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JPRS-UPS-85-041

15 May 1985

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

HISTORIANS DISCUSS EUROPEAN SECURITY

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 84 pp 197-200

[Article by A. Filitov, candidate of historical sciences at the General History Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Problems in European Security"]

[Text] An international conference on "Ideas of Peace and Problems of Security in Europe: History and the Present" (Moscow, 30-31 May 1984) was organized by the General History Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences in conjunction with the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation. Soviet scholars were joined by their counterparts from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, and Poland, as well as Great Britain, Greece, the FRG, Finland, and Sweden.

Z. Udal'tsova, director of the General History Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences, opened the meeting.

Academician S. Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the USSR National Committee of Historians, delivered a paper entitled "Soviet Foreign Policy and Problems of Ensuring Peace and Security in Europe," in which he described the historical stages in the USSR's campaign to create a system for collective security and mutually beneficial cooperation in Europe. He stressed that the efforts of aggressive circles of imperialism to achieve military superiority over socialism through the arms race and aggravating tensions, which are characteristic of the current international situation, represent a great threat to Europe. A fundamentally different development of events is in the interests of the people on the continent: the creation of a European security system based on a balance of good sense, and not on a balance of fear. A way to create such a system has been outlined in recent peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union and socialist cooperation.

T. Barker, member of the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences and president of the British National Committee of Historians, gave a talk in which he named the following as factors that in the past have hindered the creation of a lasting security system in Europe: aggravation of social and economic conflicts that began at the turn of the century, uncontrolled development of military technology, and problems in mutual understanding between the West and Eastern Europe. Touching on this last problem, he said that in the West not enough attention is given to the fact that the USSR has special reasons to be concerned about its security, since its territory has

been the object of outside aggression over the course of many centuries, while the United States, for example, has not experienced the trials of war since the Civil War in the middle of the 19th century, and England has not been invaded since the 11th century.

A. Chubar'yan presented the Soviet point of view on general problems of European security. He criticized the idealized view of the supposedly "peaceful" European system in the 19th century, and analyzed various plans for European peace that have been proposed in the past. Today, he said, some qualitatively new conditions have arisen that should have a positive effect on the resolution of this problem: the creation and strengthening of socialist cooperation, the urgent need to halt the arms race, and the public's growing role in the campaign for a peaceful Europe. Strict adherence to the principles of strategic parity and protection of security by each party, and equal responsibility shared by all European countries for ensuring security are some of the most important factors in European security and detente under current conditions.

Since the Renaissance and the Reformation, Europe's history has confirmed that the path of military confrontation is a weapon used by the old, outdated order against the new, progressive order, that armed conflicts hinder the economic, social, and cultural development of all states involved, and that an atmosphere of relative stability in international relations will certainly not lead to "convergence" of different social systems. These were the basic theses presented by Ye. Chernyak (USSR) in his report "Social Systems and International Relations: Recent History and Today."

M. Ormosh, a Hungarian historian, opened the discussion of problems in European security in the 1920s and 1930s with a paper. She examined the objective conditions for the organization of Europeans' collective resistance against Fascist aggression, and she had high praise for Soviet policies involving organization of collective security in the pre-war period.

K. German and V. Kopeito (CSSR) presented papers in which they described the role of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations in European politics in the 1930s and the activities of the Czechoslovak Communist Party aimed at establishing a strong alliance with the USSR against Hitler's aggression, and at national independence for Czechoslovakia. N. Komolova (USSR) described the efforts of the progressive European community in the struggle against Fascism and war. E. Kevich (Hungary) discussed the problem of the "peacemaker" ideology of the pan-European movement, which made prophecies about a "peaceful Europe" without sufficient supporting evidence.

The paper given by S. Serpovskiy, a Polish historian, was devoted to the "moral disarmament" plans proposed by reactionary ruling circles in Poland in the 1920s and early 1930s to counter Soviet proposals calling for real and effective measures to reduce arms in Europe. S. Serpovskiy pointed out the anti-Soviet, obstructionist nature of the plans, and their futility and pointlessness.

R. Ilyukhina (USSR) gave an historically balanced evaluation of discussions in the League of Nations concerning problems of European security and disarmament

and the role played by this organization in international relations between the two world wars. A. Filitov (USSR) shed light on the work done by the anti-Hitler coalition in working out the foundations for organizing post-war Europe. He focused attention on the fact that a completely new approach to problems of European security was developed in the struggle against Fascism, which was based on principles of effective punishment for aggressors, the creation of a fair territorial and political arrangement in Europe, and equal rights and security for all states.

The problems of European security in the post-war period were discussed both in terms of Europe as a whole and in terms of individual regions and countries. In their presentations, Soviet scholars provided a broad panorama of the trends in European development in the 20th century, and demonstrated that a whole group of factors, including historical, economic, military, and technical considerations, dictate the need for and possibility of detente and creating a strong security system in Europe (B. Marushkin, D. Proektor); the cultural community of the peoples of Europe and the resulting opportunity to intensify cooperation among European states were also described (M. Narinskiy).

T. Varis (Finland) discussed the problem of exchange of information between the East and the West following the Helsinki conference in 1975, and pointed out that the United States has monopolized a considerable share of the mass media in Western European countries, and the United States is "the most isolated country in the world" from the standpoint of information exchange. The speaker asserted that the exchange of information between the East and West is developing in an uneven way now: the press in socialist countries provides much more information on Western countries than the Western press provides about socialist countries. A. Papakostas (Greece) discussed the importance of the final document adopted at the Helsinki conference in the development of international law.

Security in the Balkans, the threat to peace in the region that has been created by aggressive NATO policies, especially the American "presence" in the Mediterranean, and the initiatives put forward by socialist countries to turn the Balkan region into a peace zone, were central issues in the papers presented by Bulgarian historians. Academician N. Todorov concentrated on current international political problems, in particular the possibility of creating a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, and he described Bulgaria's active role in international relations in the region. Zh. Grigorova gave an in-depth historical analysis of the situation in post-war Europe and the Balkans, and stressed the importance of cooperation between the USSR and Bulgaria in strengthening peace and security.

The Swedish scholars S. Karlsson and B. Hultdt discussed theoretical and practical aspects of neutrality in Sweden's foreign policy from the 1920s to the 1980s. Yu. Nevakivi, a Finnish historian, drew on new archival materials to cite facts concerning secret Danish-Norwegian-Swedish negotiations in 1946 and 1947; they were initiated by Great Britain with the aim of creating a Northern European military bloc against the USSR. Yu. Komarov (USSR) described in detail the Soviet initiatives for creating a lasting security system in the northern part of the continent, and discussed the stabilizing role played by

Soviet-Finnish relations, which offer an example of fruitful cooperation between states with different social systems.

The situation that has developed recently in Central Europe, with direct contact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, was a topic of discussion at the meeting. E. Laboor (GDR) and S. Dobrovolskiy (Poland) described the contribution of their countries to carrying out the policy of European detente, and to developing initiatives among countries of socialist cooperation to reduce the level of military confrontation in Europe.

In discussing the FRG's position on questions of peace and security, the West German scholar G.-A. Jakobsen stressed that the existence of two German states is a real fact and that normal relations between the FRG and GDR in the spirit of the 1972 agreement is a necessary condition for the preservation of peace. He outlined six principles for detente, which reflect a realistic approach to the European situation: rejection of use of force; all-round cooperation, including economic and cultural cooperation; the development of measures of trust; curbing the arms race; making an effort to understand one another; and mutual respect for certain values that are accepted in each system.

Z. Tomas (GDR) described the evolution of W. Brandt's foreign policy ideas. He pointed out the flexibility and ability to revise outdated stereotypes and dogma that were characteristic of this West German Social Democrat whose name is tied to the FRG's shift in the 1970s to a policy aimed at detente. I. Kremer (USSR) focused attention on the political boldness demonstrated by the Brandt-Scheel government in carrying out a course aimed at normalization of relations with countries of socialism, in defiance of the United States' obstructionist course.

T. Barker concluded the discussion and stressed the fruitfulness of this exchange of views among European historians with different philosophies. During the course of the discussion an important step was taken toward developing a common approach to problems of European security.

At T. Barker's suggestion, a statement summarizing the meeting was adopted with the unanimous approval of the participants. In the document, historians from the 10 countries expressed deep concern about the deteriorating political climate in Europe and the increasing military threat, and they make an appeal to all scholars and all people of good will to double their efforts, to protect the world from the threat of war, to halt the arms race, and to ensure deep and varied international cooperation, lasting peace, and reliable security among peoples.

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INTERNATIONAL

MILITARISTIC DEFORMATION OF PRODUCTION IN COUNTRIES OF IMPERIALISM

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 84 pp 134-150

[Article by Viktor V. Potapov, candidate of economic sciences, associate of the Scientific Information on Social Sciences Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, author of studies dealing with socio-economic problems of militarization in developed capitalist countries. This article is based on a chapter from a joint monograph published by the Scientific Information on Social Sciences Institute, "The Campaign to Relax International Tension and Socio-Economic Problems of Capitalism," Moscow, "Nauka," 1984]

[Text] The acceleration of the arms race by aggressive circles of imperialism, primarily American imperialism, "is one of the primary causes of the growing political and economic instability in the world, it is increasing the danger of nuclear war, it threatens mankind's very existence, and it is a growing burden on the peoples of the world, as it diverts immense physical and financial resources and hinders economic and social progress."

After the Second World War the process of militarization of the capitalist economy entered a new phase. The qualitative difference is the result of the development of a new type of weaponry--nuclear missiles, which required substantial changes in the technical base, scale, and organization of the military economy. Production, scientific research, experimental design operations, service, and maintenance needed for these new weapons brought about rapid growth in the military sector of the economy, and turned it into a major sphere of the capitalist economy that is in operation constantly even in peacetime. A state sector in the military economy has been developed.

The continued development of mass military production in capitalist society in the post-war years is a process that follows certain natural principles. It is a distinctive manifestation of the advancement of one of the basic contradictions of capitalism, and it is expressed in the creation of a new form of nationalized production, specifically, the emergence of military-industrial complexes, which have become huge centers of economic power and political influence; it is also expressed in the internationalization of the military economy--the tendency to create a transnational military-industrial complex within the framework of NATO.

Another factor that determines the existence of a vast military economy in peacetime is the basic contradiction in the contemporary world--the

contradiction between capitalism and socialism. The inherently aggressive nature of imperialism grows stronger as the general crisis of capitalism deepens and the world socialist system becomes more firmly established; this is expressed in the acceleration of the arms race, which is directed against countries of socialism.

Natural principles of historical development and the strengthening of socialism have created a situation in which imperialism cannot achieve either its political or economic goals by stepping up the arms race. Modern weaponry, the destructive force of thermonuclear weapons, and the quantity of these weapons that have been stockpiled have reached such a level that if Western militaristic circles unleash a war, there will be catastrophic consequences for the aggressor as well. The sober view taken by Western politicians with regard to the consequences of conflicts involving nuclear missiles and other contemporary weaponry should force them to realize that contemporary war can no longer be viewed as a business and is therefore senseless. The senselessness of the arms race as the main element of preparations for a new world war nevertheless does not exclude the continuation and even acceleration of the arms race under peaceful conditions (evidence of which can be seen in Washington's militant policies). Efforts are being made to justify militarization economically by the high profitability of military production. The political justification of the arms race is the false allegation of the "military threat" posed by the Soviet Union.

A change in the productive forces of the military economy had a corresponding effect on certain social relations in bourgeois society. The trinity of "military economy--war--political and economic gains" is breaking down, since the middle link is being removed, for the reason mentioned above. Capitalist production relations are beginning not simply to fetter the development of productive forces in bourgeois society, draining off immense resources, distorting the reproduction process, and intensifying its contradictions, but it is also moving this development in an extremely dangerous direction--toward an unlimited arms buildup. Since war drops out of the customary scenario, from the outside the process appears senseless--an arms race just for the sake of an arms race. In reality, the essence of imperialist wars, that is, their "mercantile" basis, becomes even clearer.

Even in this direction, however, the growth of militarization is not unlimited. Acceleration and expansion of the arms race force one to consider the question: How long is it possible to continue redistributing means to benefit the military sector? Where is the boundary beyond which the damage to countries can no longer be justified? This is the question of "the critical threshold of militarization." This refers to the social and economic limits that determine the arms race: when the maximum diversion of financial, manpower, and material resources is exceeded, this leads to a gradual reduction in the opportunities for expanded reproduction in civilian sectors of the capitalist economy, and as an inevitable result of this process, to a drop in economic growth rates, an impaired ability to compete in domestic and foreign markets, a lower standard of living among workers, and so on. In the sphere of social relations, when the "critical threshold of militarization" is approached, there is an acute aggravation of the contradictions of capitalism.

V. I. Lenin indicated that in the sphere of military production one can see a dual parasitism: in the first place, the surplus value that is created in civilian sectors and is equal to military consumption is immobilized and squandered by military production; in the second place, as a result of exploitation of the working class in the military sphere, considerable value (and surplus value) is created and embodied in means and systems for the destruction of human beings; it is also expended in a parasitic way and is lost to society. In other words, nonproductive production is added to nonproductive consumption.

Capital used in the military sphere of the economy, as a value that can multiply itself, is identical to any capital functioning in civilian sectors of production and in the circulation sphere. However, the particular material and physical form that military industrial capital takes, and the particular nature of the sale and consumption of military goods under conditions of intensive militarization in capitalist society, have a substantial effect on the reproduction of all national capital.

Military production has particular features both in terms of equipment and technology and in terms of the final product. There is a clear technical and economic line separating military production and the civilian production sphere that is determined by the physical form the product takes. As processes of militarization in capitalist society develop, this line becomes more and more clearly defined, since the production base of the military economy becomes more and more distinct from that of the civilian economy. In addition, certain types of military production have been and are identical to civilian production, and they comprise the so-called "paramilitary sector" of the economy, that is, the group of civilian sectors that are tied to military production.

In spite of its considerable peculiarities, military production cannot be viewed as a separate subdivision of national production, and in accordance with the separation of the gross military product into two components, military production falls into two categories: the production of means of production for producing other means for the production of military goods, and the production of means of production for producing finished military products comprise one subdivision, while the production of military products themselves is the other subdivision. Thus, military production is connected to both subdivisions. In addition, the separation of military production within the framework of a Marxist-Leninist model of national reproduction is a necessary step in studying the movement of various elements of total capital and gross product.

A study of conditions for realizing the gross national product in the presence of developed military production leads to the following conclusions:

--Expanded reproduction under conditions of considerable militarization of the economy requires adherence to more complex relations in individual components of the national product;

--Within the framework of expanded reproduction, various combinations of rates and directions of change in military and civilian production are possible;

--Military production competes with civilian production both in terms of absolute size (capital in use) and the scale and rate of growth in consumption and savings, since military production develops at the expense of civilian production or as a result of a certain reduction in the opportunities available to civilian production.

On the basis of these conclusions we will attempt to evaluate some aspects of the short- and long-term influence of militarization on national reproduction under capitalism.

First of all, one should point out that the expansion or reduction of the military sphere in a capitalist economy does not exclude the basic contradiction of capitalist society, which is the main reason for the cyclical development of the economy with the given method of production.

There is no question that the arms race, which requires considerable capital investments, creates under certain conditions an increased demand for products from the first subdivision, and consequently an increase in the demand for goods from the second subdivision of national production. However, this result of militarization of the economy, which is obvious at first glance, is complicated and contradictory when examined more closely. Under various conditions, the military market can, in the first place, replace part of the civilian commodity market (if the financing for military investments comes from that part of the income which could be exchanged for consumer goods without expanding the military economy); in the second place, the military market can supplement the civilian commodity market (if military production is financed through savings from the population's income or through a surplus value that exceeds the part of the income that is spent on the bourgeoisie's individual consumption or savings).

Furthermore, military production is an unreliable "regulator" of the capitalist cycle, since it is not directly dependent on the movement of the cycle. Therefore, the sphere of the military economy is characterized by a particular instability and fluctuations that have a specific origin and conditional nature. Reductions, expansions, and structural changes in the military market occur as part of the cyclical course of reproduction that is inherent in capitalism.

When there is a drop in the demand for military production without a corresponding and compensating increase in the demand for civilian production, (through a reduction in taxes, an increase in state purchases of products and services with peaceful applications), or under conditions of an imminent overproduction crisis, this decreased demand can cause, accelerate, or intensify the crisis. However, this influence remains only an influence, and does not cancel out the laws of cyclical development. On the other hand, when the military market expands as a result of "deferred demand" from the public and capitalist enterprises and reserves of manpower and production resources are brought in, this expansion can delay the onset of or weaken the results of an overproduction crisis. On the whole, any effect that military economic preparations have on the domestic market conditions of capitalist countries can

change the effect of laws of cyclical development only to a certain extent, and the effect is essentially short-term.

In the end, militarization leads to economic consequences that are the opposite of the desired effect of stable "revitalization" of the market conditions, and in terms of the duration of their effect, they are more prolonged than artificial "stimulation" of the capitalist economy. Of course, expansion of the military market can increase the demand for means of production, but in the long run this creates a surplus of production capacities, which makes it difficult for the country to extricate itself from economic crises arising from overproduction. Increasing military expenditures by increasing the state debt places a burden on the budget, and reduces the potential commodity demand from the state, while clearing off obligations increases the overaccumulation of capital. In addition, the arms race creates conditions for reaction along all lines, for the infringement of the civil and professional rights that have been won by workers under capitalism, and for increasing the level of exploitation and lowering the people's standard of living. The relative reduction in the effective demand of the workers that results from this weakens the base for economic growth.

One of the results of acceleration of the arms race is rapid growth in the cost of arms. The combination of the technological race, aimed at constant development of new systems, and gigantic military budgets, together with the special privileged status of the military-industrial complex, creates "hot-house" conditions for the growth of military monopolies. Market principles are blocked to a considerable extent by the state in order to ensure efficient functioning of the military-industrial complex and prompt fulfillment of military programs and orders. The measures being taken are dictated by the degree of nationalization of military production, which rose after the Second World War, and by the existence of the constantly expanding military economy. However, these methods for ensuring production efficiency resolve one problem while creating another: they interfere with the principles of price formation for the products of military enterprises.

The creation of new generations of weapons in itself promotes an increase in their cost². The objective factors contributing to the development of this process also include the immense cost and time requirements of scientific research and development, the frequent replacement of production series, and so on.

These factors, strictly speaking, contribute to an increase in costs in the production costs stage. Maximization of costs is one of the characteristic features of contemporary military production. In addition to the explanations given above, one should also point out that since a small number of enterprises, and sometimes even just one large firm, produce a single type of military product, the cost of many military products is essentially based not on socially necessary labor, but on an individual quantity of embodied labor. In the end, this is expressed by market prices that systematically exceed production prices. Another factor contributing to this process is that the form of work under government orders calls for prices to be set ahead of time for many of the most important types of products. A good part of these are products that have not been produced before and at the time of their sale are

lacking sufficiently clear technical and economic descriptions. This factor, combined with the need to maintain the pace of the arms race, means that the military-industrial complex may pay higher prices for the resources, goods, and services needed for military production, which leads not only to an increase in the cost of military products, but also to an increase in the cost of products from civilian sectors using the same resources, goods, and services. The consequences of this trend are: progressive redistribution of capital in favor of the military sector, an increase in budget deficits and interest rates, and rising inflation (according to data from Great Britain's Finance Ministry, in the military sector inflation is at least 2 percent higher than in the economy as a whole).

The rise in prices for military products also occurs as a result of increases in the profits of military concerns. A study of the rate of growth in the profits of 8 of the largest military concerns in the FRG showed that between 1970 and 1978 profits increased by a factor of 1.6 at least. This can be explained by the specific nature of the regeneration of capital functioning in the military business sphere. Data on these same 8 concerns for the same period showed that monopolies used a surprisingly low proportion of their own capital. On the average it was less than 10 percent and at the most it was not even 30 percent. The small proportion of their own capital used by these concerns means that they constantly use "outside" capital, that is, funds obtained by the enterprise or placed at the enterprise's disposal as a result of redistribution processes, in the form of credit, subsidies, and other types of state financial assistance, with the aim of achieving the highest possible level of regeneration of the firm's own capital. This process reflects the trend toward progressive redistribution of capital to the military sector of the economy, and at the same time, the trend toward increasing the society's economic losses.

Thus, there is a considerable gap between companies engaged in civilian and military production. The level of regeneration of capital in military concerns in the FRG is 2.5 times higher than in the largest industrial companies in that country that are not involved in military business.

As the Western press points out, increases in profits of military concerns are also in the interest of the bourgeois state. According to estimates made by F. Berr, president of the board of the Rheinmetall AG concern, in the FRG the state gets back up to 25-50 percent of the selling price of arms through taxes and other payments when military contracts are granted or when permission is given for arms exports by German enterprises³. Thus, the mechanism for forming state monopolistic profits for military industrial concerns, which is created and maintained by the state itself to a great extent, is used by the state as a specific instrument for redistribution of the national income.

In a discussion of the long-term effect of militarization on the development of the contemporary economy, one should point out first of all that the functioning of the huge military machine leads to the (more or less long-term) diversion of considerable manpower and material resources from the civilian sphere of the economy.

The permanent loss and removal from reproduction of a significant portion of the manpower in developed capitalist countries is becoming a factor that is undermining the economy more and more visibly. Statistics show that human resources totalling in the tens of millions are being taken away from peaceful production in order to equip and maintain the armed forces. Some of this manpower is serving in the armed forces themselves, and some is working in military production. The breakdown of manpower resources in the military sector of the economy is as follows: about 10 percent of all the industrial workers are employed in industry that is oriented toward meeting military needs, 20 percent of these workers are highly skilled, and 40-50 percent are engineers and scientists.

