the initiative of a priest, Father Alas, an organizer of numerous Christian societies in rural areas. It included representatives of peasant, student and teachers' organizations. The Front is considered the first revolutionary association of the masses in Latin American history to arise within the bosom of the church.

In the El Salvador territories liberated by the guerrillas, the CEB's constitute a new church, which expresses complete solidarity with the fighting people. The Bible is interpreted in the light of this struggle. "A true Christian is he who serves his brothers and sisters for the sake of the future, who fights with them for the construction of that future,"¹⁸ says Father Sanchez, who is not a tutor but a comrade to the lay people who live in a region of the country which is controlled by guerrillas.

A nun who teaches in the societies says that the children in her school know that the USA is an imperialist power and that El Salvador is the object of its aggressive policy. They can answer correctly when asked what an oligarchy or military junta is. For this nun there are no contradictions between work and faith, or between Christianity and socialism, because their goal is to destroy¹⁹ all injustice and to build a world of free and united people.

After the murder of Archbishop Romero in March 1980, the Christian societies were in fact deprived of the support of the official church.²⁰ Given the opposition of the bishops (except for Rivera and Damas), who completely ignored the pastoral needs of Christians in the zones controlled by the guerrillas, it became necessary to have a new guiding center. A high degree of participation by the faithful in Christian societies (in some rural regions it reached 100 percent) led to the August 1980 establishment in El Salvador of the so-called National Coordination of the People's Church. The Mexican bishop S. Mendez and the Ecuadorian bishop L. Proano consented to act as patrons for this organization and to be spiritual shepherds of the "people's church."²¹

The emergence of the National Coordination of the People's Church is a new phenomenon, in its statements it supports the people's right to rebel and in practice it remains with the people who have rebelled.

Christian societies as a form of democratic, patriotic mobilization of the masses are also developing in Guatemala and the Honduras.

The church hierarchy of the Central American countries reacts in different ways to the social protest of its flock. For example, the Guatemalan Cardinal Casarega calls priests who have joined the "people's church" Judases.

The archbishop of Managua, Obando i Bravo, who entered into an alliance with the internal counterrevolution and American imperialism, dismissed from the parishes tens of progressive priests and monks and replaced them with conservatives. Using dollars from the USA a plan was worked out at the initiative of the archbishop to recruit and train new leaders of the Christian societies (2,000 people in the course of two years) to carry out propaganda and organizational anti-government activities among the believers of Nicaragua. The CEB members are accused of "communist sympathies." Some of the most undesirable activists have been murdered.²²

But in general the open hostility of certain bishops toward the societies does not determine the general position of the official church in the region. The Catholic elite prefers not to go to extremes. After all, the discussion concerns its relationship with the social milieu which up to now has served as the unshakeable foundation of the church pyramid. For this reason the episcopate of the Latin American countries is trying not to stimulate interest in ideological differences with the "people's church," or to push it away, fearing the further autonomous development of the grassroot society, or of a situation in which the faithful can manage without a priest and will begin to interpret Christian dogma, as is done in Protestantism. When the Brazilian Bishop Fragozo described his visit to a society, he noted that during the service and the liturgy he was only one of the participants and an observer.

At the same time one must not fail to take into account the specific features of the church hierarchy's structure: in terms of discipline every bishop is subordinate and responsible only to the Vatican and is free to be guided by his personal convictions in his diocese. For this reason in Brazil, where the national bishops conference consistently adheres to a reform policy, there are dioceses in which the grassroot societies are either entirely absent or their autonomy is limited by the right to carry out exclusively religious rites. But, in Mexico, for example, despite the general conservatism of the hierarchy, Bishop Arseo has devoted a great deal of attention to the mobilization of the Christian grassroots.

The official "position" of the Latin American church with regard to the CEB's was set out in the decisions of the 3d General Conference of Bishops of the continent, which took place in 1979 in the city of Puebla (Mexico). The term "position" here requires explanation. The long and verbose articles are filled with indications of lack of agreement, ambiguity and nuances. The decisions are in the nature of compromises. The activities of the societies are considered from various viewpoints. Some aspects of those activities are accepted; others arouse "regret" and are judged as in need of correction. Quite a few words of praise are devoted to the CEB's as centers of evangelization and as a "moving force in liberation and development."²³ However, in a parallel manner "proof" is cited that the church, while leaving unchanged the timeless divine essence of dogma, has always changed in the socio-humanistic regard, has always honored the holy fighters for faith and freedom and has always served the poor, etc. It is emphasized that today too it favors freedom and a more humane type of society. The impression is created that its interests and tasks do not differ from the interests and tasks of the "people's church." "The poverty, injustice and corruption which encompass our continent," the decisions say, "require from people of God and from every Christian a genuine display of heroism in their evangelical vocation."²⁴ In this way the traditional thesis remains unchanged: social changes are achieved through individual moral improvement, which is the result of religious faith. This trite postulate serves as the departure point for warning of the "danger of organized anarchy, which hides behind the face the society" and for accusations of sectarianism, doctrinal narrowness and an increase in "worldly theological doctrines." The "people's church" is called on to "overcome" its isolation and to join the single "universal church." At the same time the demand is put forward for increased church control over the CEB's, over personal initiatives by priests and over the systematic instruction of society leaders.

The conference recommended that the church develop and propose to the faithful a clear concept of liberation which meets the requirements of the present time in the life of the continent, that is, a concept which is different from the one worked out by the Christian grassroot societies as the latter does not suit the official church.

The Vatican also manifests a similar attitude toward the CEB's. Frequent statements by Pope John Paul II on this subject provide evidence that he shares the viewpoint of the moderate majority of the Latin American bishops. He views the activity of lay people in the societies as service to the church and attributes particular importance to the education and instruction of the society leaders, who, in the final analysis, determine the orientation of the CEB's. Their obligations, in his opinion, consist in maintaining ties with the pastors, in strengthening the faith,

and in the following the church principle zealously.²⁵ John Paul has spoken out against the "people's church" many times. In his message of 29 June 1982 in particular he says with censure that the "people's church" in Nicaragua considers itself "charismatic," and not institutional, "new," and not traditional, and he states directly that it was born of "fabricated values of a certain stratum of the population, and not as a free divine action."

The governments of the military regimes are conducting the present war against the Christian societies.

A study of the Christian societies which are undergoing the process of evolution does not make it possible to reveal fully the potential opportunities of this people's movement or to determine clearly the prospects for its development. However, when evaluating this movement, one should proceed from the fact that it is undoubtedly social in nature. Its participants are conscious of themselves as a class of Christian poor, who are fighting for their economic, political and cultural liberation. The original aims of the movement, which emphasize its exclusivity, the uniqueness of its goals and the specific features of the practical means to achieve them are overcome in those places where the societies are strong organizationally and participate actively in the political struggle.

On the other hand, the religious basis of the CEB's should be taken into account. While they remain within the framework of the institutional church, they are under its strong influence. The system of oppression, exploitation and social inequality is viewed as a consequence of the fact that capitalist society is wallowing in sin and bows not to God but to an idol. At the same time the concepts of justice and fraternity are acquiring concrete earthly outlines and absorbing the socio-economic situation. The "people's church" thinks that the state of affairs can be changed only by an organized people who have acquired their own God. God has ceased to be a symbol. He is embodied in the people, and not in the church and its pastors. God has been turned into a force and evidence of liberation. Thus, in the CEB's the social and religious are interrelated and interdependent.

The CEB's introduce their own religious ideas into the revolutionary movement. They have no clear ideology. But the latter is being replaced by a new popular religious sense, which is democratic and revolutionary in its nature. Faith is oriented toward the resolution of political tasks.

The difference between the CEB's and the traditional Christian organizations also consists in the fact that Christians usually become part of already existing religious or lay organizations

which are under the influence of the church, or they join worldly organizations--parties, trade unions, Catholic action organizations. However, the Christian societies act with increasing independence. The simple religious lay people are aware of their cell not as a low-level unit of higher channels, but as an association which is in itself a church. Their initiative is limited primarily by their convictions.

All of the noted characteristics define the specific features and scale of the CEB influence on the social process in Latin America. However, they provide evidence of the internal difficulties of Catholicism in the region, difficulties which are related to the separation of the masses from the official religion and the institutional church. Despite the fact that a majority of the bishops are striving for flexibility in their policy with regard to the societies, the Spanish theologian Enrique Arnans declared after a visit to Nicaragua that he had encountered a case of religious persecution, which is being carried out by the church leadership itself.²⁶ This is a manifestation of the desire to put up a barrier to an alternative movement, which is gaining strength outside the framework of the official "aggiornamento" of the Catholic church.

FOOTNOTES

1. CEB--Comunidades eclesiales de base (Ecclesiastical Base Communities).
2. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." (Works), Vol 22, pp 48-68.
3. P. Freire, "La educacion como practica de la libertad," Santiago de Chile, 1969.
4. LATINAMERICA PRESS. Lima, May 19, 1983, pp 5-6.
5. LADOC, Washington, 1980, Vol 10, No 5, p 23.
6. Ibid., 1979, Vol 9, No 3, p 8.
7. Ibid., 1983, Vol 14, No 2, pp 33-34.
8. Ibid., 1983, Vol 14, No 2, pp 30-39.
9. LATINAMERICA PRESS, 11 Feb. 1982, p 6.
10. LATINAMERICA PRESS, 8 Sep. 1983, p 4.
11. LADOC, 1980, Vol 10, No 5, p 3.
12. LATINAMERICA PRESS, 7 April 1983, p 7.

13. LATINAMERICA PRESS, 8 Sep. 1983, pp 3-4.
14. LATINAMERICA PRESS, 7 April 1983, p 7.
15. 2 Congreso nicarguense de ciencias sociales. Managua, 1981, 21-23 August, pp 1-2.
16. The patriotic feelings of simple believers find support from international religious circles and organizations. Twenty-four well-known theologians (from Brazil, Canada, the USA, Great Britain, France, Italy, West Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland) wrote an open letter, expressing solidarity with the "church" of the poor in Nicaragua. "We are proud to be your contemporaries," they write. In the letter they express delight that the Nicaraguans have thrown off the chains of poverty and acquired living conditions worthy of human beings, despite the unceasing interference of the U.S. government. LATINAMERICA PRESS, 30 July, 1983, p 7.
17. JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, New York, 1982/1983, Vol 76, No 2, p 220.
18. LATINAMERICA PRESS, 1983, 17 Nov. p 6.
19. LADOC, 1983, Vol 14, No 1, pp 41, 44.
20. Archbishop Romero, the former head of the Catholic church of El Salvador considered popular resistance the only real force capable of opposing the escalation of bloody government repression. He declared that solidarity with the poor is an expression of true religious feeling and he wished to see the church standing "shoulder to shoulder with the poor of El Salvador." "Those who are drawn into the process of liberation in our country," he said, "can be confident that the church will remain with them." He expressed his position unambiguously: "Christians who belong to the church grassroot societies... the church calls you to achieve a goal which would be politically effective. Christians! In this difficult hour our country needs morally honest liberators and genuine social liberation." "Revolution in Central America." Colorado, 1983, p 354.
21. LATINAMERICA PRESS, 3 March 1983, pp 3-4.
22. AMANECER. Managua, 1982, No 14, pp 10-11.
23. "Puebla and Beyond. Documentation and Commentary," New York, 1979, pp 135-136.
24. Ibid., p 161.

25. P.Bigo and F. Bastos de Aliva, *Fe crista e compromisso Social*,
Sao Paulo, 1983, p 433.

26. AMANECER, 1982, No 14, pp 10-11.

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INTERNATIONAL

WORK OF JOURNAL LATINSKAYA AMERIKA REVIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 84 pp 79-80

[Unsigned Article: "In the Social Sciences Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium]

[Text] The Social Sciences Section of the Academy of Sciences Presidium discussed the work of the journal LATINSKAYA AMERIKA (LATIN AMERICA) at its session of 7 June 1984.

The journal's editor-in-chief, S.A. Mikoyan, presented a report. I.R. Grigulevich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, presented a supplementary report.

The following people took part in the discussion: A.D. Yegorov, academician and secretary of the Department of Philosophy and Law; Academician A.M. Rumyantsev (Department of History); Academician A.M. Samsonov (Department of History); Candidate of Historical Sciences S.I. Semenov (Institute of Social sciences); Professor V.V. Vol'skiy, director of the Institute of Latin America of the USSR Academy of Sciences, member of the editorial board of LATINSKAYA AMERIKA and doctor of economic sciences; Candidate of Historical Sciences E.E. Litavrina (Moscow State University); N.S. Leonov and M.F. Kudachkin, doctors of historical sciences and members of the editorial board of LATINSKAYA AMERIKA.

Academician P.N. Fedoseyev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences summed up the results of the discussion.

The decree adopted by the Social Sciences Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium notes that during its 15 years of existence the journal has completed useful work in developing Soviet-Latin American studies and in publicizing the achievements in that field. The journal treats various aspects of the social life of the Latin American countries, carefully studies the activities of the fraternal parties, and devotes a great deal of attention to analyzing the class struggle and the liberation movement. A substantial amount of space is taken up with the

important subject of the history and present state of the Soviet Union's multi-faceted links with the states in this region. The journal treats in a thematic manner subject matter related to the significance of the Cuban revolution and the experience of building socialism in Cuba.

As it is comprehensive in nature, the journal carries out certain coordination functions, holds discussions regularly, and publishes materials from "round tables" held on current problems.

The journal devotes significant attention to exposing bourgeois and revisionist concepts, and it makes its contribution to the struggle against the aggressive policy of the USA.

During its existence the journal has come to occupy a worthy place in Soviet Latin American studies; it has played a positive role in training personnel and in strengthening cooperation among Soviet and foreign scholars. The Russian edition is disseminated in 35 countries, the Spanish edition in 49.

At the same time, as the decree notes, there are certain inadequacies in the journal's work. Few articles are published on basic economic problems, on the agrarian-peasant question, on the forms and methods of exploitation of the working people, on the dynamics of unemployment or on the development of the youth movement. A number of articles have been superficial. The members of the editorial board must think about ways to achieve more profound theoretical generalizations of the "round tables."

With the exacerbation of the ideological struggle and the significant deterioration of the international situation, Soviet scholars in the area of Latin American studies are facing complex new tasks involved in the more intensive study of present-day phenomena and the processes of socio-economic and political development in Latin America. This significantly increases the role and responsibility of LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, as it does for other periodicals published by the USSR Academy of Sciences.

On the whole the Social Sciences Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium approves of the work of LATINSKAYA AMERIKA.

The treatment of the fundamental problems of Latin America's social development has been defined by the USSR Academy of Sciences as LATINSKAYA AMERIKA'S main task for the purposes of further developing Soviet Latin American studies, for improving the work of the USSR Academy of Sciences' journal LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, for increasing the effectiveness of scientific research on problems of Latin America, for strengthening the links between science and practice and for further mobilizing all Latin American scholars to fulfill the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the June and December (1983), February and April (1984) plenums.

The Section required the journal to ensure that there is theoretical generalization of the experience of the class struggle and the liberation movement, as well as of the role and place of the region's countries in present-day international relations; it must also treat problems of the alliance with the Latin American states and expose the aggressive course of the USA in this region.

The decree sets out other measures which will help to improve the journal's work and to raise its ideological-political level.

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INTERNATIONAL

LATIN AMERICAN PARLIAMENT'S SHIFT TO ANTI-IMPERIALISM SEEN

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 84 pp 121-127

[Article by V.B. Tarasov: "Twenty Years of the Latin American Parliament"]

[Excerpts] Twenty years ago, in December 1964, representatives of the parliaments (congresses) of 15 Latin American countries established in Lima a new organ of Latin American integration--the Latin American Parliament (PLA). Its formation became possible as a result of the situation which developed on the American continent during that period. With the deepening crisis of the "inter-American system" there was a strengthening of the tendency toward the political unification of the Latin American bourgeoisie on positions of so-called continental nationalism.

The activities of the Latin American Parliament, which has brought together deputies from countries which were politically and economically very heterogeneous, were originally based on continental nationalism. This ideological platform has two parts: it reflects not only the "defensive" tendencies of the national bourgeoisie, which strives by means of integration to oppose the expansion of the imperialist powers, but it also attempts by collective efforts to subordinate to its own interests the revolutionary potential of the peoples in the countries of this region; to distract the masses with appeals to the "unity of the Latin American nation."

This aspect of continental nationalism was skillfully utilized by ruling circles and by major monopoly capital in the West. It is not surprising that despite the friction between the Latin American bourgeoisie and the U.S. monopolists, the PLA for a long time received Washington's support in suppressing the national-liberation movement. The reactionary line in PLA policy was clearly manifested in the first years of its existence. With regard to socialist Cuba in particular, the Latin American Parliament was guided by the principle of the "incompatibility of social regimes" in its attempts to prevent Cuba from being included in the integration process. A majority of the parliamentarians, who

represented the bourgeois parties, openly condemned the revolutionary movements in the countries of this region, as well as any contacts with those peoples fighting against colonialism and neocolonialism in dependent territories and in the liberated states of other continents. At the second PLA session in 1967, a majority voted to pass a resolution which contained sharp attacks against the Latin American Organization of Solidarity, which was created by leftist forces, the resolution also accused Cuba of "aggressiveness" toward certain countries in the region.

However, the irreversible processes taking place in the world arena could not fail to be reflected in the positions and policies of the Latin American Parliament. The increase in the might of the countries in the socialist alliance, the consolidation of Cuba's position, the growth in the prestige of the non-aligned movement, as well as the increase in economic exploitation by the developed capitalist countries provided an impetus for anti-imperialist tendencies in continental nationalism. The PLA expressed solidarity with the anticolonial struggle of the peoples in the dependent territories of the Western hemisphere by adopting a resolution demanding the immediate elimination of the remnants of colonialism in this part of the world. In the speeches of Latin American parliamentarians calls for "ideological pluralism" began to be heard with increasing frequency. In this regard, the change in the attitude toward Cuba is revealing, as is the inclusion (before the military coups in Uruguay and Chile) of Uruguayan and Chilean communist deputies in the work of the parliament.

The new tendencies in PLA policy became particularly noticeable from the moment that the above mentioned First Continental Political Assembly was held. The assembly participants expressed themselves in favor of the final elimination of colonialism in Latin America and against pro-imperialist dictatorial regimes; they also expressed support for the revolutionary forces fighting to overthrow those regimes. Before this the Latin American Parliament had rejected dictatorship as a form of rule only to the extent that the putches of the rightists had resulted in the dispersion of the congresses represented in it. Having condemned the military coups in Chile and Argentina, the PLA for a long time recognized the mandates of the Popular Unity (Chile) deputies and the Argentinian congressmen.

The assembly gathered at the moment of a decisive encounter between the Sandinistas and the pro-American dictatorial regime of Somoza in Nicaragua. Immediately prior to this forum the PLA at its 9th session finally came out on the side of the Sandinista Front of National Liberation, depriving the delegation from the Somozist Parliament of its deputy mandates. The assembly's final document condemned not only the Somoza regime but the anti-people

regimes in Chile and Uruguay, as "prompting the constant destabilization of Latin America."¹⁰

When Washington came up against the lack of desire on the part of the Latin American Parliament and other regional integration organs to continue fulfilling the role of accomplice to American imperialism in the suppression of the liberation and the revolutionary movement in the Western hemisphere, it counted on reactionary factions, especially those in the Caribbean and Central America. For example, the USA utilized the integration mechanism of the English-speaking Caribbean countries, which adhere to a pro-imperialist foreign policy, the USA overthrew the legitimate government on Grenada under the pretext of satisfying their request for intervention. In a similar manner, Washington is galvanizing the military integration of the Central American countries while it plans to repeat the "Grenadian lesson" for Nicaragua.

The attempts by the United States to utilize subregional economic and political factions in its hegemonistic interests have encountered opposition from the Latin American parliamentarians. In November 1983 there was a session of the PLA Political Committee at which representatives from Cuba and Nicaragua were present for the first time as observers. A communique was published on the basis of the session's results: it condemned the neocolonialist policy of NATO in the South Atlantic, U.S. intervention against Grenada and the aggressive Central American policy of the Regan administration.¹¹

In January 1984 a PLA mission arrived in Nicaragua; it was headed by the Ecuadoran Senator M. Proano Maya, who stated to D. Ortega, the coordinator of the Leading Council of Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction, the Latin American Parliament's support for the Nicaraguan revolution and the proposals of the "Contadora group" to strengthen the situation in this subregion. In this regard he emphasized that the path of militarization, down which Washington is pushing the Central American countries, "can lead to uncontrollable conflicts not only in Central America but also in all of Latin America and even throughout the world."¹²

The consolidation of Latin American integration undermines the foundations of the "inter-American system"; for this reason the activities of the Latin American Parliament increasingly irritate the right wing of American congressmen and official Washington. And from the other side, the PLA delegates are expressing increased opposition to United States expansionism. As long ago as the founding session, a majority of the delegations came out against participation by U.S. congressmen in the work of this inter-parliamentary organ. On the eve of the session's opening, U.S. congressmen, having acquired observer status for themselves, tried to reserve a special place in the hall, where they raised

the American flag. However, at the request of the parliamentarians, Washington's emissaries were refused privileges.¹³

The "inter-American system" cherished by the United States is becoming less and less effective as a result of decisions which are being carried out under the influence of the Latin American majority. The formation of the special regional and subregional zones such as the economic, nuclear-free and 200-mile marine zones, etc. is an important step on the road to the elimination of this system, which was set up to serve American imperialism.

It is no accident that in response to the introduction of the 200-mile marine zones by the Latin American the U.S. Congress passed the so-called Hicamluper amendment, which declared that states which detain and fine American fishing vessels engaged in illegal fishing in their territorial waters will be deprived of "aid." In 1979 threats on the use of weapons in such cases issued from Washington. Individual countries in the region as well as KOPEP (Standing Committee of the South Pacific) protested the U.S. dictate. In this regard M. Istmen, the PLA chairman, stated in this regard that "the USA is trying in vain to return to stages of Latin American integration which have already passed."¹⁴ The Latin American Parliament attaches great significance to the problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and for this reason it insists that the United States respect the status of the nuclear-free zone in this region.

Thus by the early 80's, the Latin American countries achieved within the framework of the "inter-American system" a definite independence in the resolution of the most important foreign and domestic policy problems thanks to the activities of the PLA and other integration organs.

The armed conflict between Great Britain and Argentina, during which the United States refused to meet its obligations according to the Rio de Janeiro treaty, convinced the ruling circles of the continent's states of the ineffectiveness of the "inter-American system" and consequently of the need to replace it with an effective mechanism of regional integration. It is important to note that at a special assembly the PLA supported Argentina's just demands and accused Great Britain--with the support of the United States and their NATO partners--of violating the status of the nuclear-free, 200-mile and other special zones.

After the armed incursion of the United States on Grenada, a statement was issued at a session of the PLA Political Commission in Quito (November 1983) which said that the "Organization of American States" had ceased to be a guarantor of the peaceful coexistence of the states in the Western hemisphere and that the Latin American peoples could no longer expect that it would protect national sovereignty, respect human rights or promote

genuine development based on social justice." And in this connection a final conclusion was drawn on the need to replace the "inter-American system" with a regional association.¹⁵

FOOTNOTES

1. COMERCIO EXTERIOR, Mexico, No 12, 1964, p 876.
 2. DOCUMENTACION IBEROAMERICANA, Madrid, 1965, No 1929.
 3. The PCA (Central American Parliament) was established in 1962. In addition to the other countries of the subregion it includes Panama, which until now has abstained from participating in Central American integration organs. The PCA makes decisions on a subregional level, after which it puts them forward for consideration at a session of the Latin American Parliament. As a result of the political crisis in Central America, the activities of the PCA have been virtually halted since the early 80's.
- The PA (Parliament of the Andes) was established within the framework of the Andes Pact in 1979 and in 1981 it began to carry out the functions entrusted to it. At PA session various questions are considered in relation to the political, economic, cultural and other aspects of Andes integration.
4. PRENSA, Lima 19 July 1965.
 5. PRENSA, 10 November 1969.
 6. See: "V--Asamblea del Parlamento Latinoamericano," Caracas. 1972.
 7. TERCERA HORA, Buenos Aires, 4 November 1966.
 8. TIEMPO, Bogota, 19 April 1979.
 9. CLARIN, Buenos Aires, 3 April 1967.
 10. TIEMPO, 19 April 1979.
 11. GRANMA, La Habana, 19 November 1983.
 12. BARRICADA, Managua, 19 January 1984.
 13. CRONICA, Lima, 17 July 1965.
 14. COMERCIO, Lima, 18 August 1979.
 15. GRANMA, 26 November 1983.

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CSO: 1807/144

INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

NUCLEAR-FREE BALTIC URGED--Tallinn, 18 February, TASS--"New possibilities for building up confidence and security not only in Europe, but also in the whole world would open, if the Baltic Sea is given a nuclear-free status, a TASS correspondent has been told today by Karl Rebane, president of the National Academy of Sciences of Estonia, a Soviet Baltic Republic. [No end quotes as received] Such a step, the scientist said, would lend a fresh impetus to international cooperation in the sphere of exploration and protection of the environment and live resources of the sea. Meanwhile he noted that nuclear weapons, even if they are used in local conflicts, could entail irreversible global consequences. It is necessary that the quest for ways of building up confidence should be reaffirmed by governments' concrete actions. The well-known Soviet physicist denounced the U.S. intention to put laser weapons into outer space. Placement of weapons in outer space increases, owing to technical errors, the probability of a nuclear catastrophe, said Karl Rebane. ["For Nuclear-Free North, for Nuclear-Free Baltic Sea"--TASS headline] [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 2014 GMT 18 Feb 85 LD]

CSO: 1812/185

NATIONAL

TADZHIK EDITOR DISCUSSES PUBLICATION OF LETTERS IN PRESS

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 11, Nov 84 (signed to press 10 Oct 84) pp 6-9

[Article by Boris Pshenichnyy, editor of KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA: "You Won't Publish This..."; words in all capitals rendered in boldface in text]

[Text] I'm reading a letter in PRAVDA from a driver. Where it came from we don't know, and it's signed with the author's initials. Right away one asks: Why? In principle there is nothing unusual here; that's the way it's been done, and is done. There was a time when they'd put any signature you want under materials in the newspaper; and less often the author's full and true name. That's not the usual way at present though--especially for commentaries and rejoinders. There is, of course, a reason. And nonetheless... But in the case at hand the anonymity of publication in PRAVDA is not only justified--it's necessary! If you'd print the actual address, the author would not be able to avoid unpleasantness; and it's not out of the question that it would occur to someone to start an investigation, and to bring criminal charges against the driver. After all, he admits to matters for which, quite frankly, he could be prosecuted--for padding his account, for speculation in government fuel. And he wouldn't be saved by the fact that he's not the only one who does it--many others are doing the same thing; the situation in motor transport is such that one unwillingly resorts to deception.

One can imagine what this revelation cost the driver. And he himself has pointed out, that he had doubts over whether to send the letter or not. And later comes the startling admission: "I know for a fact that you won't publish it".

It's a rare case, I think; one out of many hundreds and even thousands of letters. In a way it is paradoxical: the man is certain that it won't be published, but he writes anyway. But it's just letters such as this that are always read--first by the editors, and later by the public. They find their way into the pages of the newspaper!

You can't define their genre right away. It's not a complaint, not a signal, not a request for help. You don't put it under "A Reader Suggests" or "Opinion and Statements". In the epistolary sea which washes over the editors one encounters letters of revelation and letters of confession. But the personal, the confidential, and entanglement by the whims of fate and its vicissitudes predominates. And here, if the author is talking about himself as well, then it's as a citizen, a man filled with concern for the cause of society, the state, and the country.

The word "citizen" most accurately and completely defines the starting point of the author and his mission. He's set about passing judgement on things which are socially significant, which have a direct relationship to the life of society. And in this capacity he is ready to forego his personal interests and sacrifice them, as did that driver who spoke out in PRAVDA. In the context of the letter that's the way it comes out: I'm a citizen and therefore I cannot be silent.

I try to picture the rubric "A Letter from a Citizen" or "A Citizen's Letter" on the news column. No. It doesn't fit. It seems strange, pretentious. It brings up an internal contradiction: does that mean that the other letters don't contain any good citizenship, and that the other authors are not citizens?

I'll abandon the conceit of the definition of the genre. In the final analysis it's not a matter of a name. There's not much on this earth for which we haven't found a name, that we haven't managed to christen. But the fact itself is indisputable: letters are coming in to the editors which are very similar to one another and yet so different from the others. Even as individual letters, in their individuality they stand out against the multicolored background of the editors' mail, as trees on a smooth, grassy meadow. It's even hard to call them a faceless multitude, these letters. The significance of their statements is in the air, like the incandescence of a public speech.

The letter from the driver published anonymously in PRAVDA reminds me of one such statement. It's really a detective story after all, and it's worthwhile describing it in detail.

Early last year our editors decided to hold a workers' meeting on the pages of our newspaper, under the theme: "Discipline - Our Law of Honor". It's not necessary to explain its purpose to a journalist. The Central Committee Plenum was held in November 1982, after which a movement spread throughout the country for establishing order in production and in everyday life. One could not point to another such event in social life in recent years which has caused such widespread discussion interest, except perhaps school reform.

And so at the very peak of the general public discussion, the editors had invited the readers to speak out under the auspices of a workers' meeting by correspondence. We had strong doubts: Was the form of discussion chosen properly--there were meetings going on all over, and here we are with our own? And in general, would anyone want to take advantage of our proposition if everyone can speak out at his own place in the collective; when a lot has already been discussed over and over with one's colleagues, in the family, on busses and streetcars, during rest periods and smoke breaks, over a cup of tea or a mug of beer?

Our doubts were subsequently dispelled. Not only was the form found to be opportune, but those who wished to speak out were found as well. And it's nevertheless a curious phenomenon, that people yearn to continue in the press the same discussion they are holding among themselves at work or at

home. But we couldn't predict what would happen, and in order to insure ourselves against failure, we began to ponder over where we would find someone to speak out, at least during the initial period. As an added incentive, we decided to introduce the authors with a brief personal sketch and a photograph.

At any rate we needed a pioneer. Who will open the meeting? Of course we could get around it by an invitation from the editors: Let's have a talk; let's debate; we invite you to write; and so on. But such appeals in and of themselves ordinarily result in rather sparse mail. It's as if when you light a match, you don't know whether the firewood will burn or not. But if you give the reader a bonfire right away, then perhaps he'll throw some of his own wood on it.

The statement by a deisel-electric locomotive operator was such a bonfire: he was, it seemed to us, a person suited in every way to be a pioneer. And it was not only a matter of his prestige as a worker. He had something to say. But why did the editors focus on this particular individual? Our correspondent, in calling around to various enterprises, found out that a certain person had delivered some interesting opinions at a meeting in the locomotive shop. We met with him, had a talk, and proposed that he begin the conversation in the newspaper...

It was proposed that the discussion be held not on discipline in general, but primarily on a moral plane, on its moral and ethical content. The direction was noted in the theme itself: "Discipline - Our Law of Honor". Subsequent events proved that we did not err here. Judging by the comments, readers are indifferent to arguments of the type: a day of shirking means so and so much production not delivered. There is a much stronger effect, when one succeeds in pointing out that this shirker is a parasite on someone else's labor; he's disorganizing other people's work and is at the same time encroaching upon their wages, and on their good name.

But until the responses started to come in, the editors felt quite a bit of stress for several days. One statement was published, then another and another--and then not a single letter. We didn't know what to think. The materials on the meeting were in the most prominent spot of the issue--you open the paper, and it hits you right in the eye; but the readers are silent. Was it really a flop? At the same time we knew by word of mouth that the materials were being read, they were being discussed, and the newspaper's undertaking was given approval. It turns out that it's one matter to find a reader, and another to get him to take up his pen.

And then it came--the letter we were waiting for. In the middle of the meadow a tree grew up.

At present, as I recall the reversal of fortune of that meeting, I can say that this was just what we were lacking. In all the preceding statements, opinions were expressed which were true and all too true. For someone, perhaps, this was news, this was interesting; but it wasn't controversial: you'd read it and you'd have to agree. There wasn't anything to argue about; no one to object to. For our fanciful idea of a meeting by

correspondence a new beginning was needed: something problematic; something urgent; something to provide a basis for discussion. And then it showed up in the mail hopper.

The most interesting thing is that, having read the letter, the editors straight off decided, as a group, not to publish it! It's too subjective, too sharp and, too much in general. As if anticipating such a reaction, the author added a footnote to his voluminous epistle: "Most likely before it's published this article will be discussed at the party gorkom and with our administrators. I am willing to meet with them to explain whatever questions might not be understood".

It was a poignant situation. If we don't print it, then what should we say to the author in reply? After all, he didn't thrust himself upon us; the editors invited him to speak out. The contents, or the tone are unsuitable? Well, we didn't say anywhere on what and how one should write to the paper. And besides--it's a meeting; moreover, one without rules: tell us what's bothering you; if anyone disagrees--go right ahead, state your objection, and argue it.

One can, of course, condense a letter; one can thoroughly edit or--whatever is simpler--quote a selection of remarks from it, and use them in summary. But the farseeing author anticipated this as well. "I request", he insisted, "that you print my article without condensation; I've not written all that much here". But his "not all that much" amounted to seven full pages, almost without spaces, filled with his close, small handwriting--a quarter-page of newsprint!

The proposed conditions, as we see, were quite proper. Everything was well thought out, and stipulated. It was like a challenge. The very beginning was challenging: "A workers' meeting by correspondence was convened in your newspaper, where distinguished people are speaking out... I am not such a distinguished person, but I'd also like to express my suggestions for establishing order and strengthening labor discipline; that is, to speak the truth in front of the violators, no matter what their rank".

Not yet knowing the contents of the letter, from this introduction alone one can assume a great deal about the author. He maintains his dignity, he keeps his distance (YOUR newspaper); he singles himself out, and even sets himself apart from the other writers (they--are distinguished; he--is not); and he has his own opinion, which--and this is the main thing--gives him the right to speak (to tell the truth to their faces). And well, as far as the pregnant remark is concerned, "no matter what their rank", here it's altogether clear who he has in mind: precisely those who are above him in rank.

About himself, he reports: Urazayev, Nikolay Afanas'yevich; first class driver, Nurek subsidiary ATPO [possibly: Motor Transport Subdivision] of the "Tadzhikgidroenergostroy" [probably: Tadzhik SSR Hydroelectric Power Plant Construction] Trust. "I've been working at this branch for 20 years without a break..."

For journalists who live in or are visiting Tajikistan, such a sketch, at first glance a skimpy one, says a lot. Nurek is the pride of the republic, a place of pilgrimages for tourists. In this remote gorge, a unique hydro-electric power plant has been built; and next to it, several kilometers away, yet another is being built--the Baypazinskaya GES. Nurek is an interesting city in many respects. It was here that the "Workers' Relay Race" competition was born, which was in its time famous throughout the country. And so it means something to be a citizen of Nurek. And the author of the article is a citizen of Nurek and an old inhabitant at that, an experienced worker, a veteran of a famous construction project, and a participant in a new, large-scale construction project. And in his rejoinder, "I am not a distinguished person" there is more irony than verification of fact. He knows his own worth.

But what was the truth that Nikolay Afanas'yevich decided to speak through the newspaper? I'll try to retell it briefly, but whenever possible in his own words.

He recalls how a meeting took place at the motor pool, in which the administrators of the association took part. The conversation was one-sided, "all through the same gate", as if all the disciplined people were seated on the presidium, but in the hall--only the violators. But are administrators really not answerable for discipline? After all, loafers, drunkards, and shirkers are not born; they are raised and trained in the collective. How, let's say, can one not be a drunkard, when the boss drinks on the job?

Such is the basic premise and conclusion: If the administrators themselves were highly disciplined, the government would not have to resort to special measures in order to establish order. The existing laws are sufficient; if only they were carried out. Further on examples are given. Many loafers can be counted among the drivers. But if there is not a full workload, one stands idle against one's will. This suits some drivers very well: they come to work on time, they have something to drink, they sit out their required eight hours and then go home--and they get paid too.

And who is given an incentive, and for what? A certain (name withheld) is awarded the title "Outstanding Power Engineering Worker of the USSR", although he's fulfilled his annual plan by only 70 per cent. Another (name withheld) was elevated to the Honor Roll of the trust, and slyly winks from his portrait: "You see", he's saying, "I visited the sobering-up clinic, and look what an honor I've been given!"