There was a significant increase in the employment of highly skilled scientific and technical personnel in the military sector in the 1970s. An important change in the structure of military industry occurred as a result of the transformation of the sector into a sphere of the economy that is increasingly dependent on advanced technology and research. The space industry, aviation, missile production, the electronics industry, precision machine building and instrument building, and other industries, started to play a major role in the military sphere; these are sectors that require such huge numbers of highly skilled workers that there is already evidence that a number of goods produced by various capitalist countries are becoming less competitive in the world market. In the United States, for example, this is true of the steel, shipbuilding, radio electronics, and even the automobile industries, where they are being edged out by Japan and Western European countries whose economies are less militarized.

The high capital-output ratio in military production leads to a situation in which the real opportunities for increasing employment in the sector are lower than in civilian sectors of the national economy, and furthermore, there are fewer opportunities every year. According to the available data, this difference for various sectors can range between 53,000 and 111,000 jobs per year.

Contrary to the assertions made by apologists for militarism, increasing the production of arms does not have a positive effect on the unemployment rate in capitalist countries. The majority of jobs created in the military sector cannot be filled by workers from the mining, metallurgy, automobile, textile, and other industries, or by workers in the service sphere, among whom unemployment is particularly high.

Military industry does not guarantee a high and stable employment rate, since inherent in it are considerable fluctuations in the utilization of production capacities that are tied to the granting of state contracts and the intervals between the time that arms production programs are fulfilled and fixed capital and finished products in military industry are renewed, which in turn leads to considerable fluctuations in employment. Military industry also has a negative effect on sectorial and regional unemployment patterns, by concentrating considerable manpower in certain sectors of the economy and in certain regions.

Military preparations also consume immense raw materials and power resources, they take up huge production capacities, land area, and numerous buildings and

structures. In recent years in developed capitalist countries between 5 and 10 percent of the basic types of raw materials have been used for military purposes. In addition, immense national resources are taken out of circulation and placed in so-called strategic reserves that are to be used in military production and in case of war. In 1978 the total value of these reserves in the United States was 9.4 billion dollars.

One of the critical problems in the capitalist world is the negative effect of military expenditures on scientific and technical progress in civilian sectors of industry. Statistical data show that progressive redistribution of the society's resources in favor of the military sector is taking place in the research and development sphere in developed capitalist countries. For example, in the United States military scientific research and development accounts for 70 percent of all the funds allocated for research and development; this figure is between 50 and 60 percent in Great Britain, 34 percent in France, and 12 percent in the FRG. An analysis of the pattern of expenditures on military and civilian research and development shows that even with the lopsided distribution of research and development that has been evident in the past decade in developed capitalist countries with a strongly militarized economy, most of the funds allocated for civilian research are spent in areas that are tied very closely to military development. For example, in the United States, the center of militarism, funds allocated for military research and development are broken down as follows: 43.5 percent for military missile equipment; 31.7 percent for military aircraft construction; 10.2 percent for military shipbuilding; and 8.3 percent for weapons and equipment for ground troops. At the same time, the majority of funds (81.1 percent) allocated for civilian research and development is spent on development in aviation and outer space research. Only minute sums are allocated for development in other areas: 3.5 percent for chemical products, 0.3 percent for food products, and 4.3 percent for textile fibers. All the other important problems of humanity fall into the "others" category, for which 4.2 percent of the funds are allocated.

As mentioned above, the militarization of science drains off up to 50 percent of the highly skilled scientific and technical personnel from the civilian sector. In an attempt to justify this criminal waste, apologists for militarism try to prove that military research and development has a favorable effect on the economy and scientific and technical progress, and that many results and new types of products obtained and developed in the military sphere make the transition to the civilian sphere and are utilized there.

The results of military research and development do indeed have an effect on the development of equipment and technology in civilian sectors, and on the assortment, quality, quantity, and cost of their products. However, bourgeois studies usually do not give a quantitative evaluation of the influence of military research and development on scientific and technical progress in the civilian sector, but instead simply list the basic directions and forms in which results obtained in military research and development are applied in peaceful sectors of the economy. In reality only 20 percent of military research and development can be used and is used in the civilian sphere⁴. This is explained by the fact that there is a huge gap between the theoretical and practical possibilities for applying military research and development in the

civilian sphere. Furthermore, as military production becomes more specialized and more complex, and scientific and technical progress is stepped up, this gap grows larger and larger.

The consumption of immense material and financial means and the utilization of highly skilled manpower in military research and development programs slows down scientific and technical progress as a whole and in peaceful sectors of the economy. According to data published by official organizations, between 1953 and 1973 the role played by the United States in inventions and discoveries among the major capitalist countries (Great Britain, FRG, France, and Japan) declined, with its contribution to the total dropping from 82 percent to 55 percent. The actual retardation of scientific and technical progress was even greater, since these figures include military research and development.

The Soviet scholar R. Faramazyan points out three other important consequences of the subordination of science to military interests:

--Militarization of science encourages a technological arms race, which is one of the main reasons for the increase in the size and burden of military expenditures in the world, with all the ensuing negative social and economic consequences;

--The subordination of science to military interests is accompanied by an extreme increase in secrecy, which hinders the dissemination and broad practical introduction of new scientific discoveries, complicates the exchange of scientific and technical information, and leads to needless duplication and inefficient utilization of immense resources in the area of research and development;

--The development, production, testing, and storage of new means of mass annihilation represent a great threat to the health of human beings and to the environment, and can lead to other unforeseen consequences.

The main consequence of militarization of science is the retardation of technical development, which is reflected primarily in falling rates of growth in labor productivity and slower economic growth, and the country's reduced competitiveness in foreign and domestic markets.

The military economy is not limited to the sphere of state enterprises and large monopolies oriented toward military production. All sectors of the economy participate either directly or indirectly in the production of a colossal assortment of military products, and often many firms in various sectors of industry participate in the production of sophisticated weapons systems. Thus, the actual penetration and influence of militarization are considerably broader than what is indicated by data on the production activity and consumption of national resources in the military sector.

The change in the productive forces in the military industry, as a result of which military production became a large, independent sector of the capitalist economy in the post-war years, naturally led to the formation of a far-flung network of specialized and cooperative ties with civilian industrial sectors.

Both small and large firms act as subcontractors that are involved in military production; often they are not classified in official materials as military firms, but they still specialize in the production of various machinery and assemblies that are used in military equipment.

Thus, military production includes not only strictly military companies, but tens of thousands of subcontracting firms in civilian sectors of industry. As a result, part of the military expenditures go to pay for various goods and services that are provided by civilian sectors of the economy. The largest portion of these funds are spent on petroleum products, construction, medical articles, food, and clothing. In both civilian and military sectors the orders placed by defense ministries are distributed quite unevenly: the majority of the orders go to a small group of companies that have achieved the status of monopolies in supplying certain products to the armed forces. Naturally, these companies are more dependent on military orders than the average firm in the given sector, which means that their activities are greatly dependent on militaristic policies.

For example, in the United States there are 20,000 primary contractors and 100,000 subcontractors participating in military productions. Just a small percentage of these receive the lion's share of military orders. On the whole, a small group that includes 25-30 firms controls more than half of all the military production in the capitalist world. On the one hand, these figures show that the circle of companies whose existence depends on military contracts is quite small, but on the other hand, the number of firms involved in military production is large.

Rapid development of technology in military production, improvements in weapons, and the development of new types of weapons are causing greater expansion of the circle of sectors and enterprises involved in military production. In the employment sphere, this process is reflected in the fact that an increase of 100 people in the number of workers employed directly in military industry leads simultaneously to the withdrawal of another 130 people from socially useful labor in civilian sectors. Consequently, the actual diversion of manpower from civilian production is almost two and a half times greater than that suggested by data for military industry alone.

Comprehensive research on the paramilitary sector, which includes all civilian sectors and firms that are involved in filling military orders and are not included in bourgeois statistics on military production, should be assigned its proper role in studies on trends in contemporary capitalism. What at first glance appear to be "indirect" costs of militarization in reality make an important contribution to the intensification of capitalistic contradictions.

The negative effect of militarization on the social and economic development of capitalist countries is manifested in many other forms as well. The point here, however, is not to provide a set of consistent evaluations of the scale, depth, and peculiarities of militarization in various spheres of the economy, and its influence on basic economic indicators, but to analyze the effect of the militarization process as a whole on the sphere of social relations. This effect is such that it leads to an aggravation of the contradictions in the capitalist mode of production.

In the first place, of course, the contradiction between the national nature of production and the private form of appropriation is intensified. Military production is the sphere of labor activity in which the national nature of production is manifested to the greatest extent. This can be explained by the revolutionary change in productive forces in the military economy that occurred with the appearance of nuclear missile weaponry, which made it necessary to develop the military-industrial complex on a national and international scale. Furthermore, the national need for labor embodied in military products, by virtue of the fact that they are produced mainly to fill state orders, is manifested not in the market, but in the production process.

In the second place, the contradiction between production and consumption is heightened, since the majority of military products are paid for using state funds that are obtained primarily through income tax and taxes on consumer goods. Although a portion of these taxes are paid by capitalists, workers bear the burden of a significant share of these surplus value deductions. Therefore, an increase in military production brings with it a relative, and often an absolute, decrease in the workers' real income, it reduces their purchasing power, and thus reduces the material base for reproduction of manpower. On the other hand, deduction of part of the surplus value from capitalists in civilian sectors and redistributing it through the budget and taxation system reduces the opportunities for accumulation of capital in these sectors, and consequently, it reduces the rate of expanded reproduction of national capital.

In the third place, militarization intensifies the contradiction between the organization of production at individual enterprises and the anarchy present on the national scale. This process can be explained by the fact that militarization of a capitalist economy leads to a more complex economic structure and interdependence among various sectors and enterprises. An analysis of the realization of the national product shows that military production has a complex (both direct and indirect) influence on all stages of capitalist reproduction, which intensifies its disproportionate nature. This makes great demands on economic planning that cannot be realized under conditions of private ownership.

In the fourth place, the contradiction between capitalist production and circulation is intensified. Military outlays have a negative effect on the real wages earned by workers. This makes it possible for additional difficulties to arise in the sale of products from sectors in both subdivisions of national production. Inflation, which arises, as a rule, under conditions of growing militarization of a capitalist economy, also intensifies this contradiction.

In the fifth place, the deepening of these contradictions leads to further aggravation of the antagonism between labor and capital. The development and functioning of military production, from which the bourgeoisie profits, are carried out primarily at the workers' expense. An arms race, as a rule, is combined with greater activity on the part of conservative elements and with violations of workers' rights by the ruling class.

Militarization adds new conflicts to the traditional ones found in the capitalist mode of production: conflicts between monopolies that are involved in military production and monopolies that do not have an interest in it; and conflicts between the absolute majority of the population which objectively opposes militarism, and those forces promoting its development.

The progressive conflict between productive forces and production relations under state and monopolistic capitalism, which arises as a result of intensification of processes involving nationalization of production within the military sector of the economy, leads to a situation in which an anti-militaristic coalition is formed, in addition to the anti-monopolistic coalition that has been formed as a result of antagonism between monopolies and the main segments of the population in developed capitalist countries.

For a long time, conversion of military production was a way of regulating a capitalist economy, and a means of bringing about structural reorganization with a corresponding change in reproduction conditions (as a rule, pre-war and post-war reorganization of production). Under these conditions conversion served only as a way of preserving and increasing the competitiveness of capitalist enterprises. This was the situation up until the end of the Second World War. Then conversion of military production underwent significant qualitative changes in a relatively short period of time. Continuation of the arms race and stepping up its scale during peacetime, the formation of the military-industrial complex, and the transformation of militarism into one of the primary elements of post-war development of the capitalist economy, led to a situation in which conversion became one of the problems of state monopolistic regulation. Another problem was added to capitalism's usual troubles, which intensified the effect of crises, and promoted disproportionate development. The need arose to regulate the consequences of signing and cancelling military contracts and redistribution of enterprises. These are, so to speak, the routine costs of militarism. Other problems have become important recently as well, such as the structural crisis in the military economy, and capitalist countries' drawing closer to the "critical threshold of militarism."

These changes are of unquestionable importance in studying current directions and forms of state and monopolistic regulation, including conversion of military production. However, we are more interested in another qualitative change in conversion, which occurred in the post-war years--its transformation into a part of the campaign for peace, relaxation of international tensions, and disarmament. An objective condition for this change was broad expansion of state monopolistic regulation of the military sector of the economy, one form of which was conversion. A key role was played by the transformation of the socialist system into the major driving force behind social development in the contemporary world, and the expansion of the international communist, workers, and anti-imperialist movements, which have turned conversion into a way to implement democratic structural policies within the framework of a capitalist economy, and into a form of disarmament.

Before the appearance of nuclear missile weaponry, the scale of military production during peacetime was considerably smaller. Only on the eve of war and during war itself was there considerable expansion of the military economy. The level of development of military technology made it possible to shift

civilian sectors to the production of military goods without much difficulty, and after the end of the war, military production could be reorganized to meet peacetime needs. The conversion of military production under current conditions is more complicated; militarization of the capitalist economy has been taken to a qualitatively new level, and the technological base of the military industry differs more and more from the technological base of civilian industry. The military sector of the economy to a considerable extent has turned into an isolated, specialized sphere of the economy. The possible complications, however, cannot be compared to the benefits that the population of any country would receive.

The fundamental possibility of stepping up economic growth as a result of disarmament and conversion of military production exists because the assets diverted by the military sector could be used not only to expand current consumption, but also for national economic savings. The actual effect of these additional assets on civilian sectors of the economy and on the rate of economic growth will be determined by the proportion of assets from the military budget that are distributed among them. The more assets that go to increase fixed capital and to expand research and development in civilian sectors, the higher the probable rate of growth in these sectors. Another necessary condition for economic growth is a simultaneous increase in the consumer demand that comes from a significant reduction in taxes.

Thus, economic losses from militarization are comprised of both actual losses in the national economy that are calculated using data on alternative utilization of funds and resources in the military and civilian sectors of the economy, and hypothetical losses arising from retarded development of the contemporary economy compared to the rate of development in a demilitarized capitalist economy.

We believe that the most convenient and simplest approach to evaluating economic development in capitalist countries without militarization is the one that is based on the actual development of the economy, but assumes that all economic resources spent annually for military purposes participate in the reproduction process, but in the civilian sector. The conditional nature of this approach is obvious, but its rationality lies in the fact that because it is so specific, it is relatively easy to obtain a hypothetical picture of economic growth and to arrive at a quantitative evaluation of the economic loss due to militarization. Naturally, in order to draw any reliable conclusions regarding this question, one should examine different cases of both partial and complete utilization of military outlays for peaceful purposes, in addition to different models for shifting the military economy gradually to peaceful production. Calculations that require the development of models and variants entail considerable difficulties, such as determining the volume of converted funds, and sectors that should be converted first (in the case of partial conversion). Here it is necessary to take into account many internal and external economic factors, along with social and political considerations.

Plans and models for conversion of military production that are being proposed by leading capitalist countries differ both in terms of the level of generalizations and goals, and in the extent to which details are worked out, but they all have inherent shortcomings. Since the majority of authors start

from practical activity, and as a rule, the scale of a single enterprise or region, and in the best of cases, from several enterprises of a large firm or a given military program, or contract, the plans are generally technical and economic in nature.

In theoretical studies, generalizations reach the level of national social and economic policies. But at this level, disarmament planning is limited to the formulation of general points for carrying out conversion: the creation of the necessary institutes and the basic stages of the plan. This gap between the lower and higher levels in the degree of practical and theoretical development of problems and the setting of goals can be explained, however, not by poor preparation of models in the middle link--the industrial and sectorial level--but by a poor examination of the theoretical questions involved in conversion and insufficient coordination with practical aspects.

Successful conversion of military production requires an expanded social front in the campaign; the activities of the national ranks of the working class must be coordinated; the problem of allies in other social segments must be resolved; and maximum use must be made of democratic forms for workers to participate effectively in management at all levels, especially in the area of controlling the activities of military industrial monopolies.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Declaration of CEMA Member Countries 'The Preservation of Peace and International Economic Cooperation'", PRAVDA, 16 June 1984.
2. For example, during the Second World War a submarine cost 4.7 million dollars, and today the "Trident" submarine cost 200 million dollars; during the war, a bomber cost 218,000 dollars, while today the modern American B-52 bomber costs 7.9 million dollars, etc. (Cf. "Metalworkers' Struggle for Disarmament and Peace," London, 1981, p 12.)
3. Cf. WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE, Frankfurt am Main, 16 May 1980, pp 39-40.
4. Cf. R. Lindroos, "Disarmament and Employment," Tampere, 1981, p 17.
5. Cf. CURRENT RESEARCH ON PEACE AND VIOLENCE, Tampere, 1980, No 2, pp 75-76.
6. Cf. R. Faramazyan, "Razoruzheniye i Ekonomika" [Disarmament and Economics], Moscow, 1978, p 117.

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CSO: 1807/227

INTERNATIONAL

REVIEW OF JOURNAL AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA NO 1, 1985

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 29 Jan 85 pp 1-4

[Summary of major articles]

[Text] The January issue of the journal carries an article "The Youth of the Earth Preparing for Their Festival" by Chairman of the Committee of Soviet Youth Organizations V. Aksenov.

The 12th World Festival of Youth and Students will be held in Moscow from 27 July to 3 August this year under the slogan "For Antiimperialist Solidarity, Peace, and Friendship!" The author emphasizes that the Festival is of particular importance in the present extremely aggravated international situation whereby imperialist quarters, led by the United States, are pushing the world to the brink of nuclear war.

In the view of the Soviet youth organizations, the Festival is bound to intensify the efforts of the young generation of our planet against the nuclear danger and escalation of the arms race and for the right to live, V.Aksenov writes. It will help rally young people in their battle against neocolonialism, racism, apartheid, and fascism, against foreign corporations' sway, for independent economic and social development, and for the establishment of new, more just economic relations.

The youth organizations of the revolutionary-democratic parties and national-liberation movements of the Asian, African, and Latin American countries have been playing an ever more active role in the festivals, the author notes. The people, including young people, in these countries come to understand ever more clearly that the social injustice, starvation, diseases, and illiteracy which plague them, and the conflicts between ethnic groups that break out there have been generated by imperialism. The antiimperialist solidarity of the masses of the newly-free countries in the battle for achieving genuine sovereignty and economic independence, for democracy, social progress, and a better future for their countries mounts along with the growth of their political consciousness.

Preparing a Festival is not an easy job. It involves a lot of effort in various fields, the author writes in conclusion. Taking part in this work are youth and student organizations which hold different political, religious, and

philosophical views. The time-tested antiimperialist traditions of the democratic movement and the enhanced feeling of responsibility of the world's young generation for a peaceful future and for preserving life on Earth are a safeguard of success of the 12th World Youth Festival.

In an article "The Time of Ordeal, the Time of Successes, and the Time of Hopes" A. Sarvarov writes that this year the friendly Indian people are celebrating their great national holiday for the 35th time: on 26 January 1950 India was proclaimed a sovereign republic. During the past years India has gained appreciable successes in building an economically and militarily strong state.

The international prestige of India, which is a leader of the nonaligned movement, has risen considerably, especially over the last few years. India's consistent and peace-loving foreign policy, its active stand for preserving peace and removing the threat of a new world war, for curbing the arms race and establishing a new economic order, and for interstate cooperation on an equal footing on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence have won that great Asian power well-deserved prestige and respect.

The author notes that successes of independent India are indisputable and impressive. However, not all problems and difficulties faced by the country on the road to progress are overcome. The forces of internal and external reaction are trying to force it to side-track from the chosen path of social and economic reforms. The social and economic situation in India is complicated and controversial. Of late, nationalistic, regionalist, and separatist trends in various states have increased. Religious and communal clashes are continuing. Therefore, the government of the Indian National Congress -- INC (I) -- headed by Rajiv Gandhi is faced with a lot of problems in the struggle for stabilization of the country's economic and domestic political situation.

The author points out that friendly Soviet-Indian relations have stood the test of time. They develop in a stable and fruitful way on the solid groundwork of the 1971 Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation. In the current very complicated international situation, the importance of cooperation between the two countries has increased immensely. The Soviet Union highly appreciates good relations with India, relations geared towards a long-term perspective for the benefit of the peoples of both countries in the interests of peace and international security.

The article "Consolidating the Gains of the Revolution" by D. Pavlov is devoted to the 20th anniversary of the founding of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

The years that have passed since the April Revolution, the author of the article writes, have convincingly shown that despite difficulties the people of Afghanistan led by the PDPA are consistently carrying out the country's progressive transformation. The Law on Land and Water Reforms has been enacted and is being put into effect; under it big landowners' estates have in fact been abolished in Afghanistan and nearly 300,000 peasant families have been given plots of land. The Afghan peasant feels that the revolutionary

government is showing concern for him and protecting his interests. This, in its turn, enhances the peasant's class consciousness and instills a sense of being the master of his country, and he firmly sides with the revolution.

The revolution has brought about radical changes in the working and living conditions of workers. For the first time in the history of Afghanistan, the workers have been granted the right to fixed working hours, pensions, paid leave, and free medical care. The trade unions set up after the revolution are playing an important role in rallying workers and office employees and in drawing them into active work for the community.

Measures are being taken in the Republic to democratize public affairs and draw broad sections of the population into managing affairs of the state. An important step on this road was the founding of the National Fatherland Front.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan sees its most important task as administering a rebuff to the forces of the counterrevolution, whose criminal activities are directed by international imperialism and reaction, and in ensuring a lasting civil peace in Afghanistan.