Both with humor and with taunts, Urazayev lays it out, how and for what reason violations of all hues appear. Breaks are not provided for on the night shift, but the drivers take their breaks anyway, to have something to eat, or to take a rest; it turns out that they are forced to violate discipline. The roads are all broken up, there are no driveways, the repair service operates during the same hours as the vehicles, and the schedules are drawn up stupidly, or are not drawn up at all. Look for a load yourself, make your own repairs, get your own spare parts. And everybody thinks that if a driver wants to earn some money, he will have to figure things out for himself. No, Comrade Administrators, that's enough! Let everyone do what he's supposed to do.

Nikolay Afanas'yevich returns to his own circles: discipline must start with the administrators, with selecting them. And don't just look at their diploma, but promote people who are experienced, who are worthy--who have shown what they are worth in business, before giving them the position. It's time to put an end to the "trial and error" method--the national economy cannot permit such a luxury. And the collective is tired of changes in administrators: every three years there's a new chief of the association, every year a new branch chief, and every six months a new chief engineer.

Newspapermen are hard to astonish. Much of what the driver from Nurek is saying is familiar: we've heard it, we've read it; we've written it ourselves. But there was something in the letter that was new even for us, as journalists. We had no idea, for example, of what passes for duty at public posts of the state motor vehicle inspectorate. Urazayev has enlightened us: it happens that a driver picks up his trip ticket, parks his vehicle near the post and does his public duty, earning the extra three days of leave authorized for such duty, and at the end of the shift closes out his trip ticket as for a work day. This, sums up Nikolay Afanas'yevich, is going a bit too far, and smells slightly of doctoring the books.

Certain of his judgements are unexpected also. If a driver, he notes, violates traffic regulations, punishment inevitably follows. But for a violation of the labor laws the administrators, as a rule, bear no responsibility whatsoever. And here is an example illustrating the connection between traffic regulations and the Labor Law Code. A bus driver (name withheld) was continuously forced to work overtime (300 hours of overtime a month) [sic], and as a result of being overtired--he had an accident; the bus overturned with two dozen workers on board. The driver was held responsible. But those who drove him to work overtime--got nothing.

In order to more vividly present the tone and style of the letter--here's one more quotation: "I'd like to say something about our drivers. They are not demanding, and are afraid to complain too much about things; they are afraid they'll lose their licenses... If the chief of the association says at the meeting that the trade union is doing a poor job, no one's going to grab him, the boss, by the throat. It would be true, had he said it. But well, who's going to grab him by the throat; who wants to get involved?..."

Urazayev's statement appeared in the newspaper. We cut it down to acceptable dimensions, we cleaned it up and published it. The author didn't complain about the editing, and even thanked the editors.

I don't call letters such as this letter-events by chance. They are fraught with consequences. After them the eddies swirl for a long time, and at times a real storm rages. Following Urazayev's statement, the surf was high with letters to the editor in reaction. For the most part the writers agreed with him. It's as if he'd opened an invisible floodgate, and a stream of heretofore hidden moods, opinions and suggestions, gushed out onto the editors. In other words, he wasn't the only one who was hurting--he'd expressed what was bothering a lot of people. It became warm on the dias of the workers' correspondence meeting.

But events were unfolding not only in the newspaper columns.

A phone call from Nurek: "And do you know what sort of person this Urazayev is? He's not the person to whom you gave the floor".

In a couple of days the chief of the association arrived at the editor's; the same chief the driver mentioned frequently in his letter, and once more it was: "He does not," says he, "have the moral right to judge others; he's not a very reliable character himself". And before long a letter arrived from a group of drivers in defense of those whom Urazayev put in a bad light in his statement: "He, sir, wrongfully accused our comrades".

It was a bit embarrassing. The editors knew, it goes without saying, that Nikolay Afanas'yevich was no angel. We had a personal sketch on him, and the letter itself was not written with the hand of an angel. But we admit that we did not expect such a concerted rebuff.

And how do his opponents describe him? Exacting on the job; he takes the most profitable trips and tries to get out the unprofitable ones. He's been nominated many times to head up a brigade--he doesn't want it. At meetings he allows himself to hurl rejoinders from the floor. He doesn't take part in the social life of the collective...

Alas, the accusations are not that deep, but on the whole one gets the impression he's a rather gloomy type. One would not recommend such a person as a positive hero in an essay, although it's as if you look around but there's nowhere to turn. After all, we did not present him in the newspaper as an example to emulate, but simply as one taking part in the meeting.

According to the rules of the game the editors proposed that his opponents openly present their objections to Urazayev. The chief of ATPO took this mission upon himself. He wrote the driver a sort of open letter (with a copy to the editors), citing the above-listed complaints.

There nevertheless arose in the richly eventful life of the editors a situation in which a correspondence was going on between the administrator of a major industrial association and a driver who works at one of the branches of that same association. I'm focusing attention on this fact if only because in such situations an administrator gains (and proves) the ability to speak with a working man--the ability to HEAR, to UNDERSTAND the essentials, and to give a straight ANSWER.

Incidentally, the editors were interested in the fact that someone would, within the bounds of our meeting, take strong issue with Urazayev on a whole range of positions, including that of the main thesis of his bombastic statement, that the leadership was to blame for all the problems in the collective. Squaring off the "administration vs. collective" has its limits, and he clearly, and one would think hardly by accident, overstepped them. It's true, there are people of such disposition, and they should somehow be removed. But his opponent was not up to the task. It was not possible to publish his response.

It's not simply a matter of the fecklessness and vulnerability of the objections of the chief of the ATPO; he did not grasp the uniqueness of his new role (as an opponent), and continued to operate according to the rules

of the game which the driver termed "a game with only one goalpost". His answer boiled down basically to attacks on the driver (the driver himself and not the author of the statement). And the latter immediately took advantage of this. "Instead of rolling up your sleeves yourself", parried the driver, "and forcing your junior administrators to roll up their sleeves and start to jointly eliminate the shortcomings which I've cited in the paper, you've decided to whitewash yourselves and sling mud at me. Well, what the heck; I'll try to defend myself".

You have to give him his due--Nikolay Afanas'yevich defended himself brilliantly. An attorney couldn't have done it better--weightily and worthily, on all the complaints brought against him. He's literally been waiting for a long time for an opportunity to rebuff those people who do not want to understand him and who associate the sharpness of the judgements he's expressed with some sort of social inferiority.

He's a poor worker? Last year he fulfilled the plan by 128.8 per cent, and the plan for the 4th quarter by 140.5 per cent. In the 20 years he's worked for the branch, not once has he failed to complete a task, and has moreover fulfilled all five-year plans ahead of time. And no one has ever seen him intoxicated, not only at work but even in the city.

He's refused to head up a brigade? And what is criminal about that? Besides, he's already been a brigade leader a number of times and each time turned out to be "unsuitable". He'd no sooner start to show he's correct, and defend the interests of the brigade, and they'd lose their bonus.

He doesn't do social work? For many years in succession he was elected chairman of the comrade's court, and up to the present year he's been a people's assessor on the city court.

And so on, for every point--spicing the facts with biting commentary. As if in passing, he recalls that he's "outlived" nearly two dozen branch chiefs and that this, he says, is also heroism. Or: you don't have to loudly broadcast the words "social work". There are those who are numbered among the social workers, who forget about their basic constitutional duty--to work honestly and faithfully.

Urazayev concluded his rebuke with a request that the editors be the arbitrators in the dispute. However, there was no longer anyone to judge. His opponents became silent--there were no calls, no visits, and no letters.

I'll return to the day on which the postman brought the letter from the driver from Nurek. Why, after the first reading, did the editors decide that it should not be published? And the author himself anticipated this reaction, and suggested a preliminary meeting in order to explain, as he put it, the questions which were not understood. In essence he had the very same opinion as the driver who appeared in PRAVDA. Only that one was more categorical: "I know for a fact that you will not publish this". And what is this--lack of faith in the newspaper? Although a lack of faith exists when people write to the papers, they nevertheless write about things of primary significance; that is, they have confidence and they put their trust in the paper.

It's easier to ask questions than to answer them. But if there are no ready and indisputable answers, should one pretend that there are no questions either? The editor's mail is not an unknown quantity of letters which show up by chance; it contains a lot of rich social information. It may be hidden, it may be indirect, but that doesn't make it less important.

The nature of the mail is changing, and letter-events are appearing: dig deeper, seek the roots of the most dynamic layers of social life. Here, in the press, the echo responds to the call. And if the editors don't raise the barricade for them right away, it's from inertia and through inertia. We must nevertheless look closely at the new, at the unaccustomed, and understand what kind of tree is growing up in the familiar, smooth meadowland. "Unsuitable" brigade leaders are appearing in the working collectives, and the same kind of "unsuitable letters" are being sent to the editors. The readers change, the authors change--they have different demands on the press, and they ask different questions. Are we ready for this? Are we aware of this? Our chief correspondent still has doubts; therefore his letters are accompanied by the sacramental: "You won't publish this".

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NATIONAL

HISTORIAN LINKS SLAVOPHILES TO RUSSIAN LIBERALISM

Moscow MOLODAYA GVARDIYA in Russian No 10, Oct 84 pp 267-272

[Review by A. Kuz'min, doctor of historical sciences, of book "Slavyanofily v Obshchestvennoy Bor'be" [The Slavophiles in the Social Struggle] by Ye. A. Dudzinskaya, "Mysl'", Moscow, 1983]

[Text] Heated debates on ways to develop Russia flared up in Moscow salons at the end of the Thirties and the beginning of the Forties in the 19th century. All of the debaters proceeded from the fact that the despotic-peasant system should be eliminated, and everyone suggested that this should be done from above. The debaters soon broke up into two opposing groups, to one of which was attached the name of "Westernizers" during the disputes and to the other group -- the name "Slavophiles". Young noblemen, who were the most educated people of that time, were in both camps. Love for the homeland also permeated both groups although they did not understand the homeland itself and ways to serve it entirely the same.

As the debates moved from the salons to the pages of journals and as authors personally unacquainted with them were dragged into them, the controversy began to acquire more and more of an edge and was accompanied by an abundance of mutual accusations that were frequently quite unjustified. In the latest literature, these mutual accusations have often been transformed into concepts that are quite divorced from reality. The standard image of a Slavophile as a reactionary, an enemy of the West and an adherent of autocracy and even serfdom, began to take shape both in foreign and in our literature. On the other hand, attempts have been made from time to time to instill new life in Slavophilism reducing it to the level of ecstatic religious seeking and striving and identifying the Slavophile and Westernizer debate itself with the centuries-old split between the Western and Eastern Churches.

A great number of problems exist whose solution requires not only conscientiousness but also passion from researchers. The establishment of Slavophilism's place in the history of Russian social thought requires the "calming down" of the problem. It is difficult to find a question which suffers from such tendentiousness, prejudice, forgetfulness, and ignorance of well-known facts as the subject of Slavophilism. Its distorted interpretation does not permit either early liberalism or the revolutionary democrats to be understood and its distorted interpretation projects contemporary problems onto the past, while reinstating things which have long been obsolete.

Quite a bit has been said about Slavophilism. It has been said, however, most frequently of all in passing or concerning particular questions and that is why it is also unconvincing. The publication of Ye. A. Dudzinskaya's book "Slavyanofily v obshchestvennoy bor'be" [The Slavophiles in the Social Struggle] does not simply fill a gap. Her book paves the way for clearing up rather complicated and contradictory social phenomena in general.

The author sets a quiet "academic" tone in the short historiographical survey. In pointing out sharply contradictory evaluations, the author avoids polemics in each specific case. It is possible that some will not like this neutrality. When the question of the whole is raised, however, the argument about the parts loses its meaning. The contradictions only strengthen the conviction that the question should be examined as a whole using all material that pertains to the subject.

People often look for something exotic and mystical in Slavophilism. The book convincingly shows that it is a very unbroken -- to the extent that liberalism can be unbroken in general -- trend. The theory and practice of the Slavophiles rarely coincided. In following the seemingly most evident path, the author shows this by analyzing existing data. The Leninist evaluation of liberalism in its relationship to democracy provides a general perspective to her. The study of the Slavophiles' practical activity on their estates and subsequently in provincial committees and editorial commissions also permits their theoretical constructions to be understood without any special speculative efforts. Moreover, it is easier to make a connection with the age -- as well as for the researcher to penetrate into the age being studied -- through an analysis of practical activity.

Ye. A. Dudzinskaya's general conclusion is quite definite: We are faced with typical liberals. They are against serfdom, but they do not forget the interests of their class. They are for improving the condition of the peasants, but not in favor of achieving this at the expense of the landowners. They are in favor of reforms in the social and political areas, but this must be done from above -- by the government. The possible Razin and Pugachev movements scare them, and they scare the government with a similar alternative in case it rejects reforms. While fighting for the preservation of the commune, they idealize it as a ready-made production "association" and introduce very typical capitalist relationships into it through their practical activity. Thus, the senior Slavophile, A. Khomyakov, received 561 peasants and 29,700 rubles of debt as an inheritance in 1836. By the middle of the Fifties, there already were 1,475 souls on his estates and his farm was in good order. The farm's growth was achieved by technical and agricultural improvements but most of all by replacing corvée labor with hired labor by transferring the peasants to quitrent. The owner's activity of A. I. Koshelev, the richest of the Slavophiles, moved in the same direction. Perhaps, only I. Aksakov was able to move slightly further in criticizing serfdom since he had no peasants. He wrote in 1849: "I gave my word never to have serfs and peasants in general; no matter what they say, the tempting benefits of a landowner title upset the purity of opinions on peasants and prevent one from acting" (cf. N. I. Tsimbayev, "I. S. Aksakov v obshchestvennoy zhizni poreformennoy Rossii" [I. S. Aksakov in the Social Life of Reformed Russia], Moscow 1978, p 36.)

It should be pointed out, however, that liberalism's historical role in the mid-19th century or, let us say, at the beginning of the 20th century was far from being the same thing. Herzen's waverings between democracy and liberalism are also understandable. Many recognized the need for reforms. There existed, however, no real force capable of carrying out these reforms. The peasants were interested most of all in such reforms. As K. Marx pointed out regarding the French peasants, however, their -- the peasants' -- interests were identical but not common ones since "the identity of their interests does not create any community between them" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sochineniya" [Works], Vol 8, p 208). Even half a century later, the peasants were still not able to solve their own problems independently despite the selfless efforts of critically thinking persons. Not only the Slavophiles but also the Decembrists considered a civil war to be immoral since they saw no opportunity to direct the angry force of destruction into a constructive channel.

The place of liberals in the social life of the Forties and Fifties must be evaluated in comparison with the general attitude of the dominant class and the government. Even the timid reforms in the direction of emancipation, which were carried out by the Slavophiles on their estates, encountered suspicious watchfulness and the direct condemnation of the landowners advocating serfdom. Of course, it was only in the dust of the polemics that it was possible to attribute the same ideas and methods as those of the ruling clique to the Slavophiles. As Ye. A. Dudzinskaya shows, it was no accident that Herzen and Chernyshevskiy resolutely rose up against this type of identification.

The Slavophiles were very active in the provincial committees. They were the best prepared experts in economic and sociological respects. They were able to come forward with figures in their hands, proving to the landowners that what they were -- so to speak -- holding on to with the skin of their teeth was not at all advantageous for them. The land question was the main one. The majority of the landowners did not doubt that the land belonged to them. The Slavophiles showed that the peasants had the same right to the land. K. Aksakov was prepared to go further: They had more right to it. In the committees, the Slavophiles tried to reach a compromise which would in general correspond to their practice and theory. Everywhere, they were in the minority. Without their activity, however, the peasants would not have received what they did receive. What guided them is another matter -- liberals were, of course, liberals.

The work on editorial commissions was the height of the Slavophiles social activity. Their authority as specialists was highly regarded and they managed to carry out a number of propositions, overcoming the fierce opposition of the landowners advocating serfdom.

This is the content of Ye. A. Dudzinskaya's book in condensed form. The picture is clear and distinct. Before us are people who are candidly and confidently working for what they thought necessary at the time. Their personal honesty is beyond doubt. It is no accident that V. G. Belinskiy and

N. G. Chernyshevskiy, who argued with them, point out the "nobleness" of the founders of Slavophilism. Their class narrowmindedness -- the narrowmindedness of the nobility who were putting their farms on a bourgeois footing -- is also beyond doubt. Questions remain, however, for which answers are required (this is not obligatory, of course, for the author of this book). First of all there is the demarcation between the Westernizers and the Slavophiles. Both were liberals. Why then such bitterness in the controversy? The author convincingly shows that none of the Slavophiles was fundamentally an enemy of the West. What is more, many of their ideas even came from there. It is evident that the Slavophiles and the Westernizers differed in defining what should be taken from the West. The Westernizers' ideal lay in bourgeois individualism which uplifted a person according to their ideas. The Slavophiles criticized bourgeois individualism; the appearance of the proletariat, who were also paupers in their eyes, scared them and they expected much unpleasantness from them in the future. They eagerly made use of the ideas of Saint-Simon and Fourier and saw that Russia's advantage lay in the fact that history had given in the peasant commune the very associations which French utopian socialism was trying to produce by force of arms. They still did not realize that in the final analysis this was a modest form of accepting bourgeois development and a bourgeois world outlook although they began to be aware of this in time. By 1861, they agreed to preserve the commune only where it really existed.

The Slavophiles were correct in the debate with the Westernizers about the origin of the commune. It was this aspect of their thought that attracted Herzen and Chernyshevskiy to them and prompted democrats to place the Slavophiles above the Westernizer liberals. As Ye. A. Dudzinskaya reports, this circumstance also permits one to understand why Herzen broke with the liberal Westernizers even before reforms -- in 1858 -- and with the Slavophiles only six years later. In addition, the reasoning of the Slavophiles about nationality -- a reasoning which also sharply differentiated the Slavophiles from the Westernizers and which has probably been distorted most of all -- also commanded Herzen's respect.

The problem of the Slavophiles' political views is outlined only in very general terms in the book. These views, however, also gave occasion for a very arbitrary interpretation. In general, they are incomprehensible from the position of the historical juridical school. The Slavophiles rejected the very "external" state system, including a constitution, for which the liberal Westernizers were working. In utopian socialism just as in the peasant commune, the idea of self-government attracted them. They were almost indifferent to the organizational form of the "external" state.

K. Aksakov paid special attention to the problems of the political system. Other Slavophiles, however, shared the criticism of the police bureaucratic system. True, the criticism usually did not spread to the person of the autocrat. The cause of this was not in the Slavophiles' caution and monarchism as is frequently written. Generally speaking, K. Aksakov proceeded from the fact that the form of the state system supposedly did not interest the Slavs. Other Slavophiles justified the monarchy with the tsarist illusions of the peasants (that is why Yu. Samarin insisted on the emancipation manifesto,

which had essentially been written by him, being issued in the name of the tsar). The realization of the fact that the majority of the nobility was against reforms forced one to call upon higher authority in the hope that it would be able to counter the real rulers of Russia. Approximately the same idea guided many Decembrists and also Herzen at one time. It inevitably had to arise while the social forces, who desired reforms, remained in the minority.

Real reforms strengthened this illusion. Animosity toward the "German" bureaucracy, however, never left the Slavophiles. The arrest of Yu. Samarin and I. Aksakov in 1849 revealed the attitude of the government toward the Slavophiles. Nicholas I himself drew up the resolution on I. Aksakov's investigation, seeing in Slavophilism the "criminal idea" of uniting Slavs "regardless of their citizenship in neighboring and allied states" (cf. I. S. Svetsitskiy, "Survey of Carpathian Rus Dealings with Russia in the First Half of the 19th Century" in the book "Izvestiya otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti Akademii nauk" [Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences Russian Language and Literature Department], Vol 11, book 3, Saint Petersburg, 1906, p 325). The Slavophile "Moskovskiy sbornik" [Moscow Collection] was banned in 1853 again on instructions from Nicholas I as being hostile to the existing system. Even under the new conditions, I. Aksakov was outraged in a letter to M. F. Rayevskiy in 1859 at "how, generally speaking, Moscow hates and suspects Petersburg and at how the word 'nationality' arouses misgivings and fear there." Even 10 years later when criticizing constitutionalism, he discusses ways to limit the autocracy. He explains: "The action of the autocracy only stretches to the state: Here is its area (politically)... if the autocracy oversteps these limits and encroaches into the church and private areas and into the area of a person's personal conscience and personal freedom then it passes on to an abnormality and becomes a usurpation and a tyranny. This is what it has been in Russia since the time of Peter." When objecting to the adherence of constitutionalism, Aksakov adds: "Is a limitation desirable? Of course, it is desirable. We cannot wish to return to the times of Ivan the Terrible, Peter, Paul ... We cannot desire that serfdom state of Russian thought and words in which their censors kept and in which the Valuyevs and Timashevs are still keeping them. The whole question consists of limitation ways and means."

The idea of a moral influence on the autocracy grew out of the general idealistic ideas of the Slavophiles. Their critique from the positions of the juridical school, however, was convincing only at first glance. Moral influence is really stronger than juridical. Only where should it be taken from? As idealists, the Slavophiles did not understand the nature of the moral factor and did not even understand the essence of the self-government to which they were appealing. They did not understand that the desired morality, generally speaking, could not grow within the framework of the social and economic system which they themselves were affirming with all of their activity. Perhaps, one can see the utopianism of their views in this. The ideas of the adherents of the juridical school corresponded to the rapidly developing bourgeois relationships. As follows from N. Tsimbayev's book, the "socialist" enthusiasms of the Slavophiles, in particular those of I. Aksakov and Koshelev, were too shallow even for utopian socialism. The

question: "Why did socialism arise on anti-religious and materialist soil?" occupied I. Aksakov both at the beginning and at the end of his public activity. In admitting socialism in the form of early Christian brotherhoods, the Slavophiles decisively rose up against the real socialist movement which could only lead to a new social morality.

Ye. A. Dudzinskaya's book belongs to the best scientific achievements that do not cover but reveal the problem. It is as if it provides a reliable fulcrum for a diversified study of not only Slavophilism but also the entire liberal social thought of Russia in the mid-19th century, and it permits the connection and place of liberalism in the development of the liberation movement from the Decembrists to the revolutionary democrats to be understood.

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REGIONAL

ZAYKOV ADDRESSES LENINGRAD KOMSOMOL CONFERENCE

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 85 pp 1-2

[Speech by L. N. Zaykov, first secretary of the CPSU Leningrad Obkom, during the Komsomol Leningrad Oblast organization meeting to hear reports and elect officials on 5 January]

[Excerpts] The delegates to the 28th Conference To Hear Reports and Elect Officials of the Leningrad Oblast Komsomol Organization expressed in the name of their peers the selfless desire of young Leningraders to live, work and study in a Leninist manner and to be the party's militant helper always. It was held yesterday in the Leningrad Youth Palace.

Problems connected with improving the Komsomol's style of organizational work were examined during the conference from positions of high exactingness. It was pointed out during the conference that the Komsomol aktiv must master the art of working with people and the ability to be convincing and to lead. The delegates talked about the fact that Komsomol organizations do not always effectively use existing capabilities for influencing young people, are trying to solve new tasks using old hackneyed methods and systems, and are insufficiently summarizing and disseminating the experience of progressive Komsomol collectives.

The delegates to the conference gave assurances that the Komsomol members and the youth of Leningrad and the oblast would exert every effort to carry out successfully the tasks that have been posed by the CPSU Central Committee and K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to the Komsomol and that they would greet the 27th party congress in a fitting manner.

The following persons participated in the debates: V. V. Zaytsev, first secretary of the Komsomol Leningrad gorkom; N. I. Dobrinov, first secretary of the Komsomol Gatchina Gorkom; A. N. Lebedev, ship-fitter in the Baltic plant; T. A. Borunova, a spinner in the Spinning Combine imeni S. M. Kirov; V. V. Sinel'nikov, Komsomol committee secretary in the Fosforit Book Sepia Association; S. A. Tsynlyayev, junior scientific associate in the State Optical Institute imeni S. I. Vavilov; A. I. Denishchits, director of the Udarnik Sovkhoz in the Syaglitsy Association; O. D. Gurtov, first secretary of the Komsomol Kirovskiy raykom; Marina Zhukova, a student in Secondary

School No 404 in the city of Leningrad; G. G. Makarov, a student in the Institute for Rail Transport Engineers imeni Academician V. N. Obraztsov; A. P. Yefimov, an installer in the administration for building structures to protect Leningrad from floods; V. M. Mishin, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; Yu. V. Mol'kov, assistant for Komsomol work to the chief of the Political Directorate of the Order of Lenin Leningrad Military District; and others.

L. N. Zaykov, first secretary of the CPSU Leningrad Obkom, spoke during the conference. He said:

Dear Comrades!

First of all, permit me in the name of the Leningrad party organization and in the name of your senior communist comrades to greet you fervently and heartily and to wish a great deal of success in work and studies during the new -- 1985 -- year to the conference delegates and guests and through you to all Komsomol members in the city and oblast!

A great deal of trust has been shown to you -- to represent here the 800,000 - strong detachment of Leningrad Komsomol members. It is possible to say with complete justification that in this hall there are the best of the best young men and women who, just as millions of their Soviet peers, wear the red badge of a Komsomol member with its depiction of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin with pride on their chests.

Quite a few striking cases of selfless labor, high activity and initiative by youth have already been cited today. The names of those, to whom one must be equal and from whom one must take an example, have been mentioned.

The epopee of the building of the Baykal-Amur Mainline, where envoys from Leningrad are working shouldertoshoulder with representatives from all of the republics, has really become a mass exploit of the young builders. Leningrad young men and women are indeed working creatively and inspiredly at building the Urengoy-Uzhgorod Gas Pipeline, reconstructing the flagship of the Izhorskiy Zavod Nuclear Power Association, and building the complex of structures to protect Leningrad from flooding; and they are transforming our native non-chernozem land.

And really, are the results, which have been achieved by student construction detachments, and the work results of pupils in Komsomol youth camps not worthy of praise?

The competition under the slogan "The entire growth in production volume -- through technical progress, maximum loading of the equipment and savings in resources" has become the main point for applying the strength of the young workers in the Elektromekhanicheskiy Zavod Association. The fact that this enterprise has fulfilled the five-year plan quotas for the rates of growth in production and labor productivity ahead of time for four years, is due to the great services of the Komsomol members and the youth. It is no accident

that the Gatchina city organization is in good repute. More than 500 young men and women and 12 Komsomol youth collectives in the rayon completed their personal five-year tasks on the eve of the conference.

I cannot fail to point out the contribution of the Komsomol's members and the organizing role of the Komsomol obkom in achieving the highest indicator in the oblast during recent years in the laying-in of fodder -- almost 21 quintals of fodder units for each head of cattle. A total of 96 youth fodder procurement detachments laid in a supply of more than 10,000 tons of hay and greenpulp using previously unused land. This is also the specific task of the Leningrad Komsomol.

In a word, comrades, the results of our work during the reporting period again and again convincingly testify that the party can confidently entrust the solution of the most complicated problems to the younger generation of the country of the soviets!

There is an outstanding feature of today's conference.

It is taking place under the sign of profoundly understanding those large-scale tasks which have been accurately and concretely formulated in the well-known decree of the party's Central Committee on improving party leadership of the Komsomol and on raising its role in the communist indoctrination of youth and in the speeches of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The fact that you are trying to concentrate your attention not for show but that you are evaluating results self-critically and -- I would say -- strictly and are consulting together about how to make the life of Komsomol organizations even more striking and interesting and how to unite your ranks even more strongly, is gratifying.

The Leninist precept -- study communism -- has been and remains the main slogan of youth who are faced with continuing the struggle of the older generation. Work always stands in the first place in this formula.

The scientific and technical revolution is now permeating all aspects of our society's life more and more. It is no accident that a great deal was said today, both in the report and in the speeches, about the participation of youth in the realization of the Intensification-90 Program which was worked out in Leningrad and approved by the party's Central Committee. This was correctly mentioned because this is truly a program which is extraordinary in its importance for Leningrad's economy and which is aimed at sharply increasing the work effectiveness of all labor collectives in the city and oblast.

The task of continually enriching and deepening our knowledge and of mastering the latest achievements of science and technology now faces us more sharply than ever before. In this connection, it is necessary to mention the

problem, which completely flows from the requirements of the secondary school reforms, among the main ones. We are talking about universal computerization in schools, professional technical schools, technical schools, and VUZ. As was reported in the press, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has approved a state-wide program for establishing and expanding the production and effective use of computer equipment and automated systems for the period out to the year 2000. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, which was adopted on this question, defined the main directions for a single technical policy, including the matter of training specialists of the appropriate type.

Today's pupils will live and work in the third millennium when computer equipment will have become a subject of primary necessity in all spheres of human activity. That is why it is necessary to do everything so that pupils in schools and professional technical schools will not only acquire a taste for working with computer equipment but also be able to use it to solve specific tasks in mathematics, physics, biology, chemistry, history, etc.

By the way, many pupils are participating eagerly and with interest in the work of the children's technical creativity circles. It is no accident that Leningrad's young lads received 54 medals in the Exhibition of the Achievements of the National Economy during this year alone.

The student design bureaus in many VUZ have not proven themselves badly. These collectives are providing concrete help to such very large enterprises as the Baltic Plant and the Kirovskiy Zavod, Svetlana and Krasnyy Treugol'nik associations. The fact that 89 author certificates were received by them during 1984 alone, testifies to the practical importance of the students' work. The student design bureau of the Mechanical Institute imeni D. F. Ustinov -- a four-time All-Union Review prizewinner -- has been the best one in the city for almost 10 years.

All of these are visible signs of the influence of scientific and technical progress. Nevertheless, the definite lowering in the prestige of engineer work cannot fail to alarm us. An analysis of admissions to the city's VUZ testifies that the competition for humanities educational institutions is constantly growing and reached more than five people per opening last year. At the same time, it has not even reached two applications for one opening in technical VUZ.

It seems that it would be correct if the Komsomol obkom together with the Main Administration for Public and Professional Technical Education and the Komsomol committees of technical VUZ examined the capabilities for a more rational appointment to the institutes of the base schools in each of the city's rayons and thought about organizational forms for involving engineer, technical and scientific workers from enterprises and organizations in the work on the pupils' vocational orientation.

You know that an important economic experiment is being conducted in a number of Leningrad's work collectives. It has as its goal an increase in the

effectiveness of the work of engineer and technical workers, the stimulating of the work of the most capable and talented designers and technologists, and -- at the same time -- the raising of the prestige of the engineering profession. The results of this experience are reassuring. However, one cannot fail to see something else; many VUZ graduates are afraid to go directly into production, preferring to work a little more quietly -- in a design bureau or laboratory.

Intensification is a very capacious concept. It is made up of many factors. There is the accurate organization of production, a strict rhythm and absolute observance of discipline. There is the economic expenditure of material and raw materials and a careful attitude toward equipment.

It is no accident that the socialist obligations of the Leningraders during this year have provided for working no less than two days using saved resources, fuel and electricity. Economists have already calculated the effect which the national economy will receive as a result of this.

Is it necessary to talk in particular about how important it is to teach youth a careful attitude toward national property? Yes, our country is very rich; however, in order to use this wealth economically and wisely, it is necessary to make a very strict accounting of everything that is expended for production needs and to save literally every nail, every potato tuber and every gram of grain. This means that it is necessary to instill patiently and constantly the feeling of a zealous master in the growing generation.

It often happens this way with us: At home, they often punish children for a broken cup but these same "educators" indifferently walk by broken materials and rusted equipment at work. The children of such people, who profess a worthless principle -- safeguard personal property, let state property spoil -- will grow up to be egoists who will divide everything into "mine" and "yours." Here is another area for you, comrade Komsomol members, to apply indoctrinational influence measures on youth who are entering life.

The intensification of the economy has been calculated for a long period. Today, our scientists are already engaged in developing the technical and economic foundations for the Intensification-95 program. Intensive methods for managing the economy have become an immutable rule for each branch of the national economy. They are authoritatively invading today not only industry but also the city's economy, each subdivision of the agro-industrial complex and the solution of the tasks that were outlined by the Food Program and the October 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The use of computers in the task of selecting and choosing crop rotations and in compiling rations for feeding cattle could, for example, become one of the directions in the work of young scientists and the Komsomol organizations of the Agricultural Institute and the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin Department for the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone -- and not only of these collectives but also of our leading associations of sovkhozes that have at their disposal every capability for shifting to solving

scientific and technical progress problems using electronic computers. We have diverse equipment for this, but the main thing is the motherland's outstanding people and patriots, the patriots of our land, our village, our rayon, and our oblast.

There are quite a few youth among them. During the conference today, I became acquainted with three Komsomol members from Volosovskiy Rayon. The name of one of them is well known to you. It is Aleksandr Puzanov -- a member of the Komsomol Central Committee, a member of the Komsomol Obkom buro and a repeated winner of all-union and international contests for experts in machine milking. The second one is Komsomol member Valeriy Mikhaylov also a milker. It is only the third year that he has worked on the farm, but he has achieved important results. He milks on the average 5,500 kilograms of milk a year from each cow in the group allotted to him!

Tat'yana Tabayeva, however, has the best indicators. Last year, she exceeded her pledge by 400 kilograms. Tat'yana now receives 15-16 kilograms milk every day from each cow. This is even more magnificent if I add that Tat'yana is the mother of three children, performs a great deal of public work and even manages to participate in amateur talent activities! Thank you, comrades, for your wonderful work.

In this hall, young talented researchers are sitting beside venerable scientists; recent graduates of professional technical schools and future aces in their work-- next to illustrious workers; and the heirs of the victory, those who today are standing guard over the peaceful labor of our people in a soldiers overcoat with a weapon in their hands and who are fulfilling their international duty in Afghanistan with genuine selflessness to the end -- next to Great Patriotic War veterans grey with age.

Let us warmly greet the party, Komsomol, war, and labor veterans who are among us -- all who transmit the glorious traditions of our socialist motherland from heart to heart and who are rearing the new generations of young men and women, who are entering life, by word and deed. Honor and glory to them!

Many kind and emotional words have already been spoken today addressed to our respected and dear Vasiliy Petrovich Vinogradov, a party member since 1915, a Hero of Socialist Labor and chairman of the veterans council of the CPSU obkom who is participating in the work of the conference. Vasiliy Petrovich will be 90 on 7 January. As before, however, he is with youth-- in a combat formation! We congratulate Vasiliy Petrovich from the bottom of our heart on his birthday, and we wish him good health and spirits.

The more complicated the tasks being solved by society become, the more complete and reliable must be their ideological support. Everything that makes up this process is well known to you. They were discussed in detail during the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. I would like to point out once again that the party is moving the task of forming the youth's Marxist-Leninist world outlook and of instilling high moral qualities in young men and women to the forefront in this work of the Komsomol.

We must raise up everyone for the struggle against existing negative phenomena. This means the mass involvement of juveniles in sports classes and technical and artistic creativity. It also means maximum attention toward youth hostels where there have still been few changes for the better and where the Komsomol has still not become the true master. It also means an increased influence on the content of work with different youth clubs and associations including the discotheques that are spreading today.

For all its complexity and many-sidedness, the indoctrinational process is rooted in the family. Many of the delegates are already parents, and others will become them in the near future. That is why, comrades, I would like to emphasize your Komsomol responsibility for educating children in the family. One should not hinder but include those collectives, where parents work, in the struggle against the defects in the rearing of children.

I would like to support the interesting search that is being conducted in this direction by the Komsomol SMENA newspaper. Many articles are evoking the reader's interest because they are written in a clear language and in a highly professional manner. Questions which disturb youth are being raised in them without unnecessary exhortational notes.

Of course, the successful solution of the above listed tasks will depend to a certain degree on the training level of the personnel who are working in the Komsomol. It is gratifying that their qualitative composition has recently been strengthened (the campaign to hear reports and elect officials once again has confirmed this). Interesting and authoritative leaders are coming to direct the organizations.

One cannot fail to see, however, that a certain part of the Komsomol leaders are continuing to be attracted by an office style of work; they spend their main efforts on meetings and the compiling of information and reports on all events in life. Others are simply afraid of going to youth and are not capable of attracting them by their personal example. There is little benefit from such people because you do not give a proper account of Komsomol work by filling out reports.

Today, there are almost 12,000 communists among the elected Komsomol aktiv of the city and the oblast; every third one heads a primary organization. This is an enormous detachment. We have a right to expect more active and selfless labor from it in increasing the militancy of Komsomol organizations. To infect youth with a great dream, as Vladimir Il'ich Lenin was able to do, so that the dream would inspire them to an exploit in the name of a bright future -- this is the main duty of young communists working in the Komsomol.