Exercising leadership over every aspect of public and political affairs in Afghanistan, D. Pavlov emphasizes, the party takes into consideration the interests of the working people and their aspirations and wishes, and follows a line to draw closer to the working people and strengthen contact with the masses, which helps to enhance the party's prestige among the population. Its membership is growing with each year that passes, being replenished with the best representatives of the Afghan people. Over the 6 post-revolutionary years, the membership of the PDPA has increased from 15,000 to 120,000, candidate members included.

The journal also carries an article "The First Russian Revolution and the Peoples of the East" by A. Kheifets; an article "The Socialist International and Southern Africa: A New Beginning?" by V. Shubin; an article "The USA and Japan: Partners and Competitors in the Sphere of High-Technology Industries" by N. Shevchenko; and other material.

CSO: 1812/159

INTERNATIONAL

RUSSIAN 1905 UPRISING'S INFLUENCE ON ASIAN COUNTRIES SEEN

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 85 pp 2-5

[Article by A. Kheifets, doctor of historical sciences: "The First Russian Revolution and the Peoples of the East"]

[Excerpts] The first people's revolution of the epoch of imperialism -- the Russian revolution of 1905-1907 -- was the dress rehearsal for the Great October Revolution. Today, in the middle of the next to the last decade of the turbulent, evented-packed 20th century, it is already clear that it was precisely this revolution and world events related to it which were a kind of embryonic stage of the great transformations which have characterized the contemporary epoch -- the epoch of the revolutionary transition from capitalist and precapitalist relations to socialism. The active involvement of the oppressed peoples of the East in the world revolutionary process also relates to the beginning of the century.

The revolutionary awakening of the peoples of Asia was also promoted by the fact that it was made ready by the internal development of these countries. Sooner or later it had to and did lead to the development of capitalism. But the development of the world capitalist system into the stage of monopoly capitalism, one of whose characteristic features was the export of capital to backward countries, gave a strong impetus to the capitalist development of the colonial and dependent countries. The development of capitalism which took place in a number of countries was contradictory and deformed. But railroads, ports, telegraph lines, and certain industrial enterprises which conformed to the then current level of technology appeared in these countries. On the whole, the domination of foreign monopolies inhibited the development of national enterprise. Nevertheless, social changes of a fundamental nature took place in the East. New classes were formed -- the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The process of the shaping of nations made substantial progress. As V.I. Lenin noted, "World capitalism and the Russian movement of 1905 finally roused Asia."¹

It is apparent in light of the research of Soviet and foreign orientalists that the level of development of capitalism even in comparatively progressive countries of the East was still extremely low at the start of the century and that it was not the scale of capitalist structures, which in fact did not exist in many countries, which determined the objective patterns of the

revolutionary awakening of the East. Nonetheless, the increased imperialist exploitation of the colonies and dependent countries led to sharply aggravated contradictions between these countries and imperialist monopolies and aggravated internal social contradictions. The national-liberation movement developed on precisely this basis, while the Russian revolution became a very strong accelerator of the revolutionary process in the countries of the East. Both the fact that Russia became the center of the international revolutionary movement and the fact that it occupied a special place in the world economy and world politics at that time determined the significance of the 1905 events. "Geographically, economically, and historically Russia belongs not only to Europe but to Asia as well. And therefore we see that the Russian revolution not only managed to finally rouse the largest and most backward country of Europe from sleep and create a revolutionary people guided by the revolutionary proletariat.

"It did not manage just this. The Russian revolution gave rise to a movement throughout all Asia."²

Russia's historical development and geopolitical position also encouraged the formation of close revolutionary ties between it and many countries of the East. There is already a relatively large amount of literature on this question. Tens of thousands of Iranian migratory workers visited Russia and regular ties existed between Russian and Chinese workers in the China-Eastern Railroad zone, where an underground Bolshevik organization carried on systematic work. Regular ties between emigre Bolsheviks and revolutionary emigres of different orientations from various Asian and African countries were established in Japan and in certain countries of Western Europe. Inasmuch as this question has been sufficiently fully studied, we will cite only one case. At the Stuttgart 2nd International Congress V.I. Lenin drew attention to the speech by the prominent representative of the Indian revolutionary emigration, Rustomji Kamy, who was called the "mother of Indian revolution" at that time.

The methods of struggle of Russian workers, peasants, and intelligentsia also had a certain influence on revolutionary events in the countries of the East. It is well known what a large role political strikes, especially the general strike in October 1905, played in the Russian revolution. This experience made a very strong impression on revolutionaries in the countries of the East, especially in India. The prominent Indian nationalist M.K. Gandhi, who in those years headed the struggle of the Indian population of the British colony of South Africa against racial discrimination, devoted several articles to the Russian revolution. In one of them he wrote that the victory of the revolution will be "the greatest event of the century." "We can use Russia's method in the struggle against the tyranny," continued M.K. Gandhi, and called for "showing that same firmness of spirit which the Russian people have shown." These words were accompanied by high praise for the Russian workers' general strike.

B. Tilak, leader of the revolutionary wing of the Indian liberation movement, also pointed out the importance of the experience of the all-Russian October political strike and in his newspaper KESARI wrote in November 1905: "When in Russia representatives of both the lower and higher classes -- professors and

students, workers and owners of enterprises, editors and owners of stores -- organized the general strike and, fearing nothing, boldly and insistently presented their demands to the tsar, the most powerful of all monarchs with an army of more than 2 million men at his disposal, the tsar of all Rus' was forced to satisfy most of the demands of his subjects."

It is not surprising that the general strike of the workers of Bombay became the clearest evidence of the revolutionary awakening of India. When English authorities arrested and judged B. Tilak, his supporters appealed to the workers: "Respond to every year of imprisonment to which Tilak is condemned with one day of general strike!" More than 100,000 people took part in it.

In certain countries, in particular Iran, the example of the Russian armed worker detachments of the period of the uprising in Moscow and other cities was used. In connection with the counterrevolutionary action of the Iranian Shah, V.I. Lenin wrote: "A counterrevolution took place in Persia which uniquely combined the disbanding of the first Duma and the Russian uprising of late 1905."⁴

It is therefore not surprising that soon after the start of the Russian revolution important revolutionary events occurred in a number of countries of the East. And revolutions broke out in Iran, Turkey, and China. Of course, it was natural that the revolutions which marked the "awakening of Asia" developed in dependent countries which had formally preserved their political independence, rather than in colonies. The sharpness of the sociopolitical contradictions in these countries was determined by the fact that the sharpest contradictions between the ruling feudal-absolutist regimes and the broad social strata were superimposed on their exploitation by imperialist powers. In addition, the peoples of Iran, Turkey, and China were opposed by relatively weak political regimes which had discredited themselves and national armed forces which were unreliable.

The people of Iran were the first to respond to the events in Russia. To a substantial degree this was the result of the fact that close economic and cultural ties existed between the two countries. In addition, Russian tsarism held a stronger position in Iran than in any other country of the foreign East; therefore, the weakening of tsarism under the blows of revolution had an earlier and fuller impact there more than anywhere else. Mass demonstrations began in Tehran in December 1905 and developed with new force in the summer of 1906. Bazaars, shops, and workshops were closed in the capital. Representatives of the high Shi'a priesthood, also guided to some degree by ideas of increasing their influence with the masses, also spoke out against the Shah. Many of them left Tehran and moved to the city of Qum for effect. Large rallies were held in mosques. Demands for elections to the Majlis (parliament) and the adoption of a constitution were presented everywhere. The Shah was forced to retreat. In October 1906 the first Iranian Majlis assembled and drew up a constitution. Representatives of the priesthood, liberal landowners, and important merchants headed the revolution at that time. They were satisfied with what was achieved, but democratic elements continued the struggle to deepen the revolution.

The spontaneous people's demonstrations in the eastern regions of Anatolia (Turkey) also relate to 1905. The 1906 Erzurum uprising was the most significant. Riots began even earlier in Bitlis. Residents of the city demanded that the governor be recalled and on his house hung a bundle of hay and a bag of barley with the slogan "Better to live on these products than to undertake management of the vilayet." The Russian consul in Trabzon had already established in late 1905 that the "self-consciousness of the Muslim population in the Anatolian vilayets is beginning to awaken at an intensified pace and the influence of events in Russia is undeniable."

In 1908 V.I. Lenin wrote, "The revolutionary movement in China against the Middle Ages has also made itself known with particular force in recent months." A revolutionary situation took shape in the country. Back in the summer of 1905 several revolutionary organizations had merged into a "Unified Alliance" headed by Sun Yat Sen, the leader of Chinese democracy. The newspaper MING BAO (People's Newspaper) began to be published in Tokyo; it regularly published articles and information on the events in Russia.

The authorities were forced to maneuver. In the fall of 1906 the Imperial Edict on the coming conversion to constitutional government was published. Sun Yat Sen had to wage a determined struggle against the liberal constitutionalists who wanted an accommodation with the monarchy. In light of this he relied on the experience of Russian revolutionaries who had exposed the real essence of the Tsar's manifesto of 17 October 1905. The newspaper MING BAO wrote: "If a people who have won back their democratic rights from the government do not achieve a decisive superiority of forces, then all reforms which the government will formally carry out are nothing more than idle talk. Let us now turn to China and we will see that the obstinacy and inertness of its government is ten times worse than in Russia."

Sun Yat Sen's activity helped consolidate revolutionary elements. The "Unified Alliance" became an influential organization with about 10,000 members. On 10 October 1911 rebelling soldiers took the city of Wuchang. Revolutionary authority was also established in the neighboring cities of Hanyang and Hankou (today all these cities are the unified city of Wuhan). Railroad workers also participated in the taking of Hankou; they arrived from the China-Eastern Railroad where they had received an education in class struggle under the guidance of Russian Bolsheviks. Many provinces refused to recognize the Imperial government. The imperial palace transferred authority to General Yuan Shi Kai, who enjoyed influence in right liberal circles. Soon he began negotiations with the leaders of the revolutionary troops. In late December representatives of revolutionary provinces who had met in Nanking proclaimed themselves the National Assembly and elected Sun Yat Sen provisional president of the Chinese Republic. It was planned that after the monarchy fell in Beijing, Yuan Shi Kai would occupy that post.

The abdication of the Manchu dynasty was announced on 12 February 1912 and on 15 February the National Assembly ratified Yuan Shi Kai as provisional president of the Chinese Republic.

Believing that "Chinese freedom was won by an alliance of peasant democracy and the liberal bourgeoisie," V.I. Lenin expressed justified doubt about "whether peasants who were not led by a party of the proletariat would be able

to maintain their democratic position against liberals who were only waiting for a suitable time to veer to the right. . . ."⁸

China became a republic but the policies of the liberals who had gained the upper hand led to authority in the hands of the generals, who were closely tied to foreign imperialists.

Not one of the objective socioeconomic tasks which faced the first revolutionaries in the countries of Asia was accomplished, and in this sense the revolutions suffered defeat. Only certain formal changes in the political superstructure took place. Iran and the Ottoman Empire became constitutional monarchies, while China became a republic. This circumstance to some extent certainly helped consolidate the political independence of these countries after the victory of the Great October Revolution.

The influence of the revolution of 1905 was not limited to Iran, Turkey, and China. Powerful antiimperialist demonstrations engulfed other countries as well. For example, revolutionary events took place in Indonesia, which was occasion for the publication of the well-known article by V.I. Lenin, "The Awakening of Asia." In 1908 the first national organization "Budi Utomo" (High Goal) originated in Java and in 1912 the "Sarakat Islam" (Union of Islam) was founded. V.I. Lenin believed that among the popular masses in Java the "national movement had been awakened under the banner of Islam."⁹ The struggle of the peoples of the largest colonial country -- India -- was of great international importance. The above-mentioned general strike of Bombay workers was the high point of this struggle.

The 1905 revolution activated the Vietnamese and Korean national-liberation movements.

Signs of an active national awakening were observed in the Arab countries. The Russian schools created by the "Palestinian Society" in Syria, Libya, and Palestine played a substantial role in infiltrating the democratic ideas of the Russian revolution and progressive social thought into the milieu of the Arab intelligentsia. The famous Russian Arab scientist I.Yu. Krachkovskiy wrote: "The significance of these small and often poorly organized schools was great. Through the teacher seminaries of the Palestinian Society, the great precepts of Pirogov and Ushinskiy with their high ideals, taken from Russia, also penetrated here. Contact with Russian culture and Russian literature left an indelible mark on all life."

The revolutionary events of the period of awakening of Asia raised the national-liberation movement to its highest level. In characterizing the situation in the countries of Asia, V.I. Lenin wrote that "alliances and parties are arising with remarkable speed."¹⁰ Small revolutionary and even socialist organizations existed in certain countries. Progressive national cadres accumulated important political experience. M.K. Gandhi and Sun Yat Sen were already mentioned in this connection.

But only Marxist-Leninists could give a genuinely scientific analysis of the changes in the development of the revolutionary process in the early 20th century. V.I. Lenin, who wrote a cycle of works devoted to the awakening of Asia, did an enormous amount of theoretical work. Moreover, such prominent figures as V.D. Bonch-Bruyevich, A.S. Bubnov (Ekko), V.V. Vorovskiy, S.M. Kirov (Smirnov), B. Knunyants, N.N. Narimanov, M. Pavlovich (Volonter), F.A. Rotshteyn, and others published a number of valuable materials in the Bolshevik party and legal press on the revolution in Asia and the upsurge of the national-liberation movement in the countries of the East.

With exceptional depth and sagacity V.I. Lenin determined the nature of the epoch which had begun: "The awakening of Asia and the beginning of the struggle for power by Europe's progressive proletariat marks a new period of world history which opened in the early 20th century."¹¹ Shortly before this, characterizing the historical fortunes of the doctrine of K. Marx, he asserted that "a new source of vast world storms has been discovered in Asia," and the epoch "of these storms and their 'reflection back' to Europe" has begun.¹²

Then the interaction of the forces of world socialism and the national-liberation movement became the most important task. As long as there was no state-organized socialism, this interaction was comparatively modest; but V.I. Lenin attached great significance to it. This interaction took shape most notably at that time between the socialist forces of Russia and Iran's liberation movement. On 30 April 1909 V.I. Lenin received a telegram from the Iranian patriots; it contained a request that the Bolshevik faction in the State Duma prevent tsarist Russia's intervention in the constitutional movement in Iran.¹³

V.I. Lenin wanted the Russian experience to be accessible to all parties of the 2nd International. He regularly informed the International Socialist Bureau of the Iranian patriots' appeals to the international socialist movement.

In 1909 a mass movement against the colonial war in Morocco seized Spain, and in Italy socialists condemned the colonial war in Libya.

A few years later, working out the problems of war, peace, and revolution and having come to the historical conclusion that the victory of socialist revolution was possible initially in one individual or several countries and his conclusion on the role which the forces of national liberation would play in this victory; V.I. Lenin showed the structure of the future world, which would consist of socialist, bourgeois, and prebourgeois (colonies and semicolonies) countries.¹⁴ He repeatedly emphasized the natural character of an alliance between the socialist countries and the forces of national liberation, alluding to the experience of the first Russian revolution. In his historical speech at the 1st All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldier Deputies in June 1917, V.I. Lenin noted that "1905 demonstrated what the foreign policy of the Russian revolution should be."¹⁵

A huge step-up in the world revolutionary process took place after the victory of the Great October Revolution and defeat of the German fascists and Japanese

militarists, and the revolutionary trends which arose in the period of the 1905 Russian revolution gained unprecedented momentum. The shameful colonial system crashed down under the blows of the popular masses. Many dozens of independent states appeared in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; the opportunity for national rebirth and the consolidation of national independence opened up before them. Today, acting from positions of antiimperialism and against all forms of racial oppression and enslavement, most of these countries play an active role in the international arena. The support by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of the national-liberation movements of peoples and the interaction of the socialist states and the liberated countries have become major factors of international development, consolidation of the forces of peace and progress on the planet, and the struggle to prevent a thermonuclear holocaust.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin. "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniya" [Complete Collected Works] Vol 23, p 146.
2. Ibid. Vol 30, p 326.
4. Ibid. Vol 17, p 174.
7. Ibid. Vol 17, p 179.
8. Ibid. Vol 22, p 191.
9. Ibid. Vol 23, p 145.
10. Ibid. pp 145-146
11. Ibid. p 146.
12. Ibid. p 3.
13. "V.I. Lenin. Biograficheskaya Khronika". [V.I. Lenin. Biographical Chronical] Vol 2, p 474.
14. Cf. V.I. Lenin "Poln. sobr. soch." Vol 30, p 133.
15. Ibid. Vol 32, p 289.

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INTERNATIONAL

'DISINFORMATION' CAMPAIGN SAID BEING WAGED AGAINST ZIMBABWE

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 85 pp 20-23

[Article by Sergey Kulik under the rubric "Along the Path of Progressive Transformations": "Zimbabwe: To Tell the Truth"]

[Text] The work of the 2nd Congress of the Zimbabwean African National Union Party-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) which rules the young African republic took place in August 1984. It has already been widely covered in the Soviet press. This congress was of genuinely historical significance to the country. The program and charter of the party which were approved at the congress clearly announce the choice by the Zimbabwean people of a socialist future and envision the creation in Zimbabwe of a state based on socialist principles; reorganization of the national economy in order to insure the victory of socialism over capitalism; promotion of the development of national self-consciousness and unity of the entire people without discrimination by ethnic and religious affiliation, race, sex, or origin; consolidation of the alliance of workers, peasants, and intelligentsia; institution of a one-party system; and an antiimperialist course in the international arena.

This major step became possible due to the realistic domestic and foreign policy which R. Mugabe's government has followed for the first four years of the country's independence. Our journal has frequently written about its successes and problems.

The article published below, by a well-known Soviet journalist who worked as a TASS correspondent in countries of East and South Africa for many years, is mainly devoted to Zimbabwe's struggle against the "information aggression" of imperialism and the apartheid regime and for "decolonization of the consciousness" of the republic's citizens. The same author examined the political and economic aspects of the situation in Zimbabwe in the article "Formative Period" (see: AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 5, 1984).

The history of Rhodesia in the last years before the fall of the racist regime not only abounded in interracial excesses, generally provoked by the white colonial settlers, but in interethnic friction frequently inspired by them as

well. It is therefore understandable how complex and at the same time important it is to the young Republic of Zimbabwe to achieve national reconciliation and teach the representatives of different races and peoples to live together. Among other things this means convincing the whites that there is also a place for them in African Zimbabwe when they observe law and order and above all the paramount principle -- equality of all citizens.

The predictions of the enemies of the newborn state on a supposedly inevitable "bloodbath" based on race and a "mass exodus" of whites from the country have not been realized. The integration process proceeded quite smoothly even in the army, which combined three regular forces: the Zimbabwean African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) -- the military organization of the Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU) which Prime Minister Robert Mugabe heads; the Zimbabwean Revolutionary Army of the People (ZIPRA) -- the military organization of the Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU) led by Joshua Nkomo; and the former Rhodesian armed forces of Ian Smith.

"This was the most difficult of all tasks which faced us when we gained independence," said R. Mugabe. "Every soldier had to be loyal to the state and the elected government. Small groups wanted to violate the agreement we had achieved but the fact that conflict did not arise attests to the success of our measure."

Anti-Zimbabwean Sorties

And then the racist Pretoria regime decided to stir up conflict in Zimbabwe. At a certain time detachments of armed terrorists began to be active in Matabeleland, the Zimbabwean province which borders the Republic of South Africa. These terrorists attacked members of the cooperatives which had just been formed, burned schools and hospitals built by the government, seized foreign tourists as hostages, blew up bridges and power lines, and "simply" killed peaceful peasants.

The South African press, and following it the Western bourgeois press, started trying to correlate the actions of these bands with the imaginary acts of "detachments of dissidents from ZIPRA," which supposedly reflected "popular discontent" with the state of affairs in the country. Nonetheless, an investigation by republic security organs irrefutably proved that the bands were creations of the Republic of South Africa.

Western diplomats accredited in Harare held the same opinion; as the French Press Agency reported on 13 July 1984, they "agree that the apartheid regime is managing the activity of the anti-Zimbabwean insurgents. The diplomats believe that the Republic of South Africa is using their actions in the struggle against the Mugabe government, applying a strategy similar to the one it followed in neighboring Mozambique."

Information which appeared in May 1984 in the American journal NEWSWEEK serves to confirm this; the journal stated that the rulers of Pretoria instructed the leaders of the so-called Mozambique National Opposition (MNO) to begin subversive terrorist actions in Zimbabwe. Feverish preparation for anti-Zimbabwean sorties developed in terrorist bases in the South African province

of Transvaal. Special attention is being devoted to "psychological warfare". Bandits from the MNO, attests the American journal, secretly take into Zimbabwe leaflets received from South African authorities with appeals to overthrow the republic's legal government.

Using the bands supported by Pretoria the racists are not only trying to discredit the administration and the national army in the eyes of the Zimbabwean population on the eve of the general elections planned for 1985, but to also delude world public opinion and pass off the atrocities committed by their accomplices as a manifestation of a supposed "internal opposition". Unfortunately, certain circles in the West are playing into their hands and making a terrible fuss about the "events in Matabeleland". Bourgeois mass information media have described Bulawayo as a "deserted city" supposedly in a state of seige. Referring to "authoritative" but, as always in such cases, unnamed sources they have reported on "mass arrests," "arbitrary actions by the authorities," "atrocities by government troops," and so on.

"The life of the white man in this country is becoming unbearable," declared the racist ex-premier Ian Smith, not calling "this country" Zimbabwe. And immediately the South African newspapers echoed him. "It is time for white Rhodesians to pack their suitcases; the Republic of South Africa is waiting for them," wrote STATESMAN, the official yes-man of Pretoria. "The simplest method is to make Mugabe more compliant -- that means disorganizing his economy by the departure of white specialists," the fascist in spirit TRANSVAALER said candidly. And BURGER, which seems to exist only to publicize apartheid, even appealed to the government "not to remain indifferent in the face of the violation of the elementary rights of whites" in Zimbabwe.

But what precisely are these rights? In Bulawayo, you see, "freedom was stifled" when the authorities prohibited racist white youth from wearing jeans with patches of the Zimbabwean flag sewn on the bottom, for effect. In Harare a group of soccer jerseys with inscriptions offensive to Africans were confiscated. In a number of cities store owners had to stop selling records with recordings of songs by bards of the colonial war, among them Clem Tolet, the son-in-law of Smith. Yearning for the past, tipsy supporters of the Smith party still bawl out these songs in bars in some places. I do not remember the exact words but the idea of the refrain is always the same: "White Rhodesia will not die! We stopped the enemy at the Zambezi and the water in it will dry up before the Kaffirs are victorious."

An old song! Rhodesia died the day the Republic of Zimbabwe was proclaimed. Nonetheless, clutching at symbols of the past which the people threw onto the junkheap of history and trying to make "major politics" on them, the organizers of the anti-Zimbabwean campaign are clearly trying to push the whites to a mass exodus from the country, scare away foreign investors of capital, and, having complicated the Zimbabwean economy by doing so, make its government "more compliant" in the international arena, above all in regard to the racist Republic of South African.

After repeated warnings that they would not tolerate fabrication of false information on the situation in the country, the Zimbabwean authorities expelled the especially zealous slanderers -- correspondents of South African,

American, English, and West German publications (of course, not every one, but "as deserved") -- from Harare in early 1983. Forced to bite their tongues, the devotees of Western propaganda centers activated a disinformation campaign from outside. In March 1983 the radio station "Truth" began to broadcast from the South African province of Transvaal. As an analysis of its programs translated into English attests, it was created by Pretoria in the image of similar radio stations aimed at other independent states in the region. After "Truth" came "Radio Chakwadi," which broadcasts in the language of the Mashona people -- the largest nationality of Zimbabwe, as well as "Radio Matabeleland," which carries broadcasts in the Ndebele language.

According to data leaked to the pages of Johannesburg newspapers, the CIA is involved in financing "Truth" and its "understudies". The fact that a regional USIA radio service center opened in Swaziland almost simultaneously with the appearance of "Truth" and a 50-kilowatt "Voice of America" transmitter went into operation in Botswana indicates the link between the actions of the South African and American propaganda services. Both these mouthpieces of radio lies are to a great extent directed against Zimbabwe.

Associates of Western mass information media who have been deprived of the opportunity of working in Harare have by no means lost interest in the subject of Zimbabwe. Having entrenched themselves in Johannesburg, closer to the "directive center," they continue to concoct articles and reports based on what was "seen" or "heard" by other, as a rule, anonymous informants. It is curious that of the approximately 130 Western journalists accredited by the Zimbabwe Ministry of Information in 1983, no more than 30 lived in Harare. The rest thought it was more convenient to reside in the Republic of South Africa, not without self-interest tailoring their interpretation of events taking place in Zimbabwe to the racist press version.

Favoring the opening of a U.N. information center in the Zimbabwean capital, R. Mugabe sharply condemned Western propaganda organs which "in trying to shield racism became so entangled in their own lies that even they could not distinguish truth from invention and facts from falsifications. The young states," he emphasized, "are resolved to put an end to the unceasing stream of disinformation which imperialist propaganda is raining down on them."

The Kadome Declaration

The conference of ministers of information of the "front" states which took place in late July 1983 in the Zimbabwean city of Kadome confirmed this resolve. Representatives of Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Tanzania as well as the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the People's Organization of Southwest Africa adopted the Kadome Declaration which, in the opinion of the Zimbabwean newspaper HERALD, is the "first program document of joint actions to refute the evil slander of the Republic of South Africa and the imperialist powers which support it."

The information aggression of the racist Republic of South Africa and its allies against the "front" states, says this important document, is a constituent part of the Pretoria regime's strategy aimed at military and economic destabilization of the independent countries in southern Africa. The

West has made the Republic of South Africa the main information center of the south African region; it is therefore not surprising that many Western agencies, newspapers, and radio and television companies which have accredited representatives in the racist state deliberately describe the policies and life of African countries in a distorted way and propagandize the Pretoria racists' biased view of the situation in the region.

Conference participants adopted a decision not to allow journalists based in the Republic of South Africa to work in the "front" states. Correspondents expelled from any "front" state will be automatically deprived of the right to enter the others.

The Kadome forum also decided to increase aid to information services of South African national-liberation movements: to allow the patriots an additional number of radio stations on the territory of the "front" states and more broadcast time; to create training courses and increased qualification courses for editors, photojournalists, and equipment operators; and to insure regular exchange of information and photo material among the participating countries.

These decisions began to be carried out immediately in Zimbabwe. Already on 1 August 1983 a group of BBC correspondents headed by F. Hayton, which had arrived in Harare from the Republic of South Africa, were refused accreditation. In late January 1984 an Associated Press correspondent M. Faul was turned away. In May of the same year the republic's Ministry of Information denied the request of eight Western journalists based in the Republic of South Africa to be allowed to travel to Matabeleland, and seven correspondents of the South African newspapers which sought similar permission were expelled from Zimbabwe. This trip was organized by the Zimbabwean authorities to disprove the unsubstantiated fabrications of the Western press about "genocide" in the province. The unanimous opinion expressed by 60 foreign journalists who were in Matabeleland at the time was: the local population from the Ndebele nationality are cooperating with authorities and the ones disturbing the peace in the Zimbabwean south are internal and foreign enemies of the republic.

Citing the American WASHINGTON POST, which admitted that at one time the Smith regime had made up a long list of foreign journalists who were "unacceptable" to the authorities and should not be allowed into Rhodesia further than the airport and an equally long list of correspondents who were notified of the undesirability of their visits to this country, the Zimbabwean newspaper SUNDAY MAIL wrote: "In those years, however, no one in the West understood the question of freedom of the press in the racists' 'white republic' and demanded that they organize a free trip through the country for progressive journalists from African states. But now our free republic is called a 'black dictatorship' just because we do not want to see all kinds of bourgeois scribblers trying to get to Harare for the single purpose of sending forged documents prepared in advance with our local dateline."

Decolonization of the Consciousness

Living in conditions of a "propaganda war," recognizing the danger of being left without qualified specialists at any moment, and experiencing a crucial

shortage of national cadres, the Republic of Zimbabwe is giving paramount importance to questions of ideology and the development of education and culture. And it cannot be otherwise in the former "white" settlers' colony where the abyss between the cultural level of the prosperous European settler accustomed to all the blessings of contemporary civilization and the African deprived of absolutely all rights was deeper than anywhere in Africa except the Republic of South Africa. Whites in Rhodesia were indoctrinated as the "race of creators and intellectuals" and blacks as draft animals. This was the official policy -- from Cecil Rhodes to Ian Smith. Under such a legacy eradication of the "inferiority complex" with which the Africans had been inculcated in the church, in school, and in the field which the press and radio had planted became one of the young republic's most important tasks.

It was no accident that in describing the program adopted at the ZANU-PF congress and listing the fields of social life which need to be reorganized on a scientific socialist basis, R. Mugabe put education first.

"It is precisely in the field of ideology and culture that racism was especially strong and therefore it is precisely there where new democratic principles must be accepted and conditions for decolonizing the Africans' consciousness must be created; this will open the way for implementing radical socioeconomic transformations," said the Zimbabwean leader. "In all spheres of our life the criterion of personal worth must come to replace privileges which formerly stemmed only from a light skin color. The amount, large or small, of pigmentation will not be taken into account in the scale of values of the new Zimbabwean society. We by no means dispute the substantial contribution of Europeans in Zimbabwe's cultural development. But everything in this country was built by African hands and we will try to put control over the country into their hands anywhere and everywhere.

One of the first steps in this direction was the introduction of state control of the press. Since Rhodes' time both in South Africa and in Rhodesia the Argus company which, by the way, was closely tied to the British Tory elite dominated the newspaper market. What a roar broke out in the South African press when the Zimbabwe state mass information trust bought controlling numbers of shares in all five of the country's newspapers from Argus! FATHERLAND, the semiofficial organ of the apartheid regime, wrote that this measure was "clear proof of the Africans' intention to establish a communist dictatorship in Zimbabwe," while STATESMAN affirmed that "Mugabe placed a black cross on freedom of the press." Of course, they preferred to forget that Smith censorship prohibited the publication of materials which in its opinion cast a shadow on the racist system. A column without gaping white spots could rarely be found in Rhodesian newspapers. And really, why should freedom of the press in Zimbabwe be understood as freedom to conduct hostile propaganda rather than freedom to express the opinions of the majority of the country's citizens?

Then the state Zimbabwe Inter-African New Agency (ZIANA) was founded; this agency was to supply the republic's newspapers, radio and television with information.

The attention Zimbabwe authorities are devoting to mass information media and the arrival in the editorial office of African journalists who sharpened their pens back in the years of partisan leaflets and soldier wall newspapers is changing the face of the "big papers" of Harare. Newspapers which used to be meant only for white settlers and collaborationist black officials are beginning to arouse the interest of a broad circle of readers. This was quickly reflected in their circulation, which rose approximately by a quarter. The Zimbabwe SUNDAY MAIL and HERALD, outstripping the newspapers of Kenya and Nigeria, became the most widely read publications in Tropical Africa. And, as the Mozambique NOTICIAS noted, they are acquiring an increasingly clear antiimperialist look.

The Institute of Mass Information Media was created in Zimbabwe in 1981. Its main task is to train national cadres. Its first graduates -- there are more than 50 -- have already begun working.

The republic's radio and television, which now also belong to the state, are gradually changing. While formerly English and American light serials predominated on the TV screen, the number of broadcasts by local studios has increased recently. Their subjects conform to the tasks posed by the government: to achieve national reconciliation and prepare the country to start on the path of laying the foundations of a socialist society. Today Zimbabwe has more than 200,000 television sets and far from all of them are in whites' private residences. Many "people's homes," communal clubs, and cooperatives have acquired TV sets in the years of independence; an enormous African audience gathers around the screens in the evening. Taking this into consideration, the number of broadcasts in the Shona and Ndebele languages has been sharply increased. The "Forum" television club is especially popular among viewers; this club arranges debates on such timely topics as, for example, "Woman's role in national development," "Youth's position in contemporary Zimbabwe," and the "Struggle against traditions which impede progressive development".

The radio broadcasting system has changed radically. Even quite recently it was impossible to pick up a capital radio broadcast in many corners of the country and Zimbabweans had to turn to foreign stations to find out the latest news. But immediately after the country won independence the government bought new contemporary radio broadcasting equipment. Now only the first program carries broadcasts in English for urban residents, while the second, which is broadcast in the Shona and Ndebele languages, is oriented to rural residents and the third -- to youth. A fourth radio program came on the air in October 1982; its task is to propagandize the ideas of socialist developmental prospects and the socioeconomic transformations which are taking place in the country and broadcast educational programs for the political indoctrination of the masses. For the first time the voices of announcers speaking in the languages of the country's ethnic minorities -- Tsonga, Kalanga, N'yan'ya -- were heard on the program. In the countryside collective listening points are being set up for those who do not have their own receivers.

Zimbabwe has taken an important initiative, the goal of which is to put an end to "information colonialism" and limit the sphere of activity of racist

propaganda: the republic has proposed intensifying cooperation among independent countries of southern Africa in the field of mass information media and journalist training and combining national telecommunication networks so that the citizens of these countries can find out about events in the region firsthand. Good luck!

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INTERNATIONAL

WESTERN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS' VIEWS ON ANGOLA EXAMINED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 85 pp 28-31

[Article by N. Zotov, candidate of historical sciences, under the rubric "Ideology and Politics": "The Angolan Revolution Mirrored in Western Political Science"]

[Text] Last December marked 28 years since the founding of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), under whose leadership this country won its independence in November 1975. Like the course chosen by other Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa which were relatively recently liberated from colonial dominion, the course of socialist orientation which Angola chose arouses the extreme dissatisfaction of imperialist circles. A yearning to discredit the revolutionary transformations the Angolan people are implementing is clearly traced in the works by bourgeois political scientists. The vanguard of the Angolan people, the MPLA-Labor Party is being subjected to particular attack. (The movement was transformed into a party and received this name at its 1st congress in December 1977).

At the same time the mass information media of capitalist countries have undertaken an unprecedented campaign to try to whitewash the criminal apartheid system and give it a "new face" and to describe the terrorist anti-Angola organizations like UNITA [National Alliance for the Complete Independence of Angola] nourished by Pretoria and Washington as virtual "champions of human rights". This campaign became even more intense after Angola and Mozambique concluded the well-known agreements with the Republic of South Africa in February-March 1984.¹

It is not the first time that bourgeois political science has tried to delude world public opinion about the development of events in southern Africa. An example which demonstrates this is the treatment it gave to the national-liberation struggle and the sources of revolution in Angola.

Two schools can be conditionally distinguished in Western "Angolan studies" -- bourgeois-conservative and bourgeois-liberal. We must stipulate that this distinction is conditional because, although it completely adequately reflects the state of affairs in the field being examined, nonetheless, like any schematic picture, it does not include the entire diversity of nuances and shades of bourgeois "Angolan studies" historiography in their intertwining and

evolution. Any detailed analysis of this question is possible, obviously, only within the framework of a special, quite thorough study.

The first of the two schools, which predominated until the late 1960's, was put forward primarily by Portuguese official sources like N. Gonzaga, E. Santos, H. Felgash, and others. As a rule they did not pose the question of the social nature of anticolonial protest in Angola or the question of which strata of the oppressed population was expressing it. Candid apologists of Portuguese colonialism simply slandered the Angolan patriots and called them "terrorists" who follow the "revolutionary strategy of murder, sabotage, and devastation"² and did not perceive (or ignored) the fundamental difference between the MPLA and marionette groups like the FNLA [National Liberation Front of Angola] and UNITA³, asserting that all of them are linked by burning hatred of the whites and the desire to deal with them physically or drive them out of the country; therefore these organizations are also conducting nationalistic propaganda among the "inert" peasant masses. Other Western European and American authors -- S. Gilchrist, R. Woring, C. Edgerton, and so forth -- who have joined in this line of thought have also given a similar interpretation of events in Angola.

In general most of the works by "Angola-ists" of the bourgeois-conservative persuasion have not been distinguished by originality of interpretation. The leitmotif is the same: the popular movement for Angola's freedom is a procommunist organization guided exclusively by instructions from the outside. For example, the authors of the reference book "Portuguese Africa" published in London (essentially a collective monograph) stated without ceremony that the MPLA enjoyed the most support among "groups of Angolan intelligentsia infected with a communist world view. The local communist party - a branch of the Portuguese communist party promoted this."⁴

But what did the MPLA really represent in the early stages of the anticolonial struggle?

"People of various political and ideological views participate in our movement," explained Agostino Neto. "Therefore, such definitions as communist or socialist are not applicable to it. But our organization adheres to a certain political orientation. The movement is armed with a radical program not only intended for the struggle for national liberation but for social emancipation as well."⁵

This statement of the prominent leader of the Angolan revolution and first president of the NRA [People's Republic of Angola], who departed this life too young, reveals the social and ideological essence of the MPLA in its general features. It arose in 1956 as a national-democratic movement and in time was converted into a broad liberation front which united representatives of various classes and strata of colonial society -- workers, peasants, craftsmen, small merchants, and office workers. The role of the main driving force of the anticolonial revolution was assigned to the large body of peasants, while patriotically inclined intelligentsia were called on to mobilize the popular masses and introduce revolutionary consciousness into the milieu of the working people. Most MPLA members gathered around the most influential revolutionary-democratic wing, which objectively expressed the

interests of the most unfortunate strata of the native population. Other factions within the movement which were of a petty bourgeois nature (supporters of V. de Cruz, D. Chipendy, N. Alvisha, and others) proved to be only temporary fellow-travelers of the revolution.

Gradually broad areas of Angola became engulfed in a partisan war under MPLA leadership. By mid-1973 its fighters controlled more than a third of the country's territory -- about 500,000 square kilometers. The movement's successes were explained by the fact that it managed to really rely on the working people, above all the peasants. Rural young people were the backbone of the armed MPLA formations. The policy of decisive transformations which the MPLA carried out in liberated regions was an important factor in recruiting them to the side of the revolution. Patriots went into battle inspired by the prospect of establishing a democratic system of social justice and equality in all of Angola and feeling the masters of their own land.

The MPLA's military successes and its obvious popularity among the Angolan masses forced bourgeois political scientists to partly reorient themselves. The liberal school was activated; the Western European authors D. Villera, R. Gibson, R. Pelisier, and E. Ferriero can be called adherents of this school. A small group of Americans joined them -- J. Marcum, J. Dafi, R. Chilcote, and others. It must be explained that in every way possible official Washington publicized the United States' noninvolvement in "class" colonialism in Africa and its readiness to deal with current problems and concerns of the African peoples with well-disposed understanding, and so forth. The real state of affairs of such statements was simple: to drive out the former mother countries from the "Black Continent" in order to take their place in the system of neocolonial robbery of young states. This is where the "liberalness" of the corresponding historical works comes from.

Researchers of this persuasion are distinguished from "conservatives" mainly by the fact that they did not consider it appropriate and advisable to preserve colonialism in its earlier forms. They all strove to prove that the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola was by no means a Marxist organization but rather a nationalist organization. As an example, R. Chilcote talks about the liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies as a "developed form of nationalism".⁶ In turn the Englishman R. Gibson expressed the opinion that the platform of the MPLA, FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front], and PAIGC [The African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde] developed under the influence of both the liberal bourgeois ideas of 18th century Western Europe and America and the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" by K. Marx and F. Engels. In its words, "the radicalization of the liberation movement is not only the result of the blockage of all paths of constitutional progress but of the disappointment of the fighters against colonialism in the blessings of capitalist development as well."⁷

At that time bourgeois researchers began devoting fixed attention on analyzing various ideological-political trends represented in the MPLA. Their goal was completely pragmatic. They proposed, among other things, that the Western governments, not restricted to blind support of the FNLA and UNITA, try at the right time to use the "moderate" figures of the Popular Movement for the

Liberation of Angola to their own advantage. But time was precisely what history did not give to either these figures or their potential patrons.

The circumstances of Angola's gaining independence and the MPLA's rise to power are sufficiently well known that there is no need to retell them. We will only say that in conditions of direct aggression by the Republic of South Africa and armed opposition by internal reaction, the development of the Angolan revolution would have been impossible without the comprehensive support given by the socialist community and the world revolutionary movement. "It was by no means accidental that from the moment of victory over the forces of imperialism the MPLA clearly and without hesitation spoke out for socialism," noted one of the MPLA-Labor Party leaders, L. Pizarru. "Here we must emphasize the decisive role which the ratio of forces which developed in favor of socialism played in this situation."⁸

The 1st MPLA Congress, which took place in December 1977, announced the country's choice of a socialist orientation and transformed the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola into the MPLA-Labor Party, the vanguard party of working people.

Naturally, the revolutionary process in Angola is clashing both with difficulties of an objective nature, and, to an increasingly greater extent, with intrigues of foreign and internal reaction. The imperialists have not stopped attempting to force the young republic to turn from the path it chose. Bloody subversive activities supported by the UNITA racists are being conducted on its territory. In August 1981 and December 1983 the Republic of South Africa launched a massive invasion of Angola with the direct complicity of the United States. The last operation, boastingly called "Safari," that is, "Hunting Expedition," was the largest. Although the Republic of South Africa managed to penetrate certain sections, they suffered appreciable losses in battles with the People's Armed Forces of the Liberation of Angola. On 16 February an agreement was reached in Lusaka; according to it Pretoria was obliged to let go of the regions it seized in two months and a joint Angolan-South African commission was set up to supervise the disengagement of troops at the Angola-Namibia border. Nonetheless, the aggressor's military contingents are located in the province of Huila to this day.

Continuation of the bitter struggle of the forces of yesterday and tomorrow in southern Africa caused a certain polarization in bourgeois "Angola studies". On the one hand, its conservative direction was reborn. The old and it would seem obsolete thesis that the MPLA had arisen as a result of a certain "pressure from without" under the "direct influence of an alien European culture" was puffed up anew.⁹ Quite prominent authors are not above unsubstantiated assertions of a clearly propagandistic nature. Thus, the Englishman M. Newitt in point of fact equates the MPLA and Angolan proimperialist groupings and justifies it by asserting that all of them adhere to a "clearly expressed tribalistic orientation" with one trivial reservation: unlike the FNLA and UNITA, the organizational structure and ideological principles of the MPLA took shape outside the borders of Africa under the influence of "foreign thought and foreign revolutionary models."¹⁰ The Americans David and Marina Ottaway approach the analysis of Angola's revolutionary democracy (and Mozambique's too) from a similar standpoint: they

see a phenomenon they call "Afro-communism" in the ideological-political platform of the MPLA-Labor Party. "Afro-communism has declared itself and the United States must study its antagonist carefully," they write.¹¹ Here it is at least clear that the word "antagonist" [protivnik] is applied to revolutionary-democratic regimes and bursts through the quasiscientific rhetoric.