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko's article entitled "At the Level of the Requirements of Developed Socialism. Several Urgent Problems in the Theory, Strategy and Tactics of the CPSU", which was published in the 18th edition of the 1984 KOMMUNIST magazine, points out that "improving the work of each link in the political system is now a task of primary importance."

It is important to achieve a clearer demarcation between the functions of the councils, trade unions, the Komsomol, and other public organizations and their close interaction under the party's direction.

Konstantin Ustinovich points out: "Here, the distinctive law of economizing forces, which permits the greatest and most stable results to be achieved -- so to speak-- with the least expenditures, should also operate."

This statement should primarily and strictly guide all party bodies. We still have cases where the administration and party and trade union committees of enterprises forget, as they say, to include the Komsomol organization in solving the urgent tasks of the collective, including the working out of plans for economic and social development.

It is being asked how Komsomol members can master the system for managing, planning and organizing production in such cases. Is this not why many Komsomol workers have a poor knowledge of the enterprise's economy, not to mention such categories as cost, return on investment and cost accounting? It is necessary to adopt an inflexible rule: Not a single question, concerning the life of the labor collective or of the rayon in general, can be solved without the Komsomol's participation.

You will return to your collective the day after tomorrow. It is necessary to do everything so that as many of your work and school comrades as possible will know about those problems which you have discussed today and about those tasks which the party is entrusting to the Komsomol. Do everything possible and everything that depends on you so that there will not be a single indifferent individual next to you.

I understand that this is not a simple task. Naturally, it is easier to work with active lads who agitate for something in general. However, if each delegate-- and not only from the oblast but also from the city and rayon conferences -- assigns himself the goal of accustoming even one of the so-called "passive" Komsomol members to action and concern for their organization -- and not only assigns but also achieves this goal -- this means that thousands and thousands of new young builders of communism will struggle for great Lenin's cause in the army of young warriors.

Comrades!

You are summing up the results of the Komsomol's oblast committee's work and you are outlining new concrete tasks for a very critical stage in communist construction.

The elections to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and local councils of peoples deputies will soon be held. There are quite a few representatives of the Leninist Komsomol among the candidates for delegate. This is another witness to the party's and people's enormous trust in youth and its vanguard -- the Komsomol.

We will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism this spring. Every Soviet person considers it to be his sacred duty to greet the glorious anniversary in a fitting manner.

All communists and all of our people are now thinking about how to best prepare for the next party congress. The main and primary thing is to fulfill the 11th Five-Year Plan targets successfully and to take the high frontiers that have been outlined by the socialist obligations of the workers in Leningrad and the oblast for 1985.

The coming year of 1985 will be for the country's Komsomol the year of the World Youth and Student Festival in Moscow. This will be a review of the forces of the planet's youth in the struggle for their rights, for peace and for social progress. A great deal must be done by the young men and women of our city and oblast so that this holiday will take place successfully.

Permit me to express the firm conviction that the Leningrad Komsomol organization and all young Leningraders will always be faithful and reliable helpers of our Leninist party by multiplying the glorious revolutionary, military and work traditions of the Soviet people and that they will do everything to greet the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in a fitting manner.

8802

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REGIONAL

KGB STRESSES SOVIET DETERMINATION TO DEFEND FRONTIERS

Alma-Ata QAZAQSTAN KOMMUNISI in Kazakh No 5, May 84 pp 26-31

[Article by V. Donskov, chief of the USSR State Security Committee Red Banner Eastern Border Okrug Troops: "School of Patriotism and Heroism"]

[Text] Guarding state frontiers is an inseparable and important part of the defense of the socialist motherland. USSR State Security Committee Border Troops (KGB Border Troops) are playing a special in the carrying out of this function. These forces have, relying on the workers as part of the Soviet armed forces, positioned in the ranks of our nation's avant guard and equal to the warriors of the Soviet Army and Navy, protected in a vigilant manner, through a period that is now 66 years, the creative and peaceful work of our people and the sacred borders of our motherland and of the socialist bloc of friendship. Soviet border troops, established by V.I. Lenin and the offspring of the CP, came into being immediately after the Great October Socialist Revolution at a time when there was a real need growing out of Leninist conceptions with regard to the objective necessity of protecting the borders of the first regime of workers and farmers ever in the world and protecting the victories of the proletariat. This was because the overthrown class of oppressors was showing its furious opposition to the building of the new. Counter-revolutionary forces within our nation, with the aid of the international bourgeoisie, were continuing their open struggle against the Soviet Regime through secret mutinous acts. Anti-Soviet degenerates and emigre traitors were being drawn into such trouble making and provocation. Groups of trouble makers, parasites, mutineers and instigators formed by them began to infect rayons near the borders. Weapons, ammunition, clothing and financing for the counter-revolutionaries was being brought in secretly over the border. The spies of imperialist intelligence were being dispatched secretly against the young Soviet Regime. There was confusion as bourgeoisie degenerates, taking advantage of lax guarding of the frontiers, fled abroad in large numbers and took along with them valuable things considered national treasures.

The need to guarantee the safety and independence of the proletariat regime and its territorial integrity and the political, economic and military interests of the state called for establishment of special military forces to protect the boundaries of the young soviet Republic and prevent the various kinds of provocative and insinuating carried out by the enemy while interventionist forces were being repulsed on the fronts of the civil war. The border troops served

in protecting the victories of the revolution and in the construction of socialism in our country. Thus, on 28 May 1918, V.I. Lenin signed the decree of the RFSSR Soviet of People's Commissars entitled "On Establishing a Frontier Guard." Protection of the frontiers was to be carried out on a regular basis as state law. It was pointed out in this document that the unviolated strength of the frontiers was an important factor in guaranteeing the protection of the vital interests of the Soviet Regime. At the same time, this decree specified the duties and functions of the border troops. These Leninist rules were further developed in the USSR Constitution and in the Law "On USSR State Frontiers." Soviet border troops were mobilized based upon select units that arrived on the frontiers in the courses of their heroic campaigns, in accordance with the organizational principles of the Soviet Red Army of workers and farmers. Among these units were distinguished regiments that emerged from units commanded by such heroes of the Civil War as M.V. Frunze, N.A. Shchors, V.I. Chapayev and G.I. Kotovskiy. Troops on border service first operated in cooperation with the organs of state security and later became a component of state security forces. Thus, the border troops, were imbued with the same honorable characteristics of a high degree of military skill and reliability, heroism, resoluteness, supreme revolutionary vigilance and sacred honor as the militant ranks of the Red Army and the Chekists.

Frontier protection was brought into being in the same way within the territories of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan. As was the case in many other regions, the organization of forces to protect the frontiers came at the end of the Civil War and went forward hand and hand with the strengthening of the Soviet Government in the rayons involved and the tenacious struggle against basmashy and bay and kulakh bankits in the Pamirs and T'ien-shan, the Semiryechiye and mountainous Altay.

On 14 July 1920, it was suggested to the Revolutionary Military Council of the Labor and Defense Soviet that military units be dispatched quickly to guard the eastern sections of RFSSR state boundaries. For this reason, the Special Turkistan Border Guards Division was mobilized. In November of that year the division arrived on the frontiers and took into its charge the area between the Caspian Sea and the Altay Mountains. Some units of this division later formed the basis of the Eastern Border Okrug.

During the years of the Civil War, in spite of difficult conditions near the frontiers, and lack of equipment and experience, the border guards fulfilled the responsible tasks charged them by Leninist decree in a highly energetic manner. They struggled against spies, border violators and other hostile elements and at the same time protected the people of rayons near the frontiers from acts of provocation and strengthened revolutionary law and order along the borders. Border troops became, in the strictest sense, the heroic bastion and honored child of the Soviet people.

During both the period following the Civil War and during the era of peaceful socialist construction, the USSR state frontiers remained a center of struggle between the old and the new, of two conflicting worlds. The internal and external enemies of the state of workers and farmers were able to carry out all kinds of acts of provocation to prevent fundamental and major socio-economic

changes in our nation and delay in every way possible the Soviet struggle to establish socialism. During this same period protection of the frontiers assumed the greatest possible significance. In a 1922 letter to a Russian CP Central Committee plenum V.I. Lenin wrote as follows: "Mutual opening the frontiers... is fraught with serious dangers.... It is fraught with serious dangers in the sense that all kinds of agents will infiltrate into Russia...." (Collected Works, Volume 45, p 376).

The CP and Soviet Government, particularly concerned about the protection of state frontiers, have been continually concerned about strengthening border forces. In a 14 May 1921 resolution of the Politburo of the Russian CP Central Committee, reinforcement of the ranks of border guards, improvement of their equipment and a filling out of the ranks of border troops with communists was called for.

F.E. Dzerzhinskiy, first chairman of the Extraordinary All Russian Commission, a very noteworthy party activist and "the steel hero of the Revolution," made invaluable contributions to setting in motion the guarding of the frontiers and in establishing the frontier forces.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the foremost guardians of our motherland went into battle with enemies on numerous occasion. Allied with Red Army fighters, border troops acted resolutely during the period of incidents along the East China Railroad. They destroyed the Japanese Samurai near Lake Kkasan and along the Khalkin-Gol and showed examples of heroism during the war with the Finish Whites.

During the entire difficult period, the guardians of Soviet southern and eastern frontiers were severely tried. Kazakhstan border troops played a major role in smashing the bandits Annenkov and Dutov and groups of provocateurs formed by other white guard degenerates. During their first 10 years of existence, or from 1924 to 1934, border fighters smashed 138 groups of bandits, destroyed thousands of reactionary trouble makers, seized millions of rubles of contraband goods and exposed many acts of sabotage and provocation designed to cause harm to the economy of socialist society. Fighters such as A. Sidorov, V. Kondyurin, A. Onopko, S. Krivosheni, G. Mezentsev and A. Bestsenny, who exhibited heroism in their painstaking defense of the southern and eastern frontiers of the motherland, are still remembered today in the posts where they served. They were warriors who upheld the honor with the state and lost their lives in the struggle with the enemy. But their names are preserved forever in the minds of the people. Border guards, in their careful defense of state frontiers, struggle against bandits and basmashy and selfless aid to the workers of border rayons as they build a new life, have made their own special contribution to flourishing socialist construction in Kazakhstan.

During the years of the Great Patriotic War, border guards received their share of inextinguishable heroic fame. In spite of inferior forces, border guards heroically faced an invading enemy. One shining example was the heroism of the Brest Fortress defenders. There were many such border guard units whose heroism is written in golden letters in the history of the nation. During the years of war, border troops performed many responsible tasks. Many units fought with

the enemy directly at the front. Other units carefully guarded the southeast of the country or the far east border. There were not a few border guards in partisan units isolated in the rear of the enemy and in secret organizations who fought persistently against the fascists. Among them was the 162nd Order of Suvorov Red Banner Central Asian Novgorod-Severskiy division which passed through the firestorm of those years with honor and great heroism. Making up the foundation of this division were Kazakhstan border guards. During the years of the Great Patriotic War 150 border guards were awarded the high honor of the title Hero of the Soviet Union for heroism and bravery. Among them were tried offspring of the southeast border such as F. Belyakov, L.I. Bagin, M.V. Vlasov, K.Z. Belovskiy, V.S. Likhovorik, M.K. Merkulov, F.F. Ozmitel', M.S. Prudnikov and S.G. Smirnov. In the period since victory in the Great Patriotic War, Soviet border troops have remained our nation's guardians of security and a peaceful life. Under circumstances of the "unrelenting war" of imperialist groups and of their instigation of hostile actions against the Soviet Union, border forces have ruthlessly defeated the most perfidious and insidious hostile actions of class enemies. During this period foundations for the militant solidarity and brotherly friendship of border troops of the Soviet Union and of the socialist nations were laid down and their defense of the borders began to assume an internationalist character. This is having an impact on the stabilization of peace in the world.

The guardians of the southeastern frontiers of our motherland are honorably carrying out their obligations in the area of bringing about consolidation of the frontiers with great militancy. They are not sparing of their power, knowledge and abilities in keeping Soviet frontiers peaceful and, if need be, are willing to lay their lives on the line. In 1983 a memorial was dedicated at Usaral Village near the border to warriors that had died for the motherland. With the writing of the names of M. Dulepov and V. Ryazanov, border guards of the 1960s, alongside the names of warriors that died heroically in the Great Patriotic War, on this monument, the heroic traditions of the Soviet period and of Soviet warriors found their continuation. Imperialist forces, especially the forces of reactionary American imperialism, and the present Reagan government of the United States, are furiously expanding armaments to meet the interests of the military and industrial complex and are increasing the danger of nuclear war in the world. The imperialist nations are organizing various insidious and destructive actions against the Soviet Union. They are raising an antisoviet and anticommunist hubub against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and are making false accusations. And to be sure, when international conditions have become complicated in this way they will doubtless and above all have an impact upon conditions on the frontiers. One clear sign of this is the fact that imperialist spy services have strengthened their destructive efforts along the Soviet frontiers in recent years. However, our wary border guards are in no way allowing the hostile, extremely harmful and insidious actions of imperialist intelligence to take place. The treacherous are being exposed on the spot and brought to justice. The CP is doing everything to prevent violation of the security and peaceful life of the Soviet people and of nations of the Soviet bloc. The Soviet Union intends to solve international disputes in a reasonable way, through discussions, in a peaceful manner. This is something well known to the world. However, we also intend to defend our motherland. We know well that increasing its economic and

military power is a guaranty of peace. In this regard, the CPSU Central Committee First Secretary Comrade Chernenko, pointed out the following in his speech to the 1984 February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee: "...No one need be in any doubt whatever: We will strengthen the defense capability of our nation and ensure that we have sufficient weapons to repress wild adventurism." Today the Soviet Army, Navy and border forces are adequately equipped with impressive weapons capable of defeating aggressive forces in whatever form immediately. However, we want peace and defend the peace. Soviet armed forces thus always guard the life of peace.

The primary strength of the border guard is its warriors. They include Soviet youth, the offspring of the Leninist Komsomol, representatives of all nations and peoples of the Soviet Union, the sons and nephews of veterans who fought against the fascists in the firestorm of years past, fulfilling their duties to the motherland. During their military service they pass through a school of idealism, politics and heroism. They are made into patriots and internationalists who fulfill their greatly honored civic duty to the motherland. We are indebted to the CP, which has service to the people as its high duty, for the characteristics of patriotism, high principledness and supreme humanitarianism that have taken root among the ranks of Soviet border guards and chekists today. The caring hand and fatherly concern of the party have continually inspired Soviet border troops to heroism and shining deeds.

The border guard is not just a simple soldier but, in truth, a highly trusted representative of our nation on the frontiers of the motherland. The expanse of his intellect, military skill, high consciousness and vigilance must be abundant. The commanders that form the basis of border troops, their political leaders, the troops and service workers in various categories must respond to these requirements at a high level. We must designate these characteristics--devotion to Marxist-Leninist ideals, to the party and to the people, deep knowledge, military ability, culture and intelligence--as completely pertaining to the commanders and soldiers of our okrug. Clear evidence of this is the remarkable successes achieved by experienced officers of the Eastern okrug such as A.F. Bryukhovetskiy, A.M. Yeremin, V. Kolesnikov, T.A. Umbetayev, L.R. Didenko, B.M. Borinov, T. Buysybayev and A.I. Polyakov in educating and training their troops.

Technology is widely utilized at present in the guarding of the frontier line. As a result of the fatherly care of the Party, the technical equipment of border troops has continually improved. Found among the border troops are the latest model weapons, military and special technology, transport, communications, radio and engineering equipment. This equipment aids border units in carrying out their tasks quickly and reliably and, in addition to increasing the solidarity of border forces and their feelings of responsibility for their tasks, also increases military fraternalism.

The alarm sounds at an isolated border post that the frontier has been violated. Lieutenant V. Litvinenko, in command of the post, at once analyzes the circumstances and possible results of the border violation and gives his troops the appropriate orders. A unit of border troops arrive quickly at their designated position. To keep track of them, radar, search lights and other equipment are

put to use. In a short time the criminals that have violated state frontiers are apprehended. In achieving this, the knowledge and decisiveness, individual competency of the frontier and the heroism and capability of the entire military collective have played a deciding role. Such good organization and resourcefulness are found among all units and among all soldiers guarding the sacred frontiers of our great motherland.

Border forces, which carry out, without defect, their obligation operations according to the requirements of the USSR Constitution. The most fundamental document of the border service, "on USSR State Frontiers," has become a law of the Soviet Union. This law creates wide possibilities for border units to carry out their important duties completely and well. The carrying out of this all-union act, which sets forth the meaning of the present party policy in the area of preserving the inviolable security of the frontiers, in practice, is considered to represent the share of Soviet Border troops in carrying out the historical resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and in the refinement of a developed socialist society. Protection of state frontiers is recognised as a very complicated task. Playing an important role in this alongside the competence of the border troops is the selfless aid of the laboring people of the area. Experience has shown that such solidarity is a strong guaranty of border security. At present the friendly solidarity of workers of Kazakhstan, Khirghizistan and Tajikistan with the troops of the southern border is being strengthened with each passing year. The foundation for such friendship was laid down in the 1920s. The awards and arms of Saybolsyn Mantayev repose in a militant heroism museum of one border unit. The former laborer, partisan of the "Mountain Red Guard" unit, late Kolkhoz chairman and deputy of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet gave continual aid to border troops. The "Qyzylagash protection" monument raised in 1930 in Qyzylagash Village of Taldy-Kurgan Oblast and dedicated to border troops heros is a sufficiently clear witness of the militant connections of local people with border troops.

Party and soviet organs and social organizations of Kazakhstan, in accordance with the Law "On the USSR State Frontiers," are aiding border troop units in maintaining peace on the frontiers of the motherland and in training Soviet citizens in this patriotic task. Many party, soviet and Komsomol workers, members of heroic peopoe's militias inhabitants of Kazakhstan living near the frontiers have been awarded medals "for accomplishment in guarding USSR state frontiers" for accomplishments with regard to a high level of vigilance and in educating the workers in the spirit of socialist patriotism and for strengthening public order in border rayons. Heroic militiamen such as A. Abitkhanov, A. Volkov, S. Vorob'yev, A. Zhanybayev, B. Sarkeyev and many others have distinguished themselves for their active aid to border troops.

The scope of cultural measures carried out each year among border troops units with the participation of hundreds of labor collectives of the republic continues to expand. Due to the care of the worker masses, the spiritual world of border troops is being enriched and much is being accomplished to raise their living standards. All of this is a clear sign of the boundless care of the beloved party and government for border troops and of the truly all-union character assumed by the protection of frontier security.