At the same time a certain "leftward movement" -- as if in counterbalance -- of liberal bourgeois authors cannot fail to be noted. The English researcher G. Page, the Canadian professor V. Campbell, and others analyze different aspects of colonization and decolonization of English society and examine the liberation struggle headed by the MPLA in detail, although they also continue to emphasize the "nationalistic" nature of the organization. The Portuguese F. Santos tries to find the social roots of the MPLA, which in his opinion "was born in African urban quarters among many pitiful hovels where thousands of black workers and proles took shelter."¹² The work by the Spanish publicist Emilio del Valle "Angola. Imperialism and Civil War" is of special interest. He describes the struggle for this country's independence as "anticolonial and to a substantial degree anticapitalist" and the MPLA -- as a "genuine movement for national and social emancipation," while he considers the FNLA and UNITA "organizational minorities" which are financed by "various pro-Western sources" and are tools of the South African racists.¹³

In Western European historiography a completely new approach to the study of the Angolan revolution from the positions of Marxism has also carved its way. Thus, the Portuguese historian E. Valles in his work "Africa: Colonialism and Socialism" justifiably notes that the victory of revolutionary-patriotic forces in the Portuguese colonies was above all a result of the active participation of the broad masses in the national-liberation movement. Adherents of A. Neto and A. Cabral, he writes, inevitably adhere to the opinion that "only after political propaganda among the people is the transition to the phase of armed struggle possible"¹⁴ and that they opposed the thesis "The gun makes power" and the "focal" theory of Regis Debre. The views of the progressive English researcher Basil Davidson coincide in many respects with this interpretation of the revolutionary struggle in Portuguese colonies. Moreover, in one of his books Davidson emphasized that the MPLA, FRELIMO, and PAIGC "managed to successfully apply Marxist-Leninist doctrine to African conditions."¹⁵ In the author's expression, a "double revolution" took place in the corresponding countries: the structure of colonial society collapsed under the blows of the patriots and at the same time the prerequisites for establishing a new order were created in the liberated regions.

Angolan researchers also undertake a Marxist analysis of the liberation movement in Angola, and in particular of MPLA policies. The study of Africa's history ceased to be the monopoly of European and American specialists, and the Eurocentrist approach to its problems is becoming a thing of the past. Among the Angolan works which deal with the problems of the early development of local revolutionary democracy, the collection "Essays on African History" as well as the collective monograph "The History of Angola" edited by E. Abranshes, which came out in the Portuguese city of Porto and was published a year later in Luanda, should be named above all. The authors' idea that the

collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire was a natural result of the centuries-old struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe for freedom and independence permeates the monograph. Today the theory of scientific socialism serves as the guiding star for these peoples who are building a new life.

In this way, several stages in the development of Western "Angolan studies" may be distinguished. At first Lisbon official historians who appeared with candid apologetics of Portuguese colonialism set the tone. Since the late 1960's the bourgeois-liberal direction, whose representatives could not fail to take account of the increasing consolidation of revolutionary-patriotic forces during the liberation war of the Angolan people, gradually began to predominate. In the third stage, after Angola won political independence, a kind of polarization of forces took place. A number of foreign scientists who frequently sympathized with the MPLA-Labor Party continue to hold liberal bourgeois positions in evaluating the revolutionary events which are taking place in Angola, but the first Marxist research on these problems has appeared. Nonetheless, in the late 1970's when the NRA unequivocally favored a socialist future of development, a sharp "leftward movement" in Western "Angolan studies" historiography was again observed. This especially graphically manifests itself in the most recent works by American authors -- works which in the fury of their anticommunist orientation are in no way inferior to the procolonialist "research" of the Salazar days.

FOOTNOTES

1. For more details see: Aleksandr Bobin, "Southern Africa: What Is Ahead?", AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 6, 1984.
2. E. Santos, "Maza", Lisbon, 1965, pp 45-46.
3. FNLA (National Liberation Front of Angola) and UNITA (National Alliance for the Complete Independence of Angola) are essentially tribal organizations which imperialist special services began to manipulate soon after they originated.
4. "Portuguese Africa. A Handbook", edited by D. Abshire and M. Samuels, London, 1969, pp 391-392.
5. A. Neto, "Pensamiento politico do camarada Presidente", Luanda, s. a., p 76.
6. R. Chilcote, "Portuguese Africa", Prentice-Hall, 1967, p 52.
7. R. Gibson, "African Liberation Movements", Oxford, 1972, pp 11-12.
8. Quoted from PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 4, 1981, p 31.
9. L. Henderson, "Angola. Five Centuries of Conflict", Ithaca and London, 1981, pp 226-227.

10. M. Newitt, "Portugal in Africa: The Last Hundred Years", London, 1981, pp 226-227.
11. D. Ottaway, M. Ottaway, "Afrocommunism", New York, 1981, p 219.
12. F. Santos, "Angola na hora dramatica da descolonizacao", Lisbon, 1975, p 80.
13. E. del Valle, "Angola. Imperialismo y guerra civil", Madrid, 1976, pp 11-12, 128.
14. E. Valles, "Africa: colonialismo e socialismo", Lisbon, 1974, pp 151-152.
15. B. Davidson, "Africa in Modern History", London, 1978, p 354.

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka"

12424

CSO: 1807/227

INTERNATIONAL

AFRICANISTS DISCUSS AREAS OF STUDY, FUTURE TASKS

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 85 pp 40-43

[Article by Yu. Il'in, scientific secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on Problems of Africa, under the rubric "Scientific Life": "The 4th All-Union Conference of Africanists"]

[Excerpts] On 3-5 October 1984 the 4th All-Union Conference of Africanists, with the title "Africa in the 1980's: Results and Prospects of Development," was held in Moscow. This conference coincided in time with the 25th anniversary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute -- the leading scientific center for studying the continent's problems.

In the time that has passed since the 3rd All-Union Conference (October 1979), the "geography" of African research has expanded in our country; the participation of more than 600 scientists, higher education teachers, and associates of practical organizations from 96 cities of the Soviet Union in the work of the first plenary meeting of the current forum attests to this. Also present were African graduate students and upperclassmen studying in Moscow. Accredited representatives of the states of Africa were found in the hall. The president of the Madagascar Academy of Sciences, S. Rabenuru; the chairman of the country's supreme court chamber Zh. Rabenuru; president of the International Congress of African Research and professor at Ibadan University (Nigeria), A. Adjai; director of the Nigerian Institute of International Relations, G. Olusaniya; chief associate of the secretariat on nationality affairs of the Central Committee of the Ethiopian Workers' Party, F. Asfa; president of the World Federation of United Nations Associations, N. Davidson (Sierra Leone); director of the Institute of Eastern Studies of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, J. Tsesar; deputy director of the Institute of International Relations of the GDR Academy of State and Law, R. Wuensche; deputy director of the Institute of World Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, M. Simay; and representatives of other academic institutes and VUZes of the socialist countries were at the conference at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Opening the all-Union forum of Africanists, the vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, P.N. Fedoseyev, gave a warm welcome to the participants on behalf of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The conference is called on to summarize the results and outline the future of

African studies in the USSR, discuss the major problems of contemporary Africa, and further deepen our understanding of the patterns of development of young states and the African continent's place and role in the world arena.

In a quarter of a century, Academician P.N. Fedoseyev continued, the USSR Academy of Sciences has conducted fundamental research in the fields of economics, sociology, history, law and the theory and practice of international relations and, in cooperation with other Academy of Sciences institutions, developed a number of fundamentally new scientific concepts (the socialist orientation of the liberated countries, the development of the continent's productive forces, planning in conditions of a multistructured economy, and resolving the nationality question in African countries) which are intended to serve as the theoretical base for developing Soviet-African relations and for USSR policy aimed at supporting the states of socialist orientation, consolidating the political independence of the continent's countries, and helping them achieve economic independence. Some of these developments represent a significant contribution to Soviet social science on the whole. Many points of the Institute's fundamental works are being realized in practice and in a number of cases the communist, revolutionary, and national-democratic parties of developing countries are using them in their own activities.

The contemporary situation, emphasized P.N. Fedoseyev, demands that research being conducted by social scientists who are specialists in international affairs be brought even closer to practical needs; Africanists too face great new tasks. In recent years the situation in African has become more complicated and the close tie between the social development of the continent's countries' and global problems has been revealed even more clearly. The activization of the struggle of these countries for economic liberation, the restructuring of international economic relations on a fair, democratic basis, and social progress is encountering increasing pressure from the imperialist West and the expansion of crisis trends and neocolonialist methods of force throughout the entire periphery of world capitalism.

Naturally we are examining the difficulties and problems of the African countries against the background of the general deterioration of the international situation caused by the attempts of the most reactionary forces of imperialism to return mankind to "cold war" times and to achieve military supremacy over the socialist system and world dominion, the speaker continued. The imperialist states, above all the United States, are trying even more actively than before to stop the world revolutionary process and undermine and eliminate progressive regimes in developing countries. It must be emphasized once again that the cause of the present international tension in Africa is not the struggle of the peoples of young states for their own final emancipation but rather imperialism's attempts to suppress this struggle.

The most important task of Soviet Africanists and of orientalists, the vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences said, is to expose from principled party positions imperialism's aggressive course, especially in the zone of developing countries, and help put up a reliable barrier against imperialism's encroachments on the sovereignty and security of peoples. Fixed attention should be devoted to new phenomena and processes in the social development of

the African countries, in particular to changes in their socioeconomic structures, differentiation of the ruling regimes, and the escalation of political and ideological struggle on the issue of paths for further development. An extremely serious question is the role of African countries in preventing nuclear war and protecting peace. It must be shown what an enormous danger the unrestrained stockpiling and deployment of American nuclear arms everywhere is creating for the continent, what enormous damage the arms race is doing to the African countries, and what opportunities for their economic development can be opened up when the burden of military expenditures is reduced. Academician P.N. Fedoseyev expressed confidence that Soviet African studies is up to solving all these tasks.

An.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on Problems of Africa and director of the Institute of Africa and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, gave a report "The Experience and Prospects of Research on Problems of Africa" at the plenary meeting; he gave a detailed description of the 25 years of activity of this institute and other centers of African studies in the USSR which have made an important contribution to the science of the "Black Continent's" countries and peoples.

Soviet Africanists, An. A. Gromyko said among other things, are aware of the fact that above all today the ideological-theoretical level of scientific research must be raised further and it must be made more fundamental, effective, and practically useful. A fresh view is needed of the strategy of social and economic development of liberated countries -- a fresh model for the mid-1980's which takes account of all opportunities, difficulties, and dangers. Counterattacks by opponents of the theory and practice of the socialist orientation in Africa have recently intensified anew. This makes deepening the theory of socialist orientation, analyzing optimal methods for utilizing it in conditions of different African countries, and giving concrete expression to certain theoretical precepts and practical assumptions on this basis all the more important.

Africa faces enormous difficulties, political and economic, internal and external. Like air to breathe the developing countries need a new international economic order; without it they will simply suffocate in the quagmire of neocolonial exploitation and dependent development which condemns hundreds of millions of people in Africa, Asia, and Latin America to poverty and starvation. In the West people try to justify the counterattack which imperialism has unleashed against the developing countries by referring to the supposed "inability" of the latter to effectively solve their own problems in their own national interests. Imperialism questions real social progress, especially in the direction of socialism, or -- more accurately -- puts a taboo on it, and is making persistent efforts to split the front (even though it is not very cohesive, it is still a front) of young states who are trying to escape from centuries-old backwardness.

The long-term goals of social progress of the African countries, emphasized the speaker, can only be achieved in conditions of peace when fundamental socioeconomic transformations are combined with maximum possible development of the productive forces of these countries and their utilization of the achievements of science and technology for the purposes of development.

In conclusion An.A. Gromyko said that the Institute's collective and all Soviet Africanists will fulfill the tasks posed by our party, the government, and the leaders of the USSR Academy of Sciences which focus them on deepening the study of the problems of peace and disarmament, the features and prospects of the revolutionary process on the African continent, and questions of the national-liberation movement and the development of young states.

The conference's scientific work was carried on in five sections. At the meeting of section 1 "Economic Problems" (co-chairmen -- doctors of economic sciences L. Goncharov and V. Shchetinin) it was noted that the results of Africa's economic development on the whole in the 1960's-1980's were diverse: the group of least developed countries expanded; reduced national income per capita, continued backwardness of the socioeconomic structure, and intensified economic dependence on developed capitalist countries were characteristic of many states. However, certain indisputable successes were also observed.

A number of reports pointed out that elimination of the socioeconomic backwardness of the countries of Africa demands those transformations which would change the natural-physical form of output being produced. In order to do this, their economies must be reoriented to the domestic market rather than adapted further to the needs of the world capitalist economy. Nonetheless, the export sectors remain a source of savings to expand reproduction. An increase in the marketability of agriculture through state support to peasants would also be of importance, although the priority direction, as before, is industrialization. Obviously, it would be useful to create local "reproductive complexes" in Africa, but since this is difficult to achieve on the basis of individual countries, stimulating inter-African economic cooperation on a subregional basis becomes very important.

The quest of the countries of Africa to achieve economic independence was reflected in the continent's strategy of development for the 1980's (the Lagos Plan of Actions), which mainly emphasizes the principle of "collective self-reliance." Its appearance confirms that most African states are convinced of the unreliability of receiving financial resources from external sources. In addition, borrowing capital in the West becomes an increasing transfer of profits abroad and increased payments for interest and debt repayment.

Bourgeois economists are generous with recommendations on methods of surmounting backwardness, but all these formulas have a common flaw: they ignore the fact that property inequality and social polarization is intensified in countries which rely on private foreign and local capital.

The idea that a socialist orientation of development opens up real conditions for carrying out profound socioeconomic transformations capable of ultimately putting an end to backwardness permeated the reports and speeches. Countries which chose this path are now searching for efficient methods to strengthen the national economy. Industrialization has always been considered the basis for structurally reorganizing the national economy and surmounting its dependence on capitalist centers in revolutionary democracy's programs. Nonetheless, attempts to force industrialization have in a number of cases led to increased disproportions and economic difficulties. Therefore, an adjustment was needed -- allocation of a larger part of capital investments to the agrarian sector.

Remaining within the framework of the world capitalist economy (although occupying a special place in it), the liberated countries, among them the African ones, have undertaken a struggle to restructure international economic relations on a democratic basis. Nonetheless, transnational corporations which are supported by "their own" governments oppose this in every way. The United States and other imperialist powers persistently try to establish new norms of international law which restrict the sovereignty of the developing states in relations with foreign capital. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, for example, calls for reducing the state sector and propagating private capitalist relations and uncontrolled admittance of transnational corporations as a condition for offering financial assistance to developing states.

Speaking of the sectorial development of the economy, the speakers noted that the industry of most African countries is dominated by the production of consumption objects and primary processing of raw materials which mainly are used for export. Up to now Africa has been extremely strongly dependent on imports of contemporary technology, machines, and equipment. An especially bad situation has developed in agriculture, where production lags further and further behind the needs of a growing population. About 150 million people are threatened by starvation.

Such questions as evaluation of the concept of "basic needs," opportunities to limit economic ties of the countries of socialist orientation with the world capitalist economy, the nature of the state sector in these countries, and various aspects of industrialization in conditions of underdevelopment aroused animated debate. A number of interesting remarks were made on such practical methods to surmount the economic difficulties Africa is experiencing as the need to increase public labor productivity, the original use of import substitution and export orientation, greater efficiency of state financial policy, modernization of traditional ways, and consideration of the experience of certain countries whose economic position remains sufficiently stable.

The debate at the meeting of section 2 "Sociopolitical and Ideological Problems" (co-chairmen -- Doctor of Juridical Sciences G. Starushenko and Doctor of Historical Sciences L. Yablochkov) confirmed that the social structure of society and its basic trends of change have a substantial, and at times decisive, influence on the paths of its progress, although they are not strongly determined by it; the role of internal political and to a certain degree external forces is also great.

The speakers were unanimous in supporting the fact that in Africa, as in the entire world, the main line of social progress is development in the direction of socialism, which appears there in the form of socialist orientation. The conceptual apparatus accepted in Marxist-Leninist theory is completely applicable to describe the revolutionary processes which are taking place on the continent. Inasmuch as the objective conditions of most African countries exclude the possibility of socialist revolution at this moment, social revolutions there take the form of national-democratic revolutions which in a number of cases can develop into popular-democratic and socialist revolutions if the subjective factor is present.

The difficulties which the countries that have entered the path of socialist orientation are encountering do not cast doubt on either its superiority to capitalist development or on the Marxist-Leninist conception of this path, which, of course, does not exclude the need to elaborate certain points of this conception as practical experience is accumulated. The aforementioned difficulties can be overcome by fundamentally improving management of the economy (establishment of very strict discipline and scientific organization of labor, gradual introduction of production norms, development of intersectorial ties, indoctrination of labor skills in the population, and -- already especially important in the present stage -- combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of development in the socialist direction) as well as the society's political life, since socialist-oriented development is not a self-regulating process.

Participants in the debate concluded that the most efficient guiding force for the African countries of socialist orientation is the vanguard party which relies on the working class and is guided by Marxist-Leninist theory.

The reports and speeches demonstrated that not only right-conservative and liberal-bourgeois concepts but "ultra-left" concepts as well can only do harm to the revolutionary process. Eclectic and nonscientific, they artificially contrast real socialism to the national-liberation movement, thereby making capitalism's counterattack easier. The increased number of African scientists who are trying to critique these concepts on the basis of Marxist methodology was noted with satisfaction.

Of course, religion, especially Islam, remains one of the most widespread forms of social consciousness in Africa. Those debating emphasized that in evaluating the influence of the "Islam factor," consideration must be given to the fact that very heterogeneous social movements appear under the slogans of Islam, and some of them have significant antiimperialist potential. As the speakers noted, internal and external reaction frequently uses the Christian church to propagandize bourgeois ideology.

Those participating in the meetings of section 3 "The International Relations of the Countries of Africa" (co-chairmen -- Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Goncharov and Doctor of Historical Sciences Ye. Tarabrin) came to the general opinion that these relations are ultimately determined by the struggle which is taking place in the international arena between the forces of peace and progress headed by the USSR and the forces of imperialist reaction headed by the United States. The common interests of Africa's liberated countries are preserved and constantly manifest themselves. The need to oppose imperialism and its neocolonialist strategy and the attempt to put an end to economic exploitation on the part of the West unite them. Recently, as these states' activities in the United Nations demonstrates in particular, their growing awareness of the danger of nuclear war which can only be prevented by the joint efforts of all peace-loving countries and peoples in the struggle to preserve life on our planet has been an important unifying factor.

The main obstacle in the African countries' difficult path to genuine independence and social and economic progress is international imperialism headed by the United States. Among the aggressive phenomenon immanently inherent to imperialism in the 1980's, its counteroffensive against the developing countries is clearly singled out; this is historically natural in

order to conclude the process of turning the contradiction which existed earlier between the former mother countries and the colonies into antagonism between the imperialist powers and the liberated countries as a whole. The main strategic goal of imperialism is to return these countries to its own political system and thereby consolidate them within the system of the world capitalist economy.

Despite all the difficulties the countries of Africa are experiencing, the intensity of their antiimperialist struggle is not declining and their influence on the course of world events and their role in contemporary international relations continue to grow. In many respects the positive foreign policy course of the USSR and the entire socialist community which invariably supports their struggle against all types of colonial, neocolonial, racist oppression and gives various kinds of direct aid to different African states promotes this. This cooperation is developing and becoming stronger.

Section 4 "History, Culture, Ethnography, Literature, and Language" (co-chairmen -- Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences D. Ol'deroge and Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Vasil'yev) included four subsections. Participants in the first subsection "History in Recent and Most Recent Times" (scientific leader -- Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Letnev) discussed both general problems related to the dynamics of the historical process in various countries or groups of countries and practical questions and local examples of the appearance of general historical patterns, devoting attention in particular to agrarian problems, the structured nature of socioeconomic relations, legal institutions of colonial and postcolonial society, and questions of material and nonmaterial culture, the national-liberation movement, and the role of popular masses in anticolonial actions.

Participants in section 5 "Geography and the Deployment of Productive Forces" (co-chairmen -- Candidate of Geographic Sciences M. Gornung and Candidate of Economic Sciences Yu. Zelenskiy) focused basic attention on the ecology and resource factors of development of contemporary Africa, questions of deploying production forces, reorganizing the territorial structure of the economy and its support infrastructure, in particular transportation, and on the demographic situation and features of urbanization on the continent.

Summarizing the 4th All-Union Conference of Africanists, An.A. Gromyko pointed out our country's steadily growing interest in studying the urgent problems of Africa, the consolidation of scientific contacts among specialists working on African themes in the academic and VUZ centers of all Union republics as well as in fraternal socialist countries, and the need for practical implementation of the results of the scientific debate that was conducted.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ON STATE'S ROLE IN ECONOMY OF ASEAN COUNTRIES REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 85 pp 63-64

[Review by B. Porfir'yev, candidate of economic sciences, of book "Yugo-Vostochnaya Aziya. Gosudarstvo i ekonomika" [Southeast Asia. The State and the Economy], chief editor O.G. Baryshnikov, Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka", 1983, number of copies not given, 320 pages]

[Text] This collection of articles prepared by scientists from Bulgaria, the GDR, and the Soviet Union considers questions of the economic role of the state and intensifying its participation in the reproduction process of the five member-countries of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations). The choice of these particular states as the object of the study is completely justified: the 17 years of experience of regional cooperation among Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and the Philippines (in 1984 Brunei joined them) within the framework of the association makes it possible to analyze the development and implementation of state strategies of development not only on the national level but on the regional level as well.

The Soviet and foreign orientalists who prepared the work under review were, it seems, able to find interesting approaches to studying the problems of the state, the state sector, and state structure worked out in economic science. These questions are examined in their inseparable linkage and in the context of the countries' development strategies in the 1960's, 1970's, and 1980's which are worked out and realized by the state. The economic and social functions of state regulation, the state's domestic and foreign policy, and its impact on the rate and proportions of the process of social reproduction are subjected to comprehensive study.

The analysis relies on carefully selected sources whose basis is national plans of socioeconomic development of the ASEAN states and United Nations materials. A significant place in the collection is devoted to studying the factors which determine the state's increased participation in socioeconomic development and the changed role of the state structure. The conclusion that the more active intervention of the state in the economy "was accompanied in all the region's countries by focusing real power in the hands of one person (the authoritarian form of rule) or a narrow circle of persons who represent the highest echelon of military (military bureaucracy) and the large

industrial-banking bourgeoisie, the reduction or restriction of bourgeois-democratic freedoms, and the intensification and expansion of the social base of opposition -- the right and the left" (p 44) as well as the conclusion that intensification of the link of the state apparatus to large national and foreign capital (p 45-46) seem important.

A qualitatively new feature in state regulation and management of socioeconomic growth was the use in the 1970's by the ASEAN countries of plan-programs calculated for an average term (five years, as a rule) and the long-term (up to the year 2,000) future. This made it possible, as the articles in the collection demonstrate, to slightly increase the efficiency of state policy. However, the countries which belong to the association did not manage to avoid unbalanced development in terms of economic as well as social and technological parameters in the 1970's either. Moreover, structural crises in the world capitalist economy, at the periphery of which the ASEAN countries are, and miscalculations in state policy led to the appearance of new and the aggravation of old socioeconomic and political contradictions.

The formulation and development of a set of issues related to the strategy of socioeconomic development of the ASEAN countries should be included among the positive aspects of the collection. Scientists of the socialist countries, who successfully treated crucial problems of the state strategy of development of the region's countries, made an important contribution to this research.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ON HISTORY OF PAKISTAN'S DICTATORSHIP REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 85 p 64

[Review by S. Krivov of book "Pakistan: The Roots of Dictatorship. The Political Economy of a Praetorian State", author not given, publisher not given, London, 1983, number of copies not given, 394 pages]

[Text] The authors of the collection "Pakistan: The Roots of Dictatorship" are Pakistani emigre scientists who are in opposition to the military regime of Zia-ul-Haq. Their articles examine economic and political circumstances which led to the establishment of a dictatorial regime in Pakistan, analyze its essence, and make an attempt to analyze the further development of events in the country. The authors enlist interesting factual and numerical material, on the whole speaking from liberal bourgeois and reformist positions.

The book traces how economic and political dominion of the proimperialist large bourgeoisie, landowners, and military-bureaucratic elite was strengthened in the course of a long historical period. The authors show how socioeconomic contradictions became aggravated as capitalist relations developed in Pakistan and the exploiting classes more and more often turned to extreme means, resorting to establishment of military dictatorial regimes, to preserve their own positions.

The book under review examines the country's foreign dependence as a consequence of capitalist orientation and as a factor which stimulated increased antidemocratic trends. The authors believe that Pakistan can serve "as a textbook example of dependence on foreign aid" (p 192).

The analysis of the economic, social, and political crisis of Pakistani society which the book gives makes it possible to trace the process of the growth in relative independence of the political superstructure, and of the military-bureaucratic oligarchy above all (pp 65-90); this results in intensification of the dictatorial authoritarian trends in politics. Special attention is devoted to the role of Pakistan's armed forces, who act as the main guarantee of preserving the exploitative order. The authors note the increase in the army's political activism which military aid from the United States is greatly promoting.

Most of the authors of the collection evaluate the contemporary situation in the country as a critical one, emphasizing that "the question is not only the need for Pakistan to overcome the present political and economic crisis but also the fact that the very unity and existence of Pakistan is now threatened" (p 17). They see the most probable way out of the situation which they characterize as "revolutionary" (p 125) in replacing the country's leadership and forming a government of the People's Party founded by Z.A. Bhutto.

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INTERNATIONAL

TURKISH REGIMES SEEN UNABLE TO COPE WITH SOCIOECONOMIC ILLS

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 85 pp 28-32

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences G. Starchenkov: "The Old and New Problems']

[Excerpts] A year has passed since the military authorities have handed over the reins of government to civilians and the country's president K. Evren, in accordance with the results of parliamentary elections of 7 November 1983, appointed Turgut Ozal, leader of the victorious party of the fatherland, as prime minister. The first year of this party's rule (elections to the parliament are held once every 5 years) was full of events, which not only characterize the present, but also predetermine the immediate prospect of the country's socioeconomic and political development.

Contradiction of Financial-Economic Situation

In the East the possibility of getting out of a difficult situation is often linked with a certain person. In the latter part of seventies, great hopes were placed on former prime minister S. Demirel with respect to overcoming the socioeconomic crisis in Turkey. After his overthrow in 1980 the Turkish press counted on military regime leader Gen K. Evren, who became president of the republic after adoption of the new 1982 constitution. The role of "Messiah" is now assigned to Cabinet chairman T. Ozal, who has occupied many responsible posts in his 57 years: after graduating from the Istanbul Technological University he worked in the State Planning Organization, was a counsellor in the S. Demirel government and deputy prime minister in the B. Ulusu government and also worked in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and in the Islamic Bank, which made it possible for him to establish close ties with local as well as with foreign monopolies.

T. Ozal was the "architect" of Turkey's new socioeconomic development course, which was advanced by the S. Demirel government on 24 January 1980. Its essence consists in switching from import replacement to export oriented production and establishing a competitive economy under conditions of "open economics." A paramount role in the transformation of the economic structure is assigned to the private sector.* On becoming the prime minister, T. Ozal

* For more details see AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 3 and No 10 for 1983.

announced that the program of 24 January 1980 will make it possible to raise the growth rate of the gross national product, reduce the level of inflation and raise the overall employment of the population.

At the same time, the government clearly designated the task aimed at bringing foreign state and private capital in the country. As T. Ozal stated, Turkey "is in such a deep economic crisis that only Western states can save it. But the aid will increase under the condition that Turkey will fulfill its role in NATO... If we are not going to receive foreign aid now and will be unable to use it effectively, then no one will be able to help us tomorrow."

Carrying out the recommendations of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Turkey's support of NATO bloc's military actions and other measures contributed to increasing foreign aid. The United States alone extended more than \$800 million in 1983, and promised to allocate \$934 million in 1985 (\$175 million in economic aid and \$759 million in military aid). Loans, credits and deferment of payments on current indebtedness were also extended by other NATO allies.

The Turkish government, attaching particular significance to bringing in private foreign capital and combining it with local capital has adopted some stimulatory measures. The inflow of foreign capital has increased. If in 1977, only four foreign banks operated in the country, then there are 25 of them at present. Three branches of American banks, including an affiliate of the Chase Manhattan Bank opened this year alone. T. Ozal, in highly appraising this new phenomenon, stated that "in the forthcoming years Istanbul may become the banking center of the Middle East and play the same role that earlier belonged to Beirut." The government, in improving conditions of entrepreneurial activity, has adopted a decision at the beginning of 1984 on removing restrictions with respect to currency operations in the country. The new rules allow 27 commercial banks to make calculations in any currency, and Turkish citizens to have foreign currency accounts. In purchasing and selling foreign currency the banks are allowed to set their own rate, which can be 3 percent higher or lower than the official rate that is being determined daily by the state Central Bank.

The substantial improvement of the country's currency and financial situation was promoted by remittances from Turkish workers employed abroad, proceeds from export, amounts received for transit of foreign commodities across Turkish territory and other. The overall result was that currency reserves in state and private banks by mid-1984 exceeded \$2 billion--this is the largest amount in the past 10 years.

It should be noted that a considerable part of the accumulated capital was expended unproductively. First of all, many firms have appeared, which, taking advantage of the abolition of state control over loan interest, began a feverish speculation in loan capital. One of them--(Kastelli), which sharply expanded operations with loan funds, suddenly became the country's major creditor, and then also suddenly announced in 1983 of its bankruptcy, causing a shock in economic and political circles. Second, the largest monopolies, which operate

in the country in the form of holdings, have used their capital for operations abroad. Initially, they engaged in "attracting" the savings of Turkish citizens employed abroad, and then began putting the cash on hand in circulation there as well. The firms, which finance Turkish contractual organizations that perform construction work in petroleum producing countries in the Near and Middle East, are increasing in number especially fast. Several Turkish firms are operating in West European states, and the (Enka Holding) has opened its representative office in Tokyo. In this distinctive way, Turkey has approached in earnest to exporting capital.

The change of basic trade partners of Turkey occurred in the same period. For a long time and unsuccessfully the country attempted to break through with its manufactured goods to the EEC market, of which it has already been an associated member for 20 years. The FRG--the basic contractor--and other "Common Market" countries prefer buying agricultural products in Turkey and selling their own manufactured goods to it. A new situation began to appear in the second half of the seventies, when the secular Turkish state began to use the "Islamic Association" in an active manner. The senseless war between Iraq and Iran which began in 1980 has transformed the warring sides into clients who constantly increased the purchases of all kinds of commodities in Turkey. In 1983, Iraq advanced to the first place in Turkey's goods turnover, forcing the FRG to the second place. Iran sharply raised purchases of manufactured goods and foodstuffs in Turkey and expanded an unprecedented transit trade across Turkish territory.

The foreign trade "boom," however, is characterized by two substantial flaws. First of all, Turkey, being unable to establish a diversified industry (specifically, production of means of production is almost completely lacking), is faced with the necessity of purchasing expensive modern technology, machines and equipment in industrially developed states. Second, Turkey's economy, which is oriented from the fifties toward using petroleum as fuel and raw material, is forced to import it in increasingly considerable volumes. The growth of the national economy's dependency on external components is systematically reflected on the foreign trade balance. In 1983, the amount of export totaled \$5.7 billion, of import \$9.2 billion and the deficit has increased compared with 1982 by \$0.4 billion (by 13.2 percent), reaching \$3.5 billion. Therefore, a tremendous part of foreign currency receipts is diverted to cover the foreign trade deficit.

Social Problems are Again in the Forefront

Every new government in Turkey, as a rule, prepares a high-sounding program of struggle against aggravating social problems. Some leaders are replaced by others, but the unsolved problems remain. Highly demonstrative in this plan is the unemployment problem--the most acute social problem of the country.

The condition of a society is determined to a significant extent by the standard of living of the working people. The present Cabinet, like previous governments, has announced its "firm intention to raise the level of well-being of Turkish citizens." Usually this is accompanied by widely publicized raising of wages of workers and employees. However, the governments sort of "do not

notice" the "hurricane of prices," which annually reduces the purchasing power of wages. According to calculations of the State Planning Organization, the increase in prices during the past 4 years has surpassed the increase in wages by approximately 60 percent.

In the recent past the tendency toward a decline in the standard of living of the population could be frustrated with the aid of workers active and organized actions, especially strike struggle. All of the cabinets which replaced each other strived to prevent collective actions of the working people, resorting in so doing to various methods. Widely practiced when S. Demirel's government was in power were dispersals of meetings and demonstrations by right-wing terrorists, lockouts by businessmen and murders by "unknown persons" of worker activists. The military regime, using the armed forces, prohibited the holding of strikes, meetings and demonstrations, deprived workers of the freedom of speech and the press and tens of thousands of workers, employees and intellectuals were put on trial in "extraordinary courts" and sentenced to many years of imprisonment. Political parties and left-wing trade unions were banned (only one trade union confederation, the Tyurk-ish, remained, whose main motto is "cooperation between labor and capital").

The transition to civilian government was brought about by the adoption of a constitution, which has substantially limited the rights of workers to hold strikes, meetings and demonstrations and to the freedom of speech and the press. Therefore, the current government, using the legacy of the military regime, turns over the "workers question" for consideration by businessmen and continues to "dole out" basic rights and freedoms to workers.

In the summer of last year, sharp disagreements with respect to the constitution, ways for further development of the country and other questions cropped up within the Fatherland Party. The "rebellion" in the parliamentary faction of this party put in doubt the strength of its political and organizational unity. However, the results of municipal elections can serve as a catalyst of reorganization of other parties as well. All of this leads to the growth of intra- and interparty struggle, intensification of social tension.

Foreign Policy Course in the Eighties

The uneven development of the national economy, the growth of economic and financial dependency on the Western countries and the high level of social and internal political tension have a direct influence on Turkey's foreign policy. At the junction of the seventies and eighties, when the country was experiencing a particularly critical shortage of currency, negative aspects began to get stronger in its foreign policy course.

The United States, which extended its imperial "strategic interests" to the Middle Eastern region, believed that Turkey has sufficiently "matured" to compensate for the loss of Iran and some failures in the Middle East policy. Therefore, it quite easily achieved substantial concessions from Turkey by increasing its economic and military aid. During 1980-82, several military agreements were signed between these states, including a "memorandum of trust." The United

States modernized 10 of its air bases in Turkey, at which atomic warheads are located since the fifties. The government permitted American ships, which participated in combat operations near the coast of Lebanon, to use Turkish ports.

At the same time, military cooperation was expanded and great coordination of actions with NATO countries was achieved. American monopolies in cooperation with Turkish firms agreed to jointly produce F-16 fighters-bombers under American licenses, and with West German monopolies to produce military vehicles and engines. The foundation of a military-industrial complex which is being laid in this manner is destined, like in the United States, to play a decisive role in the development of a foreign policy course.

Two more aspects should be noted on the global and regional scale. First of all, the Turkish government has voted in NATO for the deployment of medium-range missiles in the territory of some of its participants. Second, in accordance with the "strategic interests" of the United States, secret talks have begun with the aim of establishing a "military-political alliance" with the participation of Turkey, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia (attempts are also being made to draw Iran into it). By way of "preparatory work," the training of Saudi officers in Turkish academies is being developed. In the future it is planned to draw this alliance together through Turkey with Israel, since Turkey is the only Muslim country which maintains diplomatic relations with the aggressor state.

The B. Ulsu government, feeling American interest in Turkey, has sanctioned in the latter part of 1983 the proclamation of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" on that part of the island's territory which has already been occupied by Turkish troops for 10 years. And the T. Ozal government was the first to recognize the "independence" of this "state," expecting that its example will be followed by NATO members, for whom it is planned to provide an area in the north of the island for construction of a naval base. Moreover, "Islamic solidarity" is also being relied on. By this action Turkey has made the already difficult situation in the Near and Middle East more complicated.

In analyzing the situation, it is impossible not to note that in the broad circles of the Turkish public there is a growing understanding of the need to develop relations with the northern neighbor--the Soviet Union. As of 1984, active quests have begun for new possibilities to expand Soviet-Turkish relations. Specifically, an agreement has been reached on the supply of up to 6 billion m³ of natural gas from the USSR to Turkey beginning in 1987.

A new impetus was added to the development of mutually advantageous relations by the visit of N. A. Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in December 1984. N. A. Tikhonov and T. Ozal have signed a long-term program for the development of economic, trade and scientific-technical cooperation. At the same time, an agreement on goods turnover for 1986-90 and a program for cultural and scientific cooperation for 1985-86 were also signed. The signed documents have defined the framework and the basic directions of bilateral relations, which are being built on the principles of equal rights and mutual advantage.

Obviously, it is not the policy of confrontation with the USSR, which is being forced upon Turkey by NATO states, but a course toward good-neighbor relations with it that meets the national interests of this country.

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INTERNATIONAL

SAVIMBI, UNITA'S LINKS WITH FOREIGN SUPPORTERS DETAILED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 85 pp 44-46

[Article by B. Vasil'yev: "The Dirty Deeds of the 'Black Rooster'"]

[Excerpts] It is already the 10th year that the Angolan people are forced to defend their freedom and independence with arms in hand. The course proclaimed by the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]--Labor Party toward building a socialist society in the long-term does not give peace to Washington and Pretoria. "Concern" is also manifested in this connection in some West European capitals. A whole arsenal of means--from economic pressure to direct armed intervention--are used to destabilize the internal situation in Angola. Not the least important role is assigned by the imperialist centers to the counterrevolutionary UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] group--the "black rooster organization"*--and its "leader-founder" Jonas Savimbi.

Savimbi appeared in the political arena of Angola in the early sixties. Right of school he was sent as a church scholarship holder to study medicine in Portugal. However, the future profession did not fascinate the youth, in whom an excessive ambition already became apparent by that time. After studying for 3 years at the medical department and believing that he deserved something more than a medical practice in colonial Angola, he decided to plunge into politics and moved to Switzerland.

In 1960, Savimbi got in touch with Holden Roberto --leader of the so-called National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), which received, as it was found out later, monetary subsidies and instructions from the American CIA--and with him participated in the founding of the "Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile" (GRAE), in which he assumed the post of minister of foreign affairs. The name alone was revolutionary in this "government," but this did not bother Savimbi. He was bothered by something else: It was impossible to become the "top man" in the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile, since persons who were originally from the north of the country predominated there, for whom he, a southerner, was a stranger.

In 1964, after gathering people who were loyal to him, Savimbi left for China, where for 9 months they were intensively trained in military skills.

In the meantime, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has been increasingly expanding the anticolonial armed struggle, and, as certain

*A black rooster is depicted on the banner of UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola)

circles in the West believed, it was necessary to have something immediately to oppose it. Savimbi got into the field of vision of the Portuguese political secret police PIDE [Policia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado] and the CIA. A perfect find! It was easy to boost the "good Catholic," who was educated in Western Europe, before the bourgeois public, and his excessive ambition, inclination toward demagoguery, complete absence of any political principles and love of money and "fine life" really made him an irreplaceable candidate for the role of a puppet "fighter for freedom and independence."

Portuguese authorities immediately saw an ally in UNITA. PIDE began the Madeira operation, whose aim was "possible use of UNITA members for the destruction of MPLA." Dictator Caetano himself followed its progress with great interest from Lisbon. In 1971, Savimbi and the Portuguese authorities signed a secret agreement, which provided for the cessation of all kinds of armed actions between UNITA and colonial troops and a "search for a final solution in the spirit of Caetano's proposals." The question was of gradual granting of autonomy to Angola, within whose framework the Savimbi organization would enjoy a special status after the elimination of MPLA. Both sides agreed that "MPLA is the main obstacle on the path to peace... on the entire territory of Angola." UNITA has pledged to provide the occupation armed forces with guides in areas where MPLA detachments were located and to exert pressure on some African governments so that they would change their policy with respect to Portugal.

The collapse of colonialism in Angola has placed UNITA in a difficult situation. Not accustomed to struggle independently, Savimbi and his entourage have advanced a thesis that the Angolan people were allegedly "not ready" for independence. Their goal was clear: To bide their time, to find new sponsors. Nevertheless, MPLA, which was officially recognized by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, for the sake of preservation of peace in the country, did not exclude participation by FNLA and UNITA in governing independent Angola. In January 1975, a compromise agreement was signed in the Portuguese city of Alvor: Angola would gain sovereignty on 11 November, and in the interim period a transitional government of representatives of the three movements and Portugal will be formed.

However, the Alvor compromise did not bring peace to Angola. UNITA and FNLA began to inflame hostility with respect to MPLA and have unleashed a bloody terror in Luanda. In response to MPLA's appeal for national resistance, the people of Luanda rose against the traitors-dissidents. After battles which lasted several weeks, the FNLA and UNITA detachments were driven out from the capital.

On 18 February 1976, U.S. Secretary of State H. Kissinger instructed the U.S. charge d'affaires in Zaire to inform UNITA leaders that the United States is willing to support them in the future--as long as this group is able to resist MPLA. After obtaining such a concrete encouragement from Washington, Savimbi began to form new armed detachments. The bosses from Pretoria gladly provided him for this purpose with instructors and military bases in Katima-Mulilo, Dodge-City, Rundu, Ondangwe, Ruacana, Cavungo and other places in the Namibian territory. New plans for subversive activities against People's Angola were readied in the offices of American and South African strategists.

Savimbi becomes a frequent and welcome visitor in the United States. He was received by very prominent political figures--H. Kissinger, J. Schlesinger and L. Kirkland and Senators S. Nunn and D. Moynihan. The scenario of all visits was monotonous: regular dollar injections by the transatlantic uncle in exchange for ardent promises by the "black rooster" to reduce the Luanda "reds" to dust.

Individual UNITA terrorist acts no longer suited Washington. The time has come to receive dividends from the capital invested in Savimbi. R. Reagan, who won in the presidential elections, and his administration demanded decisive extension of sabotage to central areas of Angola.

The military command of the YuAR [Republic of South Africa] together with Savimbi began developing a plan aimed at establishing a "corridor" for penetration by a UNITA group deep into Angolan territory. In August 1981, the sinister designs, which were code named the "Proteus operation," began to be carried out. After committing a new large scale aggression against Angola, the 11,000-man racist army with the support of tanks, artillery and aviation occupied a considerable part of the border province of Cunene, including its administrative capital--the city of Ngiva. The populated places of Cahama, Xangongo, (Covelay) and others have almost completely disappeared from the face of the earth. Nearly 150,000 people were left homeless.

In December of the same year, Savimbi arrived in Washington for new instructions. This time he was received quite openly, the red and green UNITA banner with the image of a black rooster was hung out without constraint, attempts were made to attach some semblance of respectability to UNITA members and to present them to the world public opinion as "patriots, who are ready for talks with the Angolan government." In the meantime, the "space required for life" for their ward was not forgotten. It was decided to form a "buffer state" headed by Savimbi in a vast territory of Angola--from the border with Namibia to the Benguela Railroad. As a preliminary step toward this, the bringing in of UNITA detachments was intensified in the latter part of 1982 and the beginning of 1983. Parallel to this the South African militarists continued to force tension on the Angola-Namibia border.