The source of the militant capability of border troop units lies, to be sure, in party leadership. It is well known that the CP has always been particularly concerned about border troops. And the numbers of communists within units has been increasing greatly. In addition there are political organs and party units among the units that actively propagandize party ideals and policies and educate soldiers and commanders in high quality and militant skill. Frontier communists are the avantguard of the pure warriors making up the troops and the strong political kernel of militant collectives within the units.

Many exceptional persons of our nation have been educated within the ranks of the border troops. They have thus passed through a school of patriotism and heroism. That Comrade K.Y. Chernenko, first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet served on the southeastern frontiers of our motherland during the early 1930s has been a source of great pride for the border troops of the Eastern Border Okrug, which celebrated its 60th anniversary last year.

The results of the scheduled socialist competition developed in okrug units and divisions under the slogan "Let us protect the interests of the motherland on the USSR state frontiers with vigilance and firmness" on the eve of the 66th anniversary of border forces are out. During the competition the ranks of leading posts and units, teams and crews have increased. Every third border warrior has become an exemplary or group specialist in terms of military and political preparation. Many soldiers, noncommissioned officers, ensigns and officers have been decorated with USSR orders and medals. At present tasks in the area of deepening the military preparation and competency of border troops, strengthening order and organization and mastering new military technology and weapons are being fulfilled honorably.

Soviet border troops, which are unlimitedly devoted to their people and closely united about the CP, will continue in the future to master the military arts in a professional manner and will fulfill their patriotic and internationalist duties with regard to vigilantly protecting the peaceful life and security of their beloved Soviet Union and the countries of the bloc of friendship honorably.

11433

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17 April 1985

REGIONAL

AZSSR PUBLIC OPINION CENTER ON DISCIPLINE

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 1 Mar 85 p 2

[Article under the rubric "At the Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee": "High Discipline Is the Will of the Party and the People"]

[Text] The workers of Azerbaijan, like all Soviet people, unanimously support the party in its drive to enhance socialist labor discipline and order and organization in all units of social production. This is a drive to reaffirm stable norms of life and labor on behalf of the whole people and of every worker. "Without the strictest discipline the finest resolutions and intentions will remain only a pious wish", Comrade K. U. Chernenko stressed in his article "The Level of Requirements of Developed Socialism". "Our concept of discipline is in no way a contradiction of democracy. On the contrary, it makes it possible to bring to life the interests of the majority and the will of the party and the people. Without discipline and a stable social order democracy is only a fine phrase."

The republic's party organizations are carrying out effective work to enhance discipline, improve coordination in the work of the various units of the economic mechanism and monitor the fulfillment of plans and socialist obligations, and are steadily instilling in the people a communist attitude toward labor and a high sense of responsibility toward their assigned tasks. A broad program to further strengthen this drive was decided on by the Plenum of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee which was held in June 1984 to consider the matter of "Activities of Azerbaijan Party Organizations to Carry Out the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the VTsSPS /All-Union Central Trade-Union Council/ on "Improving the Work of Enhancing Socialist Labor Discipline".

The measures indicated by the Plenum are being successfully put into practice. The materials of a review-inspection recently conducted by the AzSSR Committee of People's Control, the ASPS /Azerbaijan Trade-Union Council/, the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan LKSM /Komsomol/, and the republic's Committee on Labor, which have been received by the Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research of the Azer-

baijan Communist Party Central Committee, and the letters, suggestions and comments from workers received by party committees, by the executive committees of the councils of people's deputies, by the Center, and by the offices of newspapers, television and radio are all evidence that the trend to reaffirm order and organization, which can be seen in concentrated form in the workers' productive achievements, is being strengthened and increased day by day.

Steady efforts in this direction are having a salutary impact on accelerating the tempo of economic development and helping to foster a favorable moral and psychological climate in collectives. At many enterprises there has been growth in the effectiveness and the yield of productive potential, and steady improvement in labor productivity.

Losses of worktime in the national economy have noticeably decreased. According to statistics they were reduced last year by 37 percent in industry, 21 percent in construction, and 31 percent in public transit. It is of importance that the reduction has occurred for all types of loss: downtime, shirking, absenteeism with administrative approval, and partly in labor turnover. The results of the fourth quarter of last year are particularly significant in this connection.

Together with this important work, however, there are still uneliminated bottlenecks, and there are many assets in reserve. Far from all enterprises and construction projects have succeeded in imposing the required order and eliminating slackness and an irresponsible attitude toward work. There are many instances of non-productive downtime and loss of worktime, failure to maintain the routine and rhythm of production, and insufficient attention to improving conditions of workers' and employees' work, life and recreation. These conditions largely explain the still unfavorable indicators in the utilization of worktime in the industrial-materials, petroleum-industry, instrument-building, industrial- and agricultural-construction, specialized-installation-and-construction, and light- and local industrial sectors, and in many of the republic's associations, cities and rayons.

The reasons for the deficiencies are many. Every one of us in the course of our daily work encounters many problems that hinder our more rapid progress. And, naturally, many comrades have developed ideas and proposals aimed at eliminating these deficiencies. The Center is therefore calling on workers to share their ideas and to take an active part in dealing with key problems related to further enhancing socialist labor discipline, improving responsibility and organization, and rapidly eliminating all bottlenecks.

The issue is specifically ways of reducing the amount of non-productive downtime, which makes up almost 40 percent of lost worktime in industry, and more than 90 percent in transportation. And of ways of achieving steady improvement in the utilization factor of worktime, eradicating absenteeism, tardiness, diversions of people from the performance of

their work that are not related to production, emergencies and rush work, reducing unjustified overtime and personnel turnover, and ensuring stability in labor collectives.

We want to get workers' views on how to introduce the brigade contract and other progressive forms of organizing and compensating labor and of materially and morally involving workers and specialists in end results, which must be done so that whatever is the latest and the experience of the best collectives that are working in new ways will be more rapidly adopted everywhere and become common property.

Discipline and order are an indispensable condition for rhythmic work and the precise organization of production and life, and that means the well-being of all of society. The Center is requesting all workers to continually examine every factor and component that can ensure high labor efficiency, in all conscience to uncover the causes producing apathy and a superficial approach to the solution of matters of enhancing discipline, and to boldly criticize those who do not display efficiency and accuracy in their work or a creative attitude toward their assigned tasks, by subjecting them to general discussions and appeals. Why do we still have cases in industry where some work with all their might and set records for productivity, while others work at half or quarter strength, and set records for loafing? Ya. Ibragimov, one of Azerbaijan's veteran oilfield workers has raised just these ideas in an article "By Tradition and Honor", which recently appeared in PRAVDA.

Of great importance are proposals for further improvement in activities in the area of services and of cultural, medical, utility and transportation facilities for workers, which play a large role in improving labor discipline and creating favorable conditions for the work, life and recreation of the Soviet people.

The drive for a high degree of organization and enhanced labor discipline is not a temporary campaign, but a permanent program. This is a drive for order in all areas of our life, for orderliness in the widest sense, and in the last analysis for the social justice inherent in Soviet society.

The ideas, wishes, advice and opinions of workers on these problems will promote further improvement in all our work in this important area and the successful performance by labor collectives of the great and responsible tasks which the Communist Party has laid down.

12697

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17 April 1985

REGIONAL

ROLE OF UKRAINIAN PRESS IN RAISING ECONOMIC AWARENESS

Kiev KOMMUNIST UKRAINY in Russian No 12, Dec 84 (signed to press 29 Nov 84)
pp 70-77

[Article by V. A. Karpenko: "The Ukrainian Press and Worker Economic Education"]

[Excerpts] Of special importance among other key factors—economic, organizational, political—contributing to successful accomplishment of the tasks involved in accelerating the country's economic development is the human factor or, more specifically, proper understanding of the party's economic policy on the part of the broad masses, initiative, a spirit of socialist enterprise and the responsibility of each and every individual, from the worker to the minister, for the achievement of the best final economic result possible at the lowest cost. It should therefore be seen as no coincidence that in the conception of ideological activity as developed and elaborated by the party at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee plenum, the task of developing new patterns of economic thinking in the minds of our working people occupies an important place.

What role, now, do we see envisioned for the press in this effort, more particularly, for our own republic press? How in fact is this effective instrument of ideological support for party policy, this efficient means of organizing the working masses, this genuine tribune of all the people responding to the demands of this important task?

Economic thinking—this is a fundamentally new type of thinking, the necessity of which is dictated by the objective requirements of present-day social development. As underlined by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, the essential features of this mode of thought consist in an ability, first, to keep thinking focused on the needs of the state, to view any given problem in the sphere of production through the prism of the general public interest; second, to link questions involving production with political questions, to steer clear of the narrowly pragmatic view of the economy and, third, to focus efforts in the direction of achieving the best-quality results at the lowest possible cost.

Everyone involved in the development of present-day economic thinking (and this includes journalists) must be equipped with the requisite store of pure knowledge and also have prepared himself seriously in the field of economics. Problems in this complicated sphere cannot be taken "by cavalry charge." To be able to penetrate to the heart of a problem, to orient oneself freely and then to elucidate the situation in the press requires a firm grasp of socialist economics and its laws, thorough

understanding of the party's current economic strategy and tactics and then an ability to think in economic categories.

As analysis shows, coverage of economic issues is coming to occupy an increasingly important place in the Ukrainian press. The republic's newspapers provide a good example of this. Each one of them will typically develop its own approach within the context of the traditions the editors have established over a period of many years and to which their readers have become accustomed. RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA gives serious attention to problems in management and to efforts to improve the efficiency of the economic mechanism. Its regular "Economics: The Art of Management" feature is always distinguished by the clear definition, the sharp focus it gives to a problem and then by its engaged, insightful journalism. On one occasion, for example, the editors invited readers to a round table discussion with the Donetsk oblast party committee and the UkSSR ministry of higher education's Institute of Economic Management held at the Novokramatorsk Machine-Building Works imeni V. I. Lenin production association. This proved to be a useful, instructive discussion, focusing as it did on the problem of increasing labor productivity. The editors were able effectively to direct attention to the economic administrative aspects of association operations, to present a convincing argument in favor of the collective forms of labor organization and to show that the experts and the managers are playing an increasingly important role in expanding the range of economic thinking on the part of the many thousands in the association workforce. Publications like this are able to involve their readers in analysis of current problems and issues, to prompt them to formulate their own generalizations and conclusions and to force them to think in economic categories.

As compared with the newspapers, our magazines lose to some extent their focus on the routine, day-to-day problems of economic management. On the other hand, they have more of a chance to devote themselves to thoroughgoing journalistic analysis of economic practice and to looking more closely at the nature of the activities involved. KHLIBOROB UKRAYINI, for example, is trying to provide more and more frequent analysis of progress in implementation of the food program from the strictly economic point of view. The discussions it presents in its regular feature "The Economy and the Scientific Organization of Labor" are both interesting and timely. This magazine also devotes considerable attention to the advancement of innovative thinking and practice, to the cultivation of creative initiative on the part of our specialists and to the encouragement of thrift and economy in both large things and small. These discussions are intended to develop in readers the feelings and instincts of the true—judicious, economy-minded—economic manager.

At the same time we are still seeing no small number of agricultural journals coming out with pieces dealing with economic issues which are oriented primarily toward the specialists, material which is overloaded with charts and tables and specialized terminology which make it difficult for these articles to be comprehended by a broad range of readers. These issues should be discussed in a simpler, more comprehensible manner, with more attention given to coverage of innovative practices on the part of oblast and rayon agroindustrial associations and practical experience gained in the organization of economic activities and worker economic education.

The period since the June plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has also seen considerably more lively coverage of economic issues by the oblast press. Quantitatively, we are seeing more publications, while as far as quality is concerned the analysis is

more thoughtful and thorough, sharper and more problem-oriented. More creative editorial approaches are leading in the direction of writing which makes more familiar material more comprehensible to the reader, while at the same time offering the possibility of dealing more systematically with a broader range of economic questions.

RADYANS'KA VOLIN' tries to offer practical, broad-ranging coverage of economic issues. It has met with success in its efforts to expose the "anatomy" of individual branches of the economy so as to allow readers to view them whole, to point out problems and difficulties and to suggest ways to solve these problems. Readers will surely recall the penetrating series "Our Forests and our People," "Can There Be Water without Fish?" and "Enterprising People." It is encouraging to see that the editors frequently undertake to focus on the moral aspect of economics. Some articles—and this we think is valuable—are focusing on a particular target, directing the reader's attention, for example, to economic activities in which oblast-level economic administrative organs are involved. There was the session of the oblast council of people's deputies looking at the problem of increasing economies and making more efficient use of manpower, raw material, fuel, energy and other material and financial resources. Together with the oblast executive committee, the editors conducted a round table discussion on the subject of "Learn to Economize, Learn to Manage," to which were invited deputies, noted production workers from the oblast and managers and experts from a number of enterprises and farms. The discussion touched on the need to improve discipline, increase individual responsibility, plan properly and maintain effective control, encourage initiative on the part of popularly elected representatives and to insure efficient use of plant and equipment—on virtually everything, that is, which affects the functioning of the economic system. This is an example of what, above all, makes this a valuable publication. Not least of the reasons, however, can also be seen in the fact that on the eve of this meeting of the oblast council the newspaper called the attention of readers to the important issues of the day, suggested that they continue the discussion of these issues at the coming session of the council and began properly to orient public discussion and mold public thinking in connection with them.

The new type of economic thinking we have been discussing cannot be developed in the abstract or in isolation from efforts to build communism. We need not only to know our economic laws, but how to apply them as well. And finally, the cultivation of economically oriented thinking on the part of the broad masses is not an end in itself; it has, rather, the immediate objective of raising the level of economic literacy overall and of developing this thinking to the point where profound understanding of the laws governing economic activity finds reflection in the consciousness of each individual worker from the point of view of the practical application of these laws at his own individual workplace. The axiom "To consume one must produce" will then be enriched with new content, that is, we're not looking for production at any cost, but rather with the least expenditure of manpower and material resources. Only under these conditions will efforts to achieve the party's programmatic objective of a universally improved national standard of living meet with success.

The June (1983) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee underlined once again the need to focus the efforts of our primary party organizations, work collectives, the press, radio, television and of all our ideological institutes first and foremost on the main lines of socialist economic development, directions characterized by increases in the productivity of social labor, accelerated progress in science and technology and improvement of the mechanism of economic administration, particularly of the systems of planning and management. The December (1983) CPSU Central Committee plenum

set forth a series of clear-cut guidelines for these efforts for 1984 and defined a number of specific objectives.

Adopting it as their own pressing, immediate cause, the Soviet people have taken the party's appeal enthusiastically to heart and responded with an enormous upsurge of labor and political enthusiasm, which has taken the form of a number of valuable new initiatives.

In his speech at the February (1984) CPSU Central Committee plenum, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, underlined the importance of maintaining the pace we have established in developing our national economy, of encouraging and reinforcing the positive trends and of establishing them as a permanent feature of national economic landscape. Among such positive trends we would find the competition for above-plan increases in labor productivity of at least 1 per cent and additional reductions in production costs of 0.5 per cent. The organizational and ideological efforts of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, the patriotic enthusiasm of our work collectives and the energy, efficiency and creative initiative of our working people—all must be oriented toward accomplishment of the objectives we have been set.

What with its capacity to mobilize, it would be difficult to overstate the role of the press in this connection. It is critically necessary, after all, that we be able to focus public attention on targets which have been established and to show clearly and comprehensibly just what it is they mean not only for society as a whole, but for each individual region, enterprise, farm and, finally, for each individual person. And what they mean is by no means insignificant. Each passing year sees a one-per cent increase in the productivity of social labor make more and more of a difference. While in 1960 this one per cent was "worth" some two billion rubles nationally, a similar increase in 1984 will come to slightly over 7 billion rubles. As comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU central committee politburo and first secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, observed at the January (1984) plenum of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, a one-per cent increase in labor productivity within the Ukraine alone could generate as much as 1.1-1.2 billion rubles' worth of new industrial production.

Republic publications have shown what they are capable of in the way of journalistic creativity and inventiveness in their coverage of this issue. A good number of oblast newspapers, too, are giving the question of raising labor productivity the attention it deserves; and with their focus on this category of economic activity they are helping to mold public opinion, sharpening their readers' economic vision and developing their ability to analyze the events of everyday life in economic terms.

Unfortunately, however, there are a number of oblast newspapers, and here we would include the Crimean Oblast, which in material published on socialist competition to raise labor productivity and cut production costs are focusing for the most part on industry and construction. Agricultural production, on the other hand, is either neglected by the editors entirely or given only superficial or poorly informed treatment. The difficulties involved here, of course, are understandable—the specific nature of agricultural activity itself poses problems; the economic service involved is, as a rule, not as well defined as in the case of an industrial enterprise and, finally, there is the geographical remoteness of the farms themselves. It is precisely these factors, however, which obligate our journalists to work even harder,

to search more vigorously for subjects and writers and facts. The economic, not to mention the social, impact of increases in labor productivity in the country's agro-industrial sector is considerable: an increase of only one per cent above the figure called for by the plan would in turn generate increases in kolkhoz and sovkhos production of 1 billion 100 million rubles. In other words, this would yield economies in manpower of some 150,000 people, this figure rising to 300,000 for the agroindustrial complex as a whole. A 0.5-per cent reduction in production costs would save our farms some 600 million rubles.

It is clear that journalists must try to find the approaches to a subject which will enable them to translate important party decisions into the clearest, most generally comprehensible language applicable to the real-world situation of specific collectives and individuals in all branches of the socialist economy. For the fact is that the problems of increasing labor productivity and cutting production costs are the problems of each and every one of us, regardless of the sphere of activity in which we are employed.

Nor are other Donetsk papers failing to tackle the subject, searching for the effective "point" at which to apply their journalistic leverage. By introducing the section "The Donetsk Above-Plan One Per Cent Increase in Labor Productivity and 0.5-per cent Reduction in Production Costs Achieved Through Innovation, New Plant and Equipment and Advanced Technologies," SOTSIALISTICHESKIY DONBASS has been able to bring the outlines of the issues into clear focus. Readers will have observed an interesting new feature in VECHERNIY DONETSK—ideological support for the patriotic movement. The pages of the "VECHERKA" have provided a forum from which ideological activists in a variety of categories—propagandists, lecturers, agitators, political information specialists—can share their views.

The Donetsk and Kiev papers are not limiting themselves solely to the publication of material on these issues. They are also involved in a good deal of organizational work within labor collectives and putting their nonstaff people on the trail of yet-to-be-tapped potential. Beneficial from this point of view is the initiative undertaken by volunteer correspondents in both the Ukrainian capital and the Donetsk area whereby they monitor progress in satisfying the party's additional requirement. Many enterprises in Kiev have set up public centers manned by PRAPOR KOMUNIZMU correspondents. Some 2000 centers for volunteer correspondents have now been organized in Donetsk Oblast.

So it can be said that the Ukrainian press has defined its role in society. The only thing to be desired now is that it demonstrate greater consistency, adherence to principle and aggressiveness in covering an issue and in the effort to raise the level of economic awareness of our workers and mobilize them for the tasks the party assigns. Among other things, this will involve coverage of a greater range of subjects, probing more deeply and thoroughly in journalistic investigation and, drawing on the expertise of both academic and practical specialists [praktiki], bolder analysis of the central issues in the fields of economics and management. Newspapers and magazines should be giving the attention due innovative production practices and the efforts of party organizations to cultivate the new type of economic thinking in our workers and analyzing results of the economic experiment now under way involving the transfer of more authority to enterprises and associations in planning and other economic activities and increasing their responsibility for the results of their work, an experiment which, in accordance with a CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of

Ministers decree, is being conducted in five branches of industry. This opens up a virtually limitless and rewarding field of activity for our press, in which it can, and must, exercise its propagandistic, educational and organizational functions more fully.

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REGIONAL

GRISHKYAVICHUS AUTHORS NEW BOOK ON LITHUANIA

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 21 Dec 84 p 2

[Article: "New Books -- Lithuania on the Path of the Great October Revolution"; a review of the book "Four Decades of Peaceful Development" by Pyatras Grishkyavichus, Vilnius, Mintis Publishing House, 1984]

[Text] Soviet Lithuania is preparing with enthusiasm and new labor successes to greet two important jubilees: the 40th anniversary of the Victory over Hitlerite Germany and the 45th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power in Lithuania. In historical terms these are relatively short periods of time. Yet how significant they are for our republic! The changes which have occurred in our land during the years of Soviet power and the successes achieved by the workers of Soviet Lithuania are revealed in exhaustive detail in the recently-published book "Four Decades of Peaceful Development"; its author is Pyatras Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee.

As a result of the concurrence of historical conditions, Lithuania set out on the path of the building of a new society later than did the majority of the union republics. Today the economy and social relationships of developed socialism have been created in Soviet Lithuania. This is a shining example of the advantages of the socialism system, of the Party's Leninist nationalities policy and of the indestructible friendship among the peoples of our country. This is the fruit of assistance from fraternal republics.

Referring to specific examples, facts and figures, the author shows how the hardworking and talented Lithuanian people chose the right path in 1940, the path to communism, along which it is freely striding together with the other Soviet peoples.

In the book particular attention is devoted to the past four decades, from the liberation of Soviet Lithuania from Hitlerite occupation to the present day. In the first chapters a broad overview of the events of 1940 is given, of the year when, after the victory of a socialist revolution in Lithuania, Soviet power was established and the Lithuanian SSR was accepted into the fraternal family of Soviet peoples. The story of republic workers' first successes in creating a socialist system is told, and the horrors which fell to the lot of the population in temporarily occupied Lithuania are revealed. The historical significance of the Victory over Fascism, of the heroism of the Soviet Army and the courageous and selfless struggle of Soviet partisans are emphasized; the author tells in detail how Soviet Lithuania was liberated.

After the victorious termination of the Great Patriotic War in Soviet Lithuania work on the establishment of a national economy was begun. All fraternal Soviet peoples stretched out their hands to help, especially the great Russian people. Many facts are presented in this book; they bear witness to the way in which other soviet republics sent us various equipment, machines and fuel, aided in the rebuilding of old enterprises and the construction of new ones, and made it possible to train skilled worker and specialist cadres. The agricultural economy, which had been set back by the war, also received a great deal of assistance.

Soviet Lithuania today is a land of developed industry and intensive socialist agriculture. The figures presented in the book eloquently bespeak, for example, the great leap made by Soviet Lithuania with regard to the creation of industry: gross industrial production rose by a factor of 164 between 1945 and 1983. Many new industrial sectors have been created in the republic in the years of Soviet power: radio engineering, machine-tool manufacturing, oil refining and a number of others. The development of atomic energy engineering has begun.

Lithuanian villages have also been changed beyond recognition. In place of hundreds of thousands of small individual farms where heavy manual labor was the rule, we now have 738 kolkhozes and 311 sovkhoses, well supplied with the latest machinery. These large-scale agricultural enterprises are able to apply effectively advances in science and technology and progressive work methods. All this has laid the groundwork for a significant increase in the production of agricultural products. By 1983 the grain harvest had increased by a factor of 2.1 as compared to its 1945 level; the sugar beet harvest by a factor of 5.2 over the same period; and the vegetable harvest by a factor of 1.5. During the same period meat production (dressed weight) increased by a factor of 6.2, pork production by a factor of 4.5, milk production by a factor of 3.9, and egg production by a factor of 6.7. These achievements graphically demonstrate the advantages of a socialist economy and reflect the unceasing concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet state for increases in agricultural production.

During the years of Soviet power, particularly over the past four decades, a mighty construction industry has been created in Soviet Lithuania, and many construction organizations are operative, equipped with the latest equipment; this was brought about with assistance from fraternal republics. And the results of this work are substantial. Elektrenai, Naujamiu Akmuoniu, Snechkus and modern microrayons in existing cities have arisen and many new, well-planned, aesthetically pleasing rural settlements have appeared. This fact from the book serves to illustrate this growth: apartments having a total of 43.2 million square meters of living space were built in Soviet Lithuania in the period from 1946 to 1983. This is almost equal to the living space of six cities the size of Vilnius. And so much is still going up!

There are other chapters which tell of how, thanks to the unceasing concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, the well-being of the people grew and continues to increase; how science, culture and education are developing; and how a new man is being formed: the builder of communism. These chapters also are persuasive and fact-filled.

Today the pulse of creative undertakings is palpable everywhere, in every corner of the republic, every collective. Party organizations, which are active in all labor collectives, are mobilizing the workers of Soviet Lithuania for the successful fulfillment of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee Plenums. The republic Party organization today numbers over 187,000 communists. The book reveals in detail how Party ranks have grown in number and improved in quality; the great and fruitful role of the republic Party organization in all areas of life is reflected in the book as well.

The book includes illustrations and an index of personal and place names.

12825

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REGIONAL

BOOK ON LITHUANIAN NAZI COLLABORATORS PUBLISHED

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 24 Jan 85 p 2

[Article by K. Kubilyus: "In the World of Books: There is No Forgetting"]

[Text] Forty years separate us from the historic spring of 1945. The Great Patriotic War was a time of the most difficult trials for all Soviets, including the Lithuanian people. In those fateful days, when dark clouds of death and destruction filled the Lithuanian sky, republic workers under the leadership of the communists' party rose, hand in hand with all fraternal Soviet peoples, to the mortal struggle with the cruel enemy. Thousands of Lithuania's sons and daughters, communists and noncommunists, fought courageously at the front, in partisan units and in the underground.

Nevertheless, unfortunately, turncoats were found in our republic as well, people who served the fascist occupiers with servile devotion and together with them performed monstrous acts of evil. These were Lithuanian bourgeois nationalists, whose ringleaders had become agents of German fascism quite early on, even before the treacherous attack on our country by the Hitlerites. The traitors were few, but they can never wash away the blood which they spilled.

"Justice Demands It", a recently-published book by the publicist Vitautas Zheymantas, sternly recalls all this once again. Working as a journalist, the author participated in the trials of war criminals exposed in our republic, gathered extensive factual material from archives and museum holdings, studied records of court proceedings and wrote down the accounts of eyewitnesses, as well as accounts by participants in the crimes who have already served out their sentences. The author has appeared on this subject in the pages of the republic press on more than one occasion.

In every line incontestable facts are documented, facts which alert, warn, call to protest and call for deserved punishment. The very title of the book is addressed to the present day, directly to the justice system of imperialist Western powers, and above all to the American Themis.

Imperialists in the West, particularly in the United States of America, gave shelter to many fascist war criminals and to this day are doing everything in their power to shield them from their just punishment. This is done in order

to be able to use this refuse of history wherever and however possible in the psychological war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, in the so-called "crusade" against socialism.

Fairness and justice demand stern punishment for war criminals. Statutes of limitations are not applicable to them.

A whole gallery of Lithuanian war criminals who have taken refuge in the USA is revealed in the book; their exact addresses are given. Their crimes have long been known to American justice as well. Repeatedly, lawyers from the USA have come here to verify evidence. But, as a rule, the American Themis is indulgent toward fascist murderers. The most that she can bring herself to do is to deprive them of American citizenship and only in rare cases deport them from the country.

Here is one example from among the many which are revealed in detail in the book. The lives of many prisoners of the death camp at Treblinka (Poland) lie on the black conscience of the fascist executioner Lyudas Kayris, a convoy guard. The author of the book also wrote about him in detail in the republic press several years ago. Only now has it become known that at the end of 1984 an American court finally deprived the murderer of American citizenship due to the fact that "he ALLEGEDLY (emphasis is mine -- K. K.) served as a guard in a Nazi concentration camp during the years of the Second World War." The murderer remains at liberty and continues to reside in the USA.

"The Bishop Who Blessed the Hitlerites" -- this is the title of one of the book's chapters. In this chapter the story is told of the black past of Bishop Vintsentas Brizgis, former assistant to the archbishop of Kaunas in 1941. He was the first in the Lithuanian Catholic hierarchy to offer his services to the fascist occupiers and was the source of a congratulatory telegram to Hitler, sent at the same time that a massive annihilation of completely innocent, peaceful people was unfolding throughout Lithuania. To this very day Brizgis continues to cast aspersions on our Soviet reality through Vatican Radio and other subversive radio stations, attempting to turn believers against Soviet power.

The path of the 12th Police Battalion through Lithuania and Belorussia was strewn with gallows and thousands of bodies of innocent civilians; this unit was commanded by A. Impulyavichyus, a major from the general staff of the Lithuanian bourgeois army. Roman Catholic priest Zenonas Ignatavichyus traveled this path along with the fascist cutthroats as their military chaplain. The monstrous crimes of this band of murderers became known immediately after the liberation of our neighboring republics. Years passed, and new, bloodcurdling details of their evil deeds continued to surface.

These could not help but reach the Vatican. But in July 1963 the very same Ignatavichyus, having fled to the West with the fascists, was named the new chamberlain of the Vatican by the head of the Roman Catholic Church, acquiring the title of "monsignor", one of the highest in the church hierarchy. Thereby he was granted the right not only to conduct religious rituals in the Vatican chapels, but in the very chambers of the Pope as well. Ignatavichyus heard the confessions of bloody fascist murderers and then... of god's own representative on Earth.

The book's illustrations leave a very strong impression. Photographs made by the occupiers, in which they and their victims are recorded (many of them published here for the first time), and photocopies of Gestapo and other fascist staff documents, in particular the personal documents of fascist officers of punitive expeditions, testify irrefutably against the war criminals.

In V. Zheymentas' book many falsehoods and slanderous attacks by hostile anti-Soviet propaganda from subversive imperialist centers are decisively repulsed.

Reactionary Lithuanian emigrants continue in their attempts to prove that our counterpropaganda is directed against emigrants as a group. The author once again graphically demonstrates that we are struggling and will continue to struggle only against reactionaries and our ideological opponents; we have repulsed and will continue to repulse those who slander us, our way of life and our reality; we have exposed and will continue to expose war criminals and other criminals.

12825

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REGIONAL

GEORGIAN EXPERIMENT IN INDEPENDENT RESTAURANTS EVALUATED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 85 p 2

[Article by T. Chanturiya: "Restaurant under Contract"]

[Text] By a decision of the Georgian SSR Union of Consumer Trade Cooperatives, an experiment in the public catering system will begin. Two rural roadside restaurants have been contracted as collectives and have been given broad operational self-dependency. They have the right to purchase and prepare items, set prices and distribute profits. One such restaurant has been operating less than a year, the other even less. However, the results have already been noted by their customers. The food here is tasty and varied, and, besides, it is cheaper. The economic facts speak for themselves. Sales, profits and growth indicators have risen and continue to rise.

To what can these results be attributed? What, in general, brought about this experiment and what was expected.? The chairman of the board of directors of the Georgian Union of Consumer Trade Cooperatives "Tsekavshiri," K. Shavishvili, comments on this undertaking.

The roadside restaurant in the village of Kachreti in the Gurdzhaanskiy Rayon was one of those institutions that was a burden for the rayon consumers' society (raypo) and an irritation to its customers. Sales were pitiful, and it would be better not even to discuss profits... Just a year has passed and sales have doubled, in some months tripled, and profits have exceeded all records kept by Tsekavshiri and amounted to 6.2 percent. Profits from the "Kakhetinskaya Kukhnya," or "Kakhetinskaya Kitchen," as the restaurant is called, have already brought about revenues of 21,500 rubles to the raypo, an amount four times greater than previously. Besides, there is still a substantial above-the-plan profit to be distributed as a material incentive among the restaurant's workers.

What really happened? No "extraneous" measures to economize were taken. There is neither a new interior nor publicity. There is no live modern stage entertainment. The former unpretentious box of a pavilion still stands along the road. It is staffed, as before, with 16 people. What differs is that, as an experiment, these people are paid for their work directly according to what they produce and the end result.

Today the "Kakhetinskaya Kukhnya" is mainly a normal cooperative enterprise where economic indicators are controlled by the raypo. It pays in accordance with the general wage scale and its employment record books, leave plan and pensions are the same as everywhere else. But there is one difference. The director here is the only person responsible to the needs of society. He does the hiring and, under his direction, the raypo sets up the workers' records of employment. The workers, incidentally, might be members of one family or relatives. In fact, there are family members in the village who would be efficient workers. In everything else, as I've emphasized, it's just a normal enterprise.

Someone who might not understand might refer to this as an "independent restaurant." To a lesser degree this does not correspond to reality. An honest restaurant, is, perhaps, more correct. Here every ruble from the substantial profits of each worker--from the director to the waitress--is earned without fraud, without "juggling the books," without cheating the customer, without a cautious glance at the door behind which might be the next inspector, and without loss, but with benefit to the state. It is earned just so because the item produced is the basis for profit.

The collective has done the same thing in other areas that it has done in service. There is no sense in citing hollow statistics. How much they produce is how much they earn. If less is produced the state gets less. This means that they would only hurt themselves. The restaurant itself began to search for ways to produce more, better and cheaper. Nothing was prescribed in the experiment. There were only suggestions on where to look for resources and the estimates on this initiative have justified themselves.

The "Kakhetinskaya Kukhnya" is almost self-sufficient. Only beverages, tobacco products and groats are centrally supplied. In everything else it decides where and how much to purchase and at what price. And this has been done. At the outset the restaurant purchased half of its products at the market. Now, after half a year, its market purchases are 30 percent and it intends to get used to doing without the market completely. It is cheaper to send its own purchasing agent throughout the villages to buy products from the kolkhoz farmers there. It is even more advantageous to haul the best products from its own farm and to develop subsidiary farms for the restaurant. The five hectares set aside

for farming are being put to good use. Homegrown fresh cucumbers and tomatoes, corn and watermelon, all kinds of greens well supplement the "Kakhetinskaya Kukhnya's" young pig, chicken, lamb and goat dishes. Note that all this additional production was not done earlier.

The motto of the "Kakhetinskaya Kukhnya" is expediency. It has but one aim--to greet, feed and serve the customer so that he'll return often and cause others to do the same. Everything that is incompatible with this aim is discarded. For example, it has been stipulated that "the work of this project can only be judged by the public." Yes, there is the customary multitude of those coming to check the place out who don't know how to get here (with the exception of the public health service). How can one, eating muzhuki made from pig's feet, inspect for its quality, and then, when paying, be able to compare the quality with the price?

Let's take another example. It is significant that it has the right to set prices. Might they not be inflated? This is not the case at all. As a rule they have not been raised even to the "ceiling" which we, for the sake of insurance, wrote down under the conditions of the experiment using usual restaurant pricing standards. The prices, on the contrary, have been lowered even though no one forced the restaurant to reflect in the price list actual cost reductions on dishes made from products of its own labor. What compelled it to do this, once again, was expediency. The restaurant wants to feed people more cheaply in order to attract more customers. And this has been the very important end result, that, due to and owing to this expediency, the "Kakhetinskaya Kukhnya" pays its workers from above-the-plan profits heavily and without skimping.

The bonuses to wages are for fulfilling the good turnover and profit plans, for every percent of overfulfillment and for other high indicators. But the major thing is the real contribution of everyone. As a result wages are sometimes doubled, even tripled. In November, for example, profits on the average for one worker amounted to 320 rubles. We think there is no need to set a limit as it would work as a natural barrier. This is where actual invested labor is valued in rubles by earning as much as can be earned. And here I stress the last word "earned." There can be no more. But wage levelling, it makes no difference, cannot be a panacea for selfishness.

The Kachretskiy experiment, based on the principle of "each according to his labor" is still being worked out in its discrete elements. Plans for this year call for bringing the number of such undertakings to 15. In Gudauri, for example, where a major winter sports center is under construction, a small hotel is planned to open with similar beginnings. The experiment, having

been extended, will probably prompt something new. As a matter of fact, it is doing just that. Apparently the development of such enterprises will be based not so much on a plan, but, rather, on the rate of growth of goods turnover and volume. In general, the experiment is guided by the real conditions of life, and they, as a rule, do not accumulate in stereotype.

For such a republic as ours where the mountainous regions are quite remote, there are corners that have not been fully developed. At the same time, there is a heavy influx of tourists. The "Kachretskaya model" is still apt because it will help improve service with minimal effort and in the shortest time. In fact, the same problems exist everywhere. Their resolution, if not today, must be achieved tomorrow.

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REGIONAL

SPREAD OF DECADENT MUSIC IN TURKMEN RECORDING STUDIOS

Songs for Profit

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 14 Oct 84 p 3

[Article by L. Korzun and N. Berdyev: "Goods with a Rotten Odor--On the Repertoires of Certain Amateur 'Song Writers' That Have Become a Means of Easy Profit"]

[Excerpts] Music and song possess tremendous emotional power. They accompany a person throughout his entire life. And the more our everyday life includes tape-recording equipment, the broader is the range of fans who collect and assemble instrumental and song composition and repertoires of particularly liked singers, musicians and ensembles. Music, songs and the variety stage have become an inseparable part of the spiritual life of our youth.