In trying to save Savimbi and his organization, Pretoria has undertaken a regular armed adventure against the People's Republic of Angola. The interventionist operation Safari (Hunting Expedition) began on 14 December 1983 with mass shelling of populated places and FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] positions in the Cunene Province. On 22 December, the aggressors reached Cassinga, which is more than 200 km from the border. However, this did not look like an expedition at all. Fierce battles started between mechanized army columns of the Republic of South Africa and brigades of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, during which 10 planes were shot down and 40 armored vehicles and tens of artillery weapons of the racists were destroyed. "With respect to the number of soldiers killed, our current invasion of South Angola has become the most costly after the Savanna operation of 1975-76," the Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL wrote in those days.

The economy of the Republic of South Africa began to suffocate under the burden of military expenditures. In his address in the parliament in January 1984, prime minister P. Botha stated that the country's expenditures for economic and military "aid" to Namibia have jumped to \$2.5 million a day. "South Africa is not prepared to bear this burden alone," he declared. On 31 January 1984, Pretoria has stopped military actions, and a few weeks later the representatives of the NRA [People's Republic of Angola], the Republic of South Africa and the United States have agreed in Zambia's capital of Lusaka to withdraw South African occupation troops from Angola. The Republic of South Africa as well as the United States have announced that they are ending support of Savimbi.

In this connection, there are those in the West who are fond of discussing some sort of "political future" of UNITA, of an allegedly planned "national reconciliation" in Angola and so forth.

Jonas Savimbi is in a hurry to "firmly establish himself" by means of new terrorist acts against Angolan citizens and foreign specialists.

But regardless of the haste being made by Savimbi and his patrons and assistants, time is working against them. "The enemy must feel on himself the consequences of his evil deeds, his treachery," states a commentary of the Angolan Information Agency ANGOP. "We will make him pay dearly for all crimes--both past and present."

It is possible that retribution will not be tomorrow. Savimbi's patrons are persisting and are attempting to reverse the course of history and to force People's Angola to its knees. It is in vain! There is no doubt in the final outcome of the struggle.

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INTERNATIONAL

'OFFICIAL' DISCRIMINATION AGAINST CHINESE MUSLIMS ALLEGED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 85 pp 60-61

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences O. Bibikova: "Muslims in China"]

[Excerpts] The period of Tang dynasty (618-907) in the history of China is called a "golden age of Buddhism." However, it is precisely during these years that Christianity (Nestorian doctrine), Zoroastrianism, Manicheism, Judaism and Islam began to be spread in the country.

Islam gained the greatest dissemination among the Hui people. Some researchers believe that the modern Hui are descendants of the peoples who formed the first wave of natives from Muslim countries, in particular Arab emigrants who settled in China in the 8th-9th centuries. At the present time, the Hui account for 0.6 percent of the population of the PRC.

According to the official data published in 1983, more than 13 million Muslims live in the PRC, including 6.4 million Huis, 5.4 million Uighurs, 800,000 Kazakhs, 170,000 Dong Xiangs, 100,000 Kirghizs and tens of thousands of Tajiks, Tatars, Uzbeks, Salars and Bao Ans, among whom Islam has gained wide dissemination.

The complexity of national and religious problems in China is not only and not so much due to its multinational composition and even the disproportion between the relatively small number of non-Chinese peoples and the extent of territory occupied by them as due to other by far more serious reasons. The point is that a considerable part of the country's population consists of ethnic groups which are sharply different from Hans (Chinese in the full sense) and many of which had their own national state system in the past. They became objects of open expansion at different times. History testifies that China was formed as a multinational state in the process of centuries-old conquests, which were accompanied by physical extermination and forcible assimilation of non-Han peoples.

The policy of Han conquerors was built on the basis of Confucian ideology, which hindered free development of the conquered peoples and preservation of their traditions and culture. It is precisely Confucianism which served as a basis for advancing Sinocentrist theories, according to which everything Chinese, that is Han--culture, language and experience--was elevated to a cult. Underestimation of significance of other cultures and civilizations and scornful opinion of other peoples have made it possible for Han rulers to pursue a class, nationalistic policy within the country.

Being guided by the idea that except for the Chinese only "barbarians" exist in the world, the ideologists of Confucianism regarded the latter as inferior people in the full sense of the word. Therefore, the official Confucianism did not recognize independent existence of other peoples, except for the Chinese, other states, except for the Chinese and other civilizations, except for the Chinese. In the final analysis it is precisely the Confucian ethnocentrism which contributed to the appearance of nationalistic exaggeration of features of China.

A direct reflection of this policy was the attitude of Chinese rulers toward religious communities in the country and, first of all, toward Muslims. Despite the fact that some Muslims have achieved high position in the court of Chinese emperors, the basic mass of Muslim people were constantly subjected to persecution and discrimination. This situation was preserved right up to the formation of the PRC in 1949.

During the first years of existence of the People's Republic of China, the situation of non-Han nationalities, which profess Islam, changed for the better. In 1953, the Chinese Islamic Association was established at an all-China conference of Muslims. The PRC constitution of 1954 has secured the freedom of conscience (Sec 88) and made Islam "equal" with Buddhism, Taoism and Christianity. However, in the course of the "struggle against old customs," which was launched by Mao Zedong and his group in the latter fifties, all positive results of the CCP's policy in the nationalities question that were achieved during the first period following the proclamation of the PRC were negated. The return to the formula of "taking everything Chinese as a starting point," which began in the mid-sixties, was accompanied by opposition to the experience of the socialist countries, particularly in the question of religion in a socialist state.

The PRC mass media began to openly call for the merger of non-Han peoples, including those professing Islam, with Hans.

The outburst of great Han chauvinism during the period of "cultural revolution" has dealt heavy blows against Muslim communities of China. Muslim clergy were subjected to repressions and persecutions. As admitted later by the Chinese press, an official resolution was adopted during the period of "cultural revolution," which recommended the use of "methods of dictatorship" with respect to clergymen. Many very valuable works written in the Arabic language--the official language of Islam--including very ancient treatises, which were of great historic value, were destroyed.

The national culture and art of the non-Han peoples, their language and system of writing were prohibited, practically all schools and institutes where representatives of national minorities studied were closed, national culture and art monuments were demolished and destroyed and temples and monasteries were turned into barracks and camps for soldiers. Muslim educational institutions--kuttabs and madrasahs--were eliminated.

The "cultural revolution" has dealt a cruel blow to national minorities in the PRC and undermined the trust and friendly relations between Han and non-Han

nationalities for many years. The Chinese authorities, for example, have forced Muslims to cremate the deceased at a time when Islam forbids such practice. During the "cultural revolution," the authorities indulged the hongweibing [red guards], who paraded Muslim mullahs with pig heads hanging from their necks, at a time when a pig is an "unclean" animal for Muslims. In the second half of the sixties, the campaign has expanded in forced sterilization of Muslim women, whereas the Muslim tradition directs Muslim families to have many children and to see the sense of life in the continuation of the race.

After Mao Zedong's death and elimination of the so-called "gang of four" the new PRC leadership was faced with the necessity of revising the policy with respect to national minorities of China and their religious beliefs. The entire responsibility for violation of democratic, socialist principles of the policy with respect to national minorities and religions was attributed to the "gang of four." The article "The Group of Four--a Mortal Enemy of All Nationalities," which was published in the GUANGMING RIBAO of 3 December 1976, accused the "group of four" of discriminating against non-Han peoples, and in particular that it trampled upon the principles of equality of national languages.

In 1977-78, the Chinese leadership made modifications in its attitude toward questions of religion. The Administration for Religious Affairs was restored. In 1980, its supervisor Xiao Xianfa announced that "every citizen is free to profess or not to profess religion, is free to profess it today and not to profess it tomorrow and vice versa.... The believers work for four modernizations, and they are useful for contacts with believers throughout the world and for the struggle against hegemony..."*

During the latter seventies, some measures were adopted, aimed at restoring the rights of believers and religious organizations, which, first of all, affected Muslims.

In accordance with new government directives with respect to religion and religious organizations, a conference of the Chinese Islamic Association was held in April 1980. Its former chairman, the 86-year old Shakhedi Burkhan, who was accused as a "Soviet agent" during the period of "cultural revolution," was elected its honorary chairman. For the first time in Chinese history the conference adopted a decision on establishing an Islamic religious center in Beijing as well as of an Islamic religious (theological) institute, which must not only study theological problems but also train clergy.

At the present time, old mosques and madrasah are being restored in the PRC. Delegations visiting China from Islamic states are invited to visit the Beijing mosque.

In 1979, for the first time after nearly a 20-year long interval, a delegation of Chinese Muslims was sent to Mecca and Medina (Saudi Arabia) to participate

* CHINA NEWS ANALYSIS, August 1980.

in an annual pilgrimage--the hajj. The activity of the Scientific Research Institute of World Religions in Beijing was made more active.

In commenting on the reanimation measures with respect to religious communities in the PRC, the London journal (SAUT) noted that "China has made another gesture toward the 'third world': It restored the right of national minorities in China to profess their religion, although they cannot propagate it. The goal is to assure the 'third world' that the Beijing authorities do not interfere in the religious views of their citizens."

The steps being undertaken by the Chinese leadership in the question with respect to religion and religious communities in the country, testify that it, apparently, realizes that secularization of society cannot be carried out with forcible methods.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ON BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY OF POST-COLONIAL SOCIETY REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 85 p 62

[Review by Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Sumskiy of book "Osvobodivshiye-sya strany: obshchestvo i lichnost' (Kriticheskiy analiz nemarksistskikh kontseptsiy)" [Liberated Countries: Society and Individual (Critical Analysis of Non-Marxist Conceptions)] by B. S. Starostin, Moscow, Mysl', 1984, 286 p]

[Text] An attempt is made in B. S. Starostin's monograph to systematize and to critically analyze the non-Marxist conceptions of "post-colonial society." As noted by the author, the sociology of "post-colonial society" is a conditionally singled out complex of studies of Afro-Asian countries in directions such as sociology of city and village, politics, family and other. The work being reviewed examines many components of this complex.

The book consists of four parts--a kind of small monographs: "Social Structure and Social Dynamics as an Object of Sociological Study," "Political Development of Young States in Conceptions of 'Sociology of Politics'," "'Sociology of Religion' and Religious Situation in Liberated Countries" and "Sociology of Individual: Individual in Afro-Asian Society." In connection with these subjects the views of European philosophers of the 19th-20th centuries got into the author's field of vision--Hegel, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Spengler and Schweitzer, theoretical formations of bourgeois social science classics--M. Weber, B. Malinovskiy and K. Levi-Strauss' and studies of such prominent modern scientists as D. Epter, M. Mead, R. Bella, E. Schumacher and others.

In view of the extremely considerable volume, variety and various planned nature of the covered material, the given study could have been easily broken down into several comparatively independent fragments. However, it preserves the necessary wholeness owing to the presence in it of integral themes (the study of influences of cultural anthropology on various branches of sociology of the 'post-colonial society,' the criticism of the East's rigid oppositions to the West and the sketchiness in the treatment of such concepts as 'traditional nature' and 'modernity').

The absence of a reliable methodological base, similar to the one which is at the disposal of Marxist science, "this is," B. S. Starostin notes, "is the basic defect of bourgeois sociology of the 'post-colonial society'." The author points out its numerous symptoms--discrepancies between the empiricism

of Afro-Asian societies and the abstract-theoretical models of bourgeois orientalists and Africanists. The author's polemical attitude, however, does not prevent him from recognizing some positive aspects of the non-Marxist sociological science. Not having an all-round methodology at its disposal, it persistently strives to compensate for this shortcoming with a large volume of field studies. In tracing the evolution of study methods and approaches and in describing discussions and conflicts of opinions among bourgeois sociologists, the author reveals the specific nature of bourgeois social science. In the final analysis it is precisely the broad involvement of its representatives in specific sociological studies and their readiness to correct the views of colleagues as well as their own which makes it possible for them to regularly make recommendations to practical politicians--to fulfill that applied function, whose reactionary orientation is being exposed by B. S. Starostin.

It seems natural that the author repeatedly turns to in his monograph to the experience of revolutionary democracy in the Afro-Asian countries of socialist orientation and analyzes in detail the processes of social reorganization which proceed there. Correct criticism of someone else's views presumes presentation of one's own, advancing of alternatives. The researcher strives toward this when, relying on corresponding materials of area studies, he shows the kind of possibilities that practical application of the principles of scientific socialism open for solving relevant problems of political and socio-cultural development.

Let us take the liberty of expressing some individual remarks. In the opinion of the reviewer, B. S. Starostin has advanced some debatable positions in analyzing the conception of "loose social structure" (pp 60-65). Let us remind that its supporters have pointed out the differences of some sociocultural types of Southeast Asia from the "rigid" (that is thoroughly regulating the behavior of an individual, his place in society and other) cultures of the Indian and Chinese types. In particular, American culture anthropologist (D. Embri) "took notice of the absence of strict discipline, clear responsibilities and rigid regulation in the vital activity of the Thais" (p 61).

This conception draws B. S. Starostin's attention because it contributed to the reinterpretation of ideas about "preindustrial social structures" as "silencers" of individual initiative. He mentions several times without any reservations the "individualism" of Thai peasants. It turns out that the developed nature of the individual-personal principle is not alien to "traditional society," just as to the modern one. But isn't "Thai individualism"--the fruit of poor social discipline and self-discipline--identical, let us say, with European individualism of the industrial capitalism era? It seems that an important prerequisite of genuine development of the individual principle is the ability of society to "grope and find" the optimum balance of freedom and discipline. Deviation from this balance toward excessive "rigidity" or unnecessary "looseness" is equally unfavorable for an individual (of course, each of the two deviations in its own way). In the opinion of the reviewer, the information on "Thai individualism" does not radically change the "traditional picture of a traditional society," but only makes it more volumetric.

The fixing of a reader's attention on the many aspects and shades of the theme "Western sociology about man of the Afro-Asian world"--an unquestioned merit of B. S. Starostin. The chapters included in the fourth part of the book--"Man of Another World in Cultural Anthropology," "Conception of Individual in Contemporary Non-Marxist Sociology" and "Mechanisms and Forms of Socialization: From Traditionalism to Modernity"--are among the most informative.

Of course, individual debatable aspects do not overshadow the obvious merits of the book. B. S. Starostin has created a generalized monograph, which contains criticism of the non-Marxist sociological conceptions of "post-colonial society." He has performed labor-consuming and necessary work and has opportunely posed some important problems.

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NATIONAL

PARTY LEADERSHIP OF BORDER GUARDS DURING WWII HIGHLIGHTED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 27 Dec 84)
pp 35-49

[Article by I. I. Petrov, major-general, candidate of history (Riga): "From the History of Party Leadership of the Border Guards (1941-1945)"]

[Text] The Great Patriotic War, which subjected the fortress of our socialist state to a severe test, demonstrated very clearly the might of the Soviet Armed Forces. "Inflicting a shattering defeat on the enemy," it is pointed out in the CPSU decree "On the 40th Anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945", the Soviet people and its Armed Forces under the leadership of the Communist Party upheld the liberty and independence of the socialist Fatherland and defended the cause of October. They made a decisive contribution to victory over fascist Germany and its allies, to the liberation of the peoples of Europe from fascist slavery, to the rescue of world civilization, and they fulfilled their patriotic and international duty with honor. In this lies their supreme service to mankind."¹

A worthy contribution to the general victory was made by the border guards, who were the first to encounter the enemy with might and main and who have written quite a number of stirring pages of examples of courage and heroism into the glorious chronicle of the country.

The most important source of all successes and fighting contributions of the Soviet border guards was the fact that their activity took place under the leadership of the Communist Party, which, religiously carrying out the Leninist behest concerning the defense of the socialist Fatherland, devoted a great deal of attention to securing the state security of the country and to the strengthening of the border guards, called upon to protect and defend the sacred boundaries of the Fatherland. The analysis of the party leadership of the border guards during the years of the Great Patriotic War enriches the historical-party science with new convincing evidence of the constantly growing role and significance of the Communist Party in the entire life of our socialist state.

During the past decade, a number of books and articles were published on the history of the border guards during the years of the Great Patriotic War, including--collections of documents and materials, research and scientific-popular works, and memoirs. They reveal individual aspects of the activity of the Communist Party with respect to the leadership of the border guards.² At the same

time, there are as yet no works in which the leadership of the Communist Party of the border guards during the years of the Great Patriotic War would be shown as a whole. In this article it is intended to fill in this gap to a certain degree.

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The Great Patriotic War fully confirmed the correctness of the directives of V. I. Lenin and the Communist Party for every conceivable strengthening of the border guards.

Having demonstrated the superiority of the Soviet Armed Forces in open military combat with the strongest imperialist army at that time--the army of fascist Germany--our socialist state, being headed by the Leninist party, demonstrated in the Great Patriotic War also its ability to protect the Fatherland from all perfidious intrigues of the enemy. In solving this responsible task, the Communist Party was guided by the instruction of V. I. Lenin, who, warning about the refinement of the actions of the enemy, said that he "lies in wait for us at every step and is still making a mass of attempts to throw us down by all the means available to him: By force, deception, bribery, conspiracies, etc."³

The Great Patriotic War convincingly proved the necessity of strong border guards in order for them to be able to successfully solve the tasks set for them. Defending the Soviet soil against the fascist aggressors, the border guards of the Western districts in the course of the border battles in June 1941 alone destroyed about 100,000 Hitlerite soldiers and officers; this was more than the total number of personnel of the Western districts of the prewar period. The border guards successfully opposed the attempts of the imperialist intelligence services to send their agents into our country; they wrecked various types of ideological diversions of the enemy and waged a battle against contraband. During 1941-1945, 64,454 violators were arrested at the state border of the USSR (among them 2,160 spies were unmasked), and 7,548 smugglers. At the border there were 1,399 military engagements, in which 29,322 military spies were killed, wounded and arrested.⁴

During the Great Patriotic War, the border guards both in the Western and in the Far Eastern theaters of war operations successfully carried out the responsible tasks in regard to the securing of order in the combat zone, destroying numerous diversion and intelligence formations and agents of the enemy, fighting with various accomplices of the enemy, and helping the organs of Soviet power in the consolidation of public law and order. During the first year of the war alone, 712,315 suspicious were arrested by the border guards for protecting the rear; among them were exposed 1,496 spies, saboteurs and terrorists, 3,157 henchmen and accomplices of the enemy, 880 traitors, 20,778 marauders, and 37,328 other criminal elements. During this time, 136 bands and diversionary groups of the enemy, with a total number of participants of 1,528 persons, were destroyed in the rear of our troops by the border guards for the protection of the rear.⁵ During the course of the war, the border guards inflicted great casualties on the Hitlerites through diversionary and intelligence struggle in the enemy rear. Thus, acting in close contact with the army units, the border guards of the Karelian front during 1941-1942 alone completed 449 breakouts into the rear of the enemy for diversionary and intelligence operations. Very important information was collected on the disposition and movement of enemy troops,

on his operative plans, 7,782 fascist soldiers and officers were annihilated and 130 were taken prisoner.⁶

Ardently responding to the appeal of the party to wipe out the ignoble aggressors, the border guards took a most active part in the sniper movement, appearing on different sections of the front with its founders. In the final report of the deputy of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs to the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs on the results of the military activity of NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] troops for 1942, it is indicated that 58,319 enemy soldiers and officers were put out of operation by snipers of NKVD troops for the protection of the rear of the fronts, border guards and internal troops, who went through practical training.⁷

Noting the contribution of the border guards in the rout of the troops of imperialist Japan, Marshall of the Soviet Union A. M. Vasilyevskiy wrote: "The border guards extended enormous assistance to the troops of the Far East during the entire campaign. During the first days of the Manchurian operation, they, together with the field troops, attacked and liquidated numerous border strong points of the enemy and his fortified districts. In the process of the further battles, the border guards took an active part in the pursuit of the enemy and protected communications, staffs, important objects, and rear districts of the field troops. At the same time, the special detachments formed during the first days of the war in the Far East from the border guards, protected or, to put it more correctly, defended, in accordance with the assignment of the front command, significant sections of the front, allowing thereby the release of field troops and their utilization in basic operating directions. The border guards also extended invaluable assistance in the struggle with diversionary and intelligence groups of the enemy."⁸ The concrete contribution of the border guards in the crushing defeat of militarist Japan can be judged, in particular, on the basis of the auxiliary combat activity of the Dzhalindskiy border guard detachment. Its personnel already during the first battle annihilated 50 soldiers and officers of the enemy and took 150 prisoner. Before the front of attack, the detachment completely cleared of the enemy a territory of 427 kilometers along the front and 80-90 kilometers in depth, and occupied 24 localities, including one city.⁹

The data on the auxiliary combat activity of the border guards in the Great Patriotic War testify to the extremely successful execution of the tasks set for them. "The Great Patriotic War," writes the deputy chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security and chief of the border troops Army General V. A. Matrosov, "was a serious examination for the border guard fighters, a testing of their moral and political firmness, and a test of their political and combat training. Complete training of the border guards was the guarantee of success in the execution of their battle tasks. The level of the combat and political training of the border guards guaranteed successful actions on the field of battle."¹⁰

The experience of the Great Patriotic War shows that the border guards are developing and are perfecting themselves successfully under the leadership of the Communist Party, on the basis of the realization of the decisions taken by it.