The state system of personal services in our republic has gone out, as they say, to meet music lovers halfway. Today we probably do not have a personal-services combine in which there does not operate a sound-recording studio. They have appeared both in personal-services houses and cultural and recreational parks. As is customary in such an enterprise, everyone here has the opportunity to become for a fixed price the owner of a taped copy and thus add to his or her collection.

Sound-recording studios have very quickly become a reliable item of income in the total list of services for the population. The studio staff here never sit idle. In addition, this work has acquired a "prestige" value.

Our discussion would not have arisen today if the sound-recording studios were offering services of extraordinarily high quality. No, we do not have in mind recording quality. Here everything is in order. The Ministry of Personal Services of the republic well maintains its standard in this regard. Studios are provided with modern sound-recording equipment and recording tape. Our reference is to ideological quality.

Public raids have occurred in all oblasts of the republic. The participants of the raids were interested in the work of sound-recording studios and naturally in the lists of musical compositions approved by local departments

of culture. It was found that behind external well-being the picture was not such a happy one.

We have the following expression: "goods with an odor." It would seem to be inapplicable to music. Blasphemy, if one speaks of music, songs and variety-stage programs written and compiled in the best traditions of Soviet musical creativity, corresponding to the spirit, ideals of our way of life, thinking and patriotic aspirations. Yes, blasphemy.

But this expression is fully applicable to the repertoire which comes out of many sound-recording studios. You will not see the writers and performers of such repertoires on any television program, nor hear their voices on the radio. Nonetheless they lay claim to a wide audience and great popularity. And not unsuccessfully. The sound-recording studios, as has been determined, help a great deal in forming for them a circle of listeners and admirers. More exactly specific studio personnel, and the list of these persons has also turned out to be long.

What then are these musical goods for which one may dare say demand is greater than for that music and songs which are indicated in the approved list?

At the time of the raids cassettes were found in a whole series of studios with recordings of solo concerts of Akmukhamed Saparov. Many enthusiastically began to call him Akish-Bakhshi, although the vocal abilities of this 25-year old young man, from the point of view of specialists, are below average. But he has acquired "fame" for himself by the content of a program of performance of basically so-called "thieves' jargon" [blatnyye] songs such as: "You Must Not Hate Me Even Though I Am A Bandit And Am A Thief!"

Akish-Bakhshi has also become well known for his own "poetical" compositions glorifying according to his "beliefs", the "outstanding qualities" -- hooliganism, drunkenness, the desire for love escapades, for an easy life without work. Since the composing abilities of maestro Saparov, alas, are nil, he borrows or simply steals other people's melodies. He attaches to them shallow, vulgar, poorly rhymed "poetic" ditties. Saparov does not disdain making use of melodies that he has not composed for the 'destany' [not further identified] nor the melodies of popular folk songs and contemporary Soviet songs. And in order to be known as a supermodern bakhshi, Saparov has slapped a collection of equally banal texts together with trite, bombastic melodies of foreign hit songs.

To a large extent a performance program of the likes of Levon Petrosyan, Novikov, Yanchuk, Shuftinskiy and Gulko, Dimant and Rozenbaum or Sorokin and Vinokurov is of the same ilk as Saparov's repertoire. These singers and composers, who have not been acknowledged by real art, earn popularity for themselves by extolling the "heroics" of the criminal world, the cult of money, benefits not earned by labor and moral laxity.

A somewhat different leaning in amateur "creativity" has been taken, for example, by Ogulnabat Kuliyeva, Redzhep Ulugov, Atabay Veliyev, Tachmukhamed Khadzhiyev, Tore Garayev, Divan Tashliyev and others. Recordings of the

repertoire of some of them were also discovered at the time of the raids in studios of personal-services combines of Tashauz, Krasnovodsk and Chardzhou oblasts. This company of "creative like-minded persons" provides advertising for itself at the expense of the Prophet Mohammed, privately making fun and calling him a "generous milking cow." This because they did not now believe nor ever believed in either the Prophet or in the saints. They need advertising to make money.

These "talents" have managed to make quite a bit of money for their "existence" by means of trying to evoke religious fanaticism in people of religious feelings, to implant in their souls pessimism and distrust in their powers and in the triumph of justice and to return them to long past customs and traditions. That is, to everything that Great October mercilessly destroyed, opening up to peoples formerly without rights and enveloped in the opiate of religion a broad road to possession of the values of culture--a road to light and a free and happy life. This is the gift of Great October and Lenin's national policy to the Turkmen people. And there is not and will not be a return to the past.

Incidentally, the home-grown amateur composers and performers have unfortunately become frequent guests at weddings, especially rural ones, and at other family celebrations. Their arrangers invite not tens but hundreds of people to these celebrations. The self-styled bakhshi, specializing in religious themes, frequently propose their own "program" one that is not recorded, but in the original, afterwards taking away in their pockets solid sums of money. Others are also to be found who do not spend time in haggling but put out for one song of corrupt, low-level content, for example, as executed by O. Kuliyeva, a hundred rubles at a time. But the "singer" herself does not try to follow those religious "precepts" which her songs are filled with. O. Kuliyeva prefers never to engage in socially useful labor but to live as she wants to, in easy circumstances, on earnings from the sale of songs with an odor coming from beneath the gateway of history and on the earnings of her lover--a big-time speculator recently convicted for this "activity."

The same life "style" belongs to another performer--Redzhap Ulugov, nicknamed "Redzhepochki." He has acquired with the same easy rubles two automobiles and wants to have a privately paid driver. How can one not give thanks to the Prophet and all the saints!

The administrators of the TuSSR Ministry of Personal Services have permitted sound-recording studios to operate on their own accord without the benefits of strict control. How could it be that sound-recording studios almost everywhere in the republic have become a place of secret dissemination of the "work" of libelers of the Soviet way of life, of songs of a vulgar, low-quality style and of detrimental in ideals and ideologically harmful character? The fact is that all these unevaluated musical goods, which without thinking twice are only worthy of being taken to the garbage heap, are repeatedly put on magnetic tape. And not only of the performance of home-grown composers and performers, but also of foreign groups such as Kizz and Ping Floyd [sic--probably Kiss and Pink Floyd]. It should be said by the by

that their star has long been set in the West. Nonetheless their repertoire continues to be used by our ideological enemies as a tool of ideological sabotage, copiously saturating musical programs with the propaganda of its contents, specially intended for the corruption of Soviet youth. KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in its issue of 16 September of this year convincingly described how this method is being used by Radio Station BBC. The aims of our ideological antagonists are quite "innocent": "to take away in this manner negative emotions in regard to the opposing side," "to infatuate USSR youth with the ideals of the West" and so forth.

Of course, in our Turkmenistan it is not old men but the youth that are attracted to jazz and variety music. This is typical, characteristic of this age, of being easily receptive to everything that is colorful and striking. But we are not striving to inculcate the brash, loud garishness, nor form such esthetic, musical tastes and ideas based in our young generation. If we were to turn to an interlinear translation of the songs being performed, for example that of Ping Floyd [sic], their content and ideological bent fundamentally diverge from our ideas and convictions. And how can one forget alarm if unbridled boldness and moral pressure on the arousal of religious feelings in a person and undisguised song hooliganism there of the various Saparovs, Gulkos, Ulugovs, Petrosyanovs and others of that ilk to some degree play with the false notes of bourgeois propaganda.

Because of tolerance and absence of control on the part of the ministry and heads of personal-services combines, many studios have begun simply to "stamp out" recordings of the repertoire of ideologically harmful content, and persons infected with private-ownership interests and with entrepreneur psychology are making a good profit out of this.

In other words, a considerable number of sound-recording studios have become a haven of wheelers and dealers, who are enriching themselves on low-level tastes, on low intellect and on not upheld or fully formed views and ideas on real art. This is dangerous for society when you take into consideration that the users of goods with a rotten odor are basically young people.

Here Komsomol committees should devote more attention. In drawing the attention of young people to political songs, views and festivals of amateur art in which vocal art and instrumental music occupy a big place, we cannot remain calm in regard to the negative phenomena which we have been discussing today. Vigilance must not be reduced with respect to such manifestations of antisocietal hue to which the dissemination of vulgarity put to music belongs.

A concrete solution suggests itself: it is necessary to stop the flow of all this filth and to close the road to the dealers and the sharpies. Their "well-meant" services cost dearly and interfere with communist inculcation of Soviet people, including the formation of high esthetic tastes, ideas and views of music.

Youth Organs Are Responsible

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 14 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by B. Khudaynazarov, composer, winner of Lenin Komsomol Prize of Turkmenistan: "To Put Up A Barrier to Musical Pulp"]

[Text] I read the article "Goods with A Rotten Odor" and I cannot conceal my indignation about how many songs of doubtful content are to be found in the [**]performance of self-called [*]bakhshi and sorry soloists. I personally have been more than once a witness to this "song creativity" at weddings and at other family celebrations. They trade in magnetic tapes with recordings of "song writers" at Sunday bazaars--"flea markets." I have even heard these compositions on city and suburban motor transport. And, of course, the question arose more than once: why are low-level songs allowed to be disseminated without hindrance, especially among the youth.

Furthermore, they are even advertised by the sound-recording studios. Yet the real art of song, which is highly artistic and of a lofty ideological level, it can be said, frequently remains in the background.

In my view, a large share of the blame for this goes to the heads of those organizations which are engaged in education of the youth. Undoubtedly, we should welcome the creation of amateur vocal and instrumental ensembles, but we also have to deal more with their repertoire, with greater partiality so that it does not become cluttered with song pulp. In my view, we are as yet making little use of the opportunities of festivals, reviews and competitions of musical ensembles and of young performers in the republic for the purpose of propagandizing the best musical and song works. It would be worthwhile to think about this! Then a reliable barrier could be set up against the wheelers and dealers. Then they would not get in the way of our sacred work--communist education of the Soviet people.

Need for Counterpropaganda

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 14 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by K. Bagdasarov, A. Baygeldyyev and L. Kovaleva, scientific associates of the Department of Philosophy and Law of the TuSSR Academy of Sciences: "To Educate Means to Act"]

[Text] The article "Goods with a Rotten Odor" brings up a very important subject. The "work" of self-styled, amateur performers and composers of songs of low-grade style does a great deal of harm in education of the youth. We are completely in agreement with the assertion in the article that song hooliganism plays with the false notes of bourgeois propaganda.

The ideologues of anticommunism look upon music as one of the means of undermining socialist consciousness. Thus, for example, in the June issue (of this year) of the American journal PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, an article by R. Tempst was printed. He frankly considers that the "ideological barrier of the Soviet state could be successfully broken through the means of rock music."

Western propagandists of anticommunism want Soviet youth not only to listen to their musical productions but also to imitate them, including the composition of songs that are alien to socialist reality. They are relying on the special features of the psychology of young people and on exploitation of their interests in everything that is new in clothing, compositions, music and poetry.

Our class adversaries have adopted such a method as dissemination of rumors and hearsay contradicting reality. They actively use the fad mechanism. For example, the fad of wearing crosses. This phenomenon is welcomed not only by the clergy but also by votaries of subversive antisocialist activities.

In order to resist and to vigorously fight bourgeois philistinism, vulgarity and phenomena that are alien to our viewpoint and the Soviet way of life, it is necessary intelligently and keenly to engage on a daily basis in the ideological, moral and esthetic education of the youth. This is important in labor collectives, among students and among school children. This requires the aid of organs of the Ministry of Culture, raykoms, gorkoms, the komsomol and people engaged in art and literature. The help must be effective rather than formal, since there is nothing more harmful than formalism in the ideological education of a person.

Of late the following form of recreation has become prevalent among youth--at enterprises, in schools and in higher and secondary specialized educational institutions, and vocational-technical schools--creation of discotheques. The basis of the idea exists in good beginnings and intentions. But if analysis is applied to the content of the programs of many discotheques, a picture is disclosed that cannot be showered with praise. The arrangers of such recreational evenings at times would not think of organizing them if it were not stylish! And this is what happens: the discotheque, instead of serving as a propagandist of the best examples of musical and singing creativity, cultivates something on the order of a concocted "musical hash" generously spiced with Western European products.

Musical culture as one of the elements of moral and esthetic education of the youth is in need of educated, skilled propagandists. Unfortunately, at present we have few of them among the organizers of, let us say, these same discotheques. But a whole army of representatives of the musical intelligentsia works in the republic. We have many writers, artists, composers and musicians. Some of them are not very satisfied with the fact that their compositions do not receive recognition, dissemination, particularly among the youth.

But we expect that they do not have the least role in propagandization of art work. It is necessary to appear more often among young people with lectures and talks and to meet more often in candid discussions. In our view, we are timid in utilizing in the republic the resources and knowledge of students and of persons studying at educational institutions of musical and art type. We believe that it is necessary to carefully think all these questions over and to outline concrete ways of action.

REGIONAL

ZAPOROZH'YE ATHEIST PROGRAM FEATURES LIVE DEBATES

[Editorial Report] Kiev LYUDYNA I SVIT in Ukrainian No 1, January 1985 (signed to press 24 Dec 84) carries on pages 10-11 an article by Candidate of Historical Sciences Viktor Pereverzyev entitled "Dialogues About the Truth." The author describes a series of atheist propaganda programs which was conducted last year in Zaporozh'ye and met with "great popularity." According to Pereverzyev, the programs were conducted in the form of "debates, in the course of which believers and non-believers with different worldviews discussed an assigned theme." The evenings were held once a month by the Zaporozh'ye Znaniye Society on such themes as "What Is the Meaning of Life?", "Jesus Christ--God, Man, Myth?", "Man and Space," "Atheism and Religion on Marriage and the Family," "Science and Religion on the Origin of Diseases and Means for Curing Them," etc. The article describes one typical program, on the theme "The Origin and Social Essence of the Bible," in which believers and non-believers argued their opinions, seeking to back them up with quotes from Engels and Lenin. The non-believers succeeded in doing so more successfully and in exposing the believers' attempts "to deceive insufficiently-prepared listeners," Pereverzyev claims. He notes that one of the "Dialogues About the Truth" programs was recorded and broadcast on Ukrainian television, "with the consent of all the participants." This article was reprinted with minor omissions in Kiev SIL'S'KI VISTI in Ukrainian 12 January 1985 on page 2.

KAZAKH CP BURO MEETS

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 16 March 1985 carries on page 1 a 300-word report entitled "In the Kazakh CP Committee Buro" on a regular session of the Buro at which plan fulfillment for January and February was discussed. It was noted that republic industry has successfully fulfilled the plan: labor productivity has increased; consumer goods worth tens of millions of rubles have been produced over plan. However, a number of oblast, ministries and departments have not fulfilled the production plan. Capital construction and rail transport need to be improved. The Buro directed the appropriate organs to take immediate action to ensure the fulfillment of the plan.

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CONFERENCE IN KASSR PROCURATORSHIP

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 24 March 1985 carries on page 3 a 200-word KazTAG report entitled "On the Elimination of Offenses" on a conference in the KaSSR Procuratorship. Transportation, as well as other, procurators took part in the conference at which the work of the transportation procurators in 1984 was discussed. The KaSSR procurator, G. B. Elemisov, noted that the effectiveness of supervision has increased, as well as its influence on improving order and interaction with territorial procurators. Transportation procurators have begun to take a more active role in transportation management, and are thus taking measures to eliminate offenses. However, there are some shortcomings: namely, there is a need to improve supervision of laws against theft, corruption, and exaggeration of data.

KAZAKH BURO HOLDS REGULAR SESSION

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 26 March 1985 carries on page 1 a 300-word report entitled "In the CP Central Committee Buro of Kazakhstan" on a regular session of the Buro at which the organizational-party work of the Abay rayon party organization (Semipalatinsk oblast) was discussed. It was noted that the rayon party committee is consistently improving the quality of its work. As a result of this, significant gains have been made in the rayon's socioeconomic development. Agricultural production has increased, industry, transport and communications are working well.

The Buro also passed a resolution ensuring the preparation of electric power stations, electrical and heat systems of the KaSSR Ministry of Power and Electrification to provide for their stable work in the fall-winter 1985-86 period. The need to economize energy resources was also noted.

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REGIONAL

KASSR PEOPLE'S CONTROL COMMITTEE MEETS

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 16 March 1985 carries on page 3 a 400-word KazTAG report entitled "In the People's Control Committee of the Kazakh SSR." The People's Control Committee examined the results of the check on the safekeeping and use of agricultural technology in the Tselinograd and Semipalatinsk oblasts. It was noted that in the farms examined all the tractors and combines were put away for safekeeping without preliminary servicing, many machines had not been cleaned of dirt and particles, and there were other violations as well. Due to a lack of control in the Tselinograd oblast, hundreds of combines were written off and their parts were pilfered. Gross violations of technology and low quality of repair of agricultural machinery were also uncovered. The managers of a number of sovkhoses were severely punished.

MOTHER'S RELIGIOUS FERVOR DRIVES CHILDREN AWAY

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian on 20 March 1985 carries on page 3 a 1,500-word article by B. Rovnyy entitled "Retribution: The Story of What Faith in God Turned Into for Anna Shtol'." The article begins with a description of Anna Shtol's life, one filled with hardship and hard work. While living and working in a remote Siberian village, Shtol' became a member of an "illegal sect" of Jehovah's Witnesses. Eventually she married, moved to Kirgiziya, and had five children. When the eldest child was 12, Shtol's husband left her. According to Rovnyy, her religious beliefs and activity had played no small part in this. The article goes on to describe the pejorative effects that Shtol's faith had on her children and the destructive effect it had on her relationship with them. The first child, Petr, refused to serve in the army because of his religious beliefs, was tried and sentenced to prison. There, according to Rovnyy, he was rid of any religious beliefs instilled in him by his mother, and did not return to his mother's home after his term was over. Two more sons and a daughter left home to live with their father. All this is due, according to the reporter, to the mother's religious practices and to her trying to foist these beliefs on her children, preventing them from leading normal lives. The youngest child still lives with her mother, but spends all her free time at her father's house. The author notes that currently Shtol' finds herself with children who visit her, but with whom she has no spiritual relationship or kinship.

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END