The directing and guiding role of the Communist Party in the border guards during the war years was manifested clearly and convincingly. The Central Committee of the party, along with other very important questions of military construction, constantly devoted attention to the perfection of the structure of the border guards, to the strengthening of organization and order in them, to the selection, placing and training of officer personnel and the entire personnel, and to the strengthening of the material-technical supply and replenishment. The measures carried out during the years of the Great Patriotic War in regard to the increase of combat readiness of the border formations and units secured them the possibility of the successful execution of their tasks in the battle with the Hitlerite aggressors and their allies and served as a good basis for their further development.

Determining the tasks of the border guards during the various stages of the Great Patriotic War, the VKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)] and the USSR Council of People's Commissars proceeded from their possibilities as special troops, taking into account that they were well trained for waging a battle against enemy agents and that the personnel of the guards, having high moral and political qualities, is capable of executing not only battle tasks, but also operational tasks. Precisely on this basis, the border guards, on the third day of the war, received the task in regard to the protection of the immediate rear of the fronts of the operating Red Army. In the order of the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs on the appointment of the chiefs of the guards for the protection of the rear of the fronts of 26 June 1941, it was set forth: "The chiefs for the protection of the immediate rear . . . of the fronts carry out their obligations with respect to creating order in the immediate rear, the clearing of rear roads of refugees, the securing of transport and evacuation, and the provision of the uninterrupted operation of communication."¹¹

Following the Leninist tradition of a solicitous attitude toward the border troops, the Communist Party during the years of the Great Patriotic War in the presence of the most difficult military situation attentively examined all of its needs and requirements. Having analyzed the results of the participation of the border guards in the battles during the first months of the Great Patriotic War, the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs came to the conclusion that the staffs of the border guards of peacetime without anti-tank weapons, artillery, mortars, and anti-aircraft machine guns do not secure the solution of all the combat tasks and submitted an appropriate report to the VKP(b) Central Committee and to the State Committee for Defense. On the instruction of the Central Committee of the party, a re-formation of the border detachments into border regiments was carried out, which were reinforced with arms and fighting equipment. Taking into account the growing political, military and economic significance of the protection of the state border, the Central Committee of the party and the USSR Council of People's Commissars during the war years sanctioned the increase of the number of border guards operating for the protection of the border by more than 22,000 men. In accordance with the decision of the VKP(b) Central Committee, the State Committee for Defense on 8 April 1944 adopted the decree "On the Restoration of the Protection of the State Border in the West".¹² On the borders liberated from the enemy newly formed border districts and detachments came into being.

During the course of the Great Patriotic War, the VKP(b) Central Committee devoted paramount attention to the strengthening of party and political work in the border guards. In so doing, the party took into account its growing significance in wartime conditions. This was conditioned by a number of concrete circumstances. For example, the war that had begun could not in any way be compared with the combat practice which the border guards had prior to this. The entire Western border turned out to be in the zone of large military operations simultaneously and, what is more, the situation became more acute in the remaining sectors. Difficult combat and auxiliary tasks were placed on the border guards; high moral and combat qualities were required of the personnel. Their elaboration constitute the main content of all the party and political work in the border guards. There were fundamental changes in the tasks of political work and there was a significant extension of their volume. It was necessary for the political workers not to limit their activity only to propaganda, but to assume responsibility for military training as well. Party and political work in the border guards from the very beginning of the war stood out as one of the determining factors of securing high combat-readiness of the formations and units and as a most important condition for the successful fulfillment of the significantly increased auxiliary and combat tasks. Since the war with fascist Germany was a confrontation of states with a different social order, its beginning brought with it the utmost aggravation of the ideological struggle. In connection with this, the chief of the Political Administration of the Border Guards, in a report at a conference of the command of the districts in 1943, especially singled out the task of strengthening the struggle against ideological diversions.¹³ And, finally, the growth of party and political work was called forth by the increase in the level and significance of the moral factor in the conditions of the Great Patriotic War. Already the first battles at the state border showed how important was the strong moral-political state of the border guards, their education in the spirit of heroism, firmness, courage and fortitude, high vigilance, readiness for self-sacrifice, and the ability to overcome any difficulties, to combine a powerful will with firm discipline and high service skills.

In their activity, the Soviet border guards constantly were guided by the great Leninist theoretical legacy and studied in the works of V. I. Lenin the art of fighting against the intrigues of imperialism, of consistency and determination, firmness and irreconcilability, and the ability to recognize any enemies, regardless of the garb they donned. It was precisely the loyalty to the legacy of Lenin, to the cause of the party and the people, which gave strength to the border guards, made them a formidable weapon of the Soviet people, and allowed them to be victorious in numerous encounters with the refined and perfidious enemy. In a resolution of a meeting, which was held at the outpost of Lieutenant Goncharov in connection with the discussion of a letter of Soviet border guards to the Central Committee of the party and the Supreme Commander on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Komsomol, the fighters of the border wrote: "We bear the glory-covered high title of Soviet border guard and vow. . . that one and all we will become masters of the border service, we will persistently master military and specialized knowledge, [we will] strengthen organization and discipline."¹⁴

On the instruction of the Central Committee of the party, the works of V. I. Lenin were studied in all forms of political studies among the border guards

during the years of the Great Patriotic War, including Lenin's articles, speeches, letters, memoranda, and telegrams concerned with the activity of the VChK [All-Union Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage], the border guards, and questions of the defense of the achievements of the revolution against the encroachment of its foreign and internal enemies (at present more than 400 works are known, in which the leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet state directly touched on the activity of the Soviet organs of state security, including the protection of the border and the border service). Upon the recommendation of the Central Committee of the party, the command and officer staff of the border guards during the years of the war made a systematic study of the biography of F. E. Dzerzhinskiy, learning from his example the conscientiousness, devotion and loyalty to the ideal of the party, and the supreme responsibility for the entrusted undertaking.

The improvement of party and political work in the border guards was promoted by assemblies, seminars and conferences of the commanders and political workers, held on a regular basis in accordance with the instruction of the Central Committee of the party in the border guards, at which the accumulated experience was analyzed and pressing and topical questions were discussed. Of great significance was the conference of political workers of the guards held on the instruction of the Central Committee of the party in March 1943, at which the further tasks for strengthening the political and moral condition and military discipline of the personnel were discussed on the basis of the realization of the ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the establishment of complete one-man management in the Red Army. The state and the prospects for improvement of the work of the party and Komsomol organizations of the troops were examined, as well as the formulation of agitation and propaganda work. At this and similar conferences and seminars, extensive presentation was made of the positive experience of the activity of commanders and political organs in regard to political and military education of the border guards, the organization of party and political work in combat conditions and during the protection of the state border of the USSR. Ascribing great significance to these organizational measures, the Central Committee of the party attentively saw to it that they were genuine platforms for progressive experience, a real school for the mobilization of commanders and political workers for the elimination of shortcomings that existed.

During the years of the war, a well-balanced system of party and political work took shape in the border guards under the leadership of the Central Committee of the party, which in its fundamentals still operates today.

The first political departments in the border guards created during the prewar years at once recommended themselves positively in their work. During the first year of the war, they are introduced in all the remaining border detachments. Thus the best structural form of the political organs was found for the border detachment (regiment) for both peace time and for war time. The creation of independent political organs in the border detachments (regiments) manifested the special concern of the Central Committee of the party for the strengthening of the party leadership in the border guards, intending for the political organs in them to be introduced in the units, while in the Red Army they existed at that time only in the formations. During the years of the war, the political departments of the border guards showed themselves from the most

positive side and henceforth there was talk about measures aimed exclusively at improving their activity. The political departments of the border guards for the protection of the rear of the fronts created in 1941 demonstrated great work capacity, their structure and staff, as practice showed, met the requirements of war time. The central political organ of the troops--the Political Administration--finally took shape in 1942. With its development, the formation of independent political organs from top to bottom came to an end, which was positively reflected in the quality of the party-political leadership.

Working under the direct leadership of the Central Committee of the party, the central political organ, through its department of administrative organs, during the years of the war was subjected to reorganization in accordance with the general changes of the purpose of the political organs in the Red Army. In July 1941, in connection with the reorganization of the organs of political propaganda into political administrations and political departments and the introduction of the institute of military commissars, they began to devote attention to the guidance of party and political work in the border guards at the center. The political administration of the NKVD troops, in the districts and the border detachments are the political departments.

Simultaneously with the establishment of complete one-man-management in the NKVD troops in accordance with the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 9 October 1942 "On the Establishment of Complete One-Man-Management and the Abolition of the Institute of Military Commissars in the Red Army", a structural reorganization of the political organs of the NKVD troops was carried out. The political administration of the NKVD troops is disbanded. In the border guards an independent Political Administration is created, and in the remaining military administrations of the NKVD--political departments. This measure made it possible to bring party and political work closer to the units and formations, which directly protected the state border. At the same time, the absence of a single political organ for all of the NKVD troops also had negative consequences. The political organ that would coordinate the efforts of all political organs of the troops, which carried out similar tasks, ceased to exist. There were complications also in the solution of personnel questions, especially on the plane of the mutual enrichment with experience of the growth prospect of the political staff of the higher link.

Every leading command and political organ of the border guards during the war years operated on the basis of the appropriate Regulation, in which its tasks, obligations and rights were set forth. In particular, all political organs of the border guards operated on the basis of Regulations, which were developed directly under the control of the Central Committee of the party. The guiding directives, issued by the Main Directorate of Border Troops (GUPV) and the Political Administration of Border Troops, were published with the sanction of the Central Committee of the party. It reviewed and confirmed the command of the border districts and the leading personnel of the GUPV and the Political Administration of the border guards. In accordance with established procedure, all reports on the auxiliary and operational activity of the guards and the political and moral condition of the personnel were presented to the VKP(b) Central Committee and the USSR NKVD.

Of great positive significance for raising the level of party and political work and the entire activity of the guards for the protection of rear of the fronts of the operating army was the decision of the Central Committee of the party of 7 August 1942 on the introduction of political departments in all border regiments for the protection of the rear. This measure made it possible to strengthen party influence on the solution of the tasks of increasing the combat-readiness of the troops and brought the political organs closer to the border outpost, where the basic questions of the service, training and education of the personnel were decided.

Of great importance for increasing the quality of the activity of the troops were the measures taken by the VKP(b) Central Committee in regard to the strengthening of the party organizations in them. By its decree of 15 August 1941, the Central Committee of the party granted the party organizations of the commandant's office and the border outposts of the border units, which did not have their own political organs, the right to primary party organizations. In this decision the principal line of the Communist Party concerning the organization of party work in the Soviet Armed Forces during the years of the war was manifested. Characterizing this line, comrade K. U. Chernenko noted: "The Central Committee of the party took measures for the creation of a more flexible structure of party and Komsomol organizations in the Red Army, for bringing them closer to the companies, batteries and squadrons."¹⁵

Objectively studying the border guards, the Communist Party gave paramount attention during the war years to the strengthening of the party organizations in the border outposts, where the basic questions connected with the protection and defense of the border were decided. The urgency of the task of strengthening the party organizations, especially in the outposts, was called forth by a number of circumstances. First of all, their leadership, as a rule, consisted of young and insufficiently experienced commanders and political workers from among the graduates of short-term courses and schools, which needed such a reliable support as party organizations. Secondly, in connection with the increase in the significance of the protection of the border, especially on the political and military plane, there was a significant increase in the volume of auxiliary and combat tasks and there was an increase in the demand on the border guard as a political fighter. In such conditions it was important to have communists in all responsible sectors of the activity of the outposts, who through their party influence, their personal example, could promote the execution of the difficult and responsible tasks which faced the border guards during the war years. Thirdly, from 1943 on, with the abolition of link of deputy commanders of the subdivisions for the political units, the party organizations of the outposts had to take upon themselves a significant share of the questions on the conduct of educational work among the personnel. Thanks to the persistent work of the political organs and the party organizations of the border guards, carried out under the control of the Central Committee of the party, it proved possible to at the beginning of April 1946 to increase the number of outpost party organizations nine-fold by comparison with the beginning of the war.¹⁶ Such growth was promoted in many respects by the constant influx of new members of the party through the best fighters of the border and, above all, in the border outposts. All in all, during 1941-1945, 32,507 persons were accepted as members of the party, and 48,856 persons became candidate members of the VKP(b) in the border guards.¹⁷

The party organizations of the border outposts of the war years represented a reliable support for the commanders and political workers in the solution of all auxiliary and combat tasks, in the training and education of personnel. In 1944, the Dzharkentskiy Border Detachment, which during a year arrested 163 violators and in an inspection review received an overall good assessment, distinguished itself through high indicators in service activity in the composition of the Kazakhskiy Border District. The political department devoted a great deal of attention to party work, including in border outposts. In the detachment there were eight outposts, and there were party organizations in all of them. Party work was done traditionally well in the border Khorgos [not further identified] Border Outpost, where at the beginning of the 1930's Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko served and was secretary of the party organization. In 1944 the border detachment observed its 20th anniversary. The best indicators in the competition for a worthy welcome to this date were attained by the Khorgos Outpost. The chief of the outpost Sr Lt Kharkov, the party organizer MSgt Skorik, and the Komsomol organizer Pfc Rodin devoted a great deal of attention to the propagation of the combat traditions of their detachment. In emulation of the fighters of the old generation--Anton Onopko, Sevast'yan Kri-voshein, who gave their lives in the defense of the state border of the USSR and their fellow soldiers--the personnel of the outpost was brought up.

Questions of the training of command and political cadres of the border guards were a subject of special concern of the Communist Party during the years of the war. In accordance with the instruction of the Central Committee of the party, the NKVD, the Main and Political Directorate of Border Troops persistently strengthened the link of the ruling staff of the border districts, the formations and units.¹⁸

In accordance with the example of the work of the party committees, the practice of hearing reports on the state of auxiliary and combat activity and the party and political work of the leading officers took shape in the border guards. Thus, in 1945 the command of the Ukrainskiy, Prikarpat'skiy, and Litovskiy border districts, and three border detachments reported to the Main Directorate of Border Troops and the Main Administration of Border Troops of the USSR NKVD.¹⁹

Strict control was established over the activity of the border districts and the guards for the protection of the rear of the fronts. The border districts were checked on a regular basis. During the years of the war, the service activity and the state of political work in all the border districts were checked regularly by commissions of the Main Directorate of Border Troops and the Political Administration of the border guards. Orders were issued in accordance with the results of the checks. Their results were widely discussed with the officer staff and in the political organs and party organizations.

One of the most important measures carried out by the Communist Party in the border guards during the war years was the strengthening of the political staff. During the years of the Great Patriotic War, the existing party and political apparatus is strengthened and a number of new services are formed. There is an increase in the political staff in connection with the reorganization of a number of individual border commandant's offices, the formation of new border detachments, as well as in connection with the formation, in June 1943, of a

network of district newspapers in the border guards. In accordance with the order of the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of 16 August 1944, evening garrison schools of the party aktiv are created in the political departments of the Primorskiy, Khabarovskiy, Zabaykal'skiy, Kirgizskiy, Tadzhikskiy, Turkmenskii, Azerbaydzhanskii, Armyanskii, and Gruzinskii, and by order of 7 December 1944 in the Chernomorskiy, Moldavskiy, Ukrainskiy, Belorusskiy, Prikarpat'skiy and Leningradskiy districts. The staff of every school had a chief (he was also the senior teacher), a secretary (he was also the librarian). The party-political apparatus in the schools was strengthened significantly. Beginning on 28 September 1942, the post of a released secretary of the VKP(b) Buro and in May 1944--the post of a released secretary of the party commission are introduced in the staffs of the student subdivisions of the military schools.

During the period of the Great Patriotic War, the training of the political staff for the border guards was strengthened. The military-political school worked with a great load. During 1941-1942 alone, it put out more than 2,000 political workers. In addition, the training of the political staff was organized also in command schools. In the Leningrad, Saratov, Ordzhonikidze and Kharkov schools, courses for junior political instructors and junior lieutenants preparing for political work operated throughout all the years of the war. In April 1942 courses for junior political instructors for 600 men are organized in the Saratov Military School. During the same year, 500 political workers went through 3-month retraining at the Kharkov Cavalry School. In 1945, at the School for the Improvement of Political Staff imeni K. Ye. Voroshilov in the city of Saratov, two streams of courses for junior lieutenants of the political staff are organized: The first for 290 persons--from 1 March, and the second for 370 persons--from 1 September. Through the increase of the training of political workers in the military-political school, in various courses, and through the promotion of the best commanders to political work in the course of the entire war, it proved possible to positively solve the task of securing the growth of the quantitative composition of the political workers.

The years of the Great Patriotic War are marked by the further strengthening of the close cooperation of the personnel of the border guards with the workers of the country, and above all of the border regions. This was promoted by the purposeful joint work of the local party and Soviet organs with the command and the political organs of the troops.

With the very active participation of the commanders and political workers of the border guards, a great deal of work was carried out in regard to the military training of the population in accordance with the decree of the State Committee for Defense of 17 September 1941 "On the Universal Obligatory Training of USSR Citizens in Military Affairs".²⁰ The commanders and political workers of the border guards for the protection of the rear of the Bryansk Front alone organized the military training of the inhabitants of a number of rayons in 1942 in accordance with a 110-hour program.²¹

The people of the border regions were the arena of an embittered ideological struggle during the war years. The enemy tried with all his might to stir up his anti-Soviet activity here. To raise the political vigilance of the

population, questions of strengthening the ideological and political work among the population were discussed at meetings of the party aktivs, the plenums of the party committees, and sessions of the Soviets with the participation of the political workers of the border guards. Thus, the Adzharskiy obkom of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Georgia on 13 September 1941 adopted the decree "On the Intensification of Agitation and Propaganda in the Border Settlements of the Kedskiy and Batumskiy Rayons".²²

The workers of the country actively helped the border guards, manifesting in so doing exceptional resourcefulness, courage and bravery. Here is only one example. On 19 July 1943 at the Burkhat Pass (north-eastern Kazakhstan), the worker at a meteorological station, M. Mashinskaya, encountered an unknown person, diverted his attention, and reported him to the border guards. The unknown person was detained. He turned out to be a hardened enemy scout.²³

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The border guards of the Soviet Union have gone through a glorious fighting journey. Taking note of the exceptional significance of their fighting past, K. U. Chernenko said: "Every page of the history of the border guards contains an enormous ideological charge, teaches loyalty, fearlessness, and selfless service to the Fatherland. The history of the border guards--this is the history of a struggle with numerous enemies, secret and open ones, having encroached on our sacred boundaries. The glorious chronicle of the border guards is saturated with examples of the courage and valor of the fighter-Chekists, their devotion to the Communist Party and to its great cause. The heroes of the past years remain in our military unit, walk the patrol paths together with the young soldiers, fill their hearts with courage, sharpen their vigilance, help them to conquer difficulties and to hold the border under a strong lock and key."²⁴ Especially many feats were accomplished by the fighters of the border during the years of the Great Patriotic War. Among almost 300 border guards and pupils of the border guards, awarded the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union, 94 percent distinguished themselves during the years of the Great Patriotic War. Fifty formations and units of the border guards were awarded decorations, including one border regiment--an Order of Lenin, 24--Orders of the Red Banner, 6 units were decorated with two different orders, and 32 units were awarded honorary designations.²⁵

The courage and bravery of the Soviet border guards during the years of the Great Patriotic War are spoken of with great warmth by the front-line soldiers, and many military leaders mention these high qualities. "I personally saw and shall never forget," wrote Marshall of the Soviet Union G. K. Zhukov in his greeting to the border guards in 1944, "how valiantly and staunchly the border guards fought in the environs of Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad, at Kursk, in the Ukraine and Belorussia. I always felt at ease about the sections of the front where border troops stood ready to defend or went to attack."²⁶

The infinite devotion of the border guards to the cause of the party and the people was manifested in unfading feats which they accomplished at the front, in partisan detachments, during the fulfillment of responsible tasks, and in the service to protect the state border of the USSR. In the course of the struggle with the enemies of the Fatherland, it was the communists who always

went forward--experienced political fighters of the party, unshakeably loyal to the Leninist legacy.

The history of the border guards of the period of the Great Patriotic War with every year is reinforced with ever new and previously unknown examples and facts of courage, bravery, and fearlessness of the fighters of the border, which testify to their high military and professional training. Already during the first skirmishes at the border, the border guards fought staunchly, defending every inch of Soviet soil. Very often it happened that whole subdivisions, waging an unequal battle against significantly superior forces of the enemy, did not retreat one step. In these battles the Fatherland found out about many heroic deeds of the border guards.

The outpost of Lt A. Belen'kov fought heavy, unequal battles for 11 days, not giving the enemy the possibility to cross the Prut River. Twenty-nine border guards held the line of defense. Neither uninterrupted bombing, nor powerful artillery bombardment, nor the multiple numerical superiority of the fascists could overcome the doggedness of our people. On the third day of the battles, all the fighters applied for membership in the VKP(b). And all of them were accepted. At night, when during a brief lull this was announced to them, one of those accepted said:

"Here they said that the Checkist fighters must always fight everyone for ten. That is correct. But now this load can be doubled for us. Every one will fight for 20 men."

The border outpost in which S. Shustov served was attacked by a reinforced battalion of Hitlerites. All attempts of the enemy to smash the defense met with failure, in spite of the fact that aircraft and tanks operated against the border guards. The cantonment of the outpost burned. The Hitlerites began a new attack under the cover of tank company. The enemy's plan could be smashed only if it proved possible to take the enemy tanks in the rear along the communication trenches and hurl grenades at them. There was a call for volunteers. The first to respond was S. Shustov.

"You are a manual machine-gunner," the political instructor said.

Shustov answered:

"I am a communist, comrade political instructor."

The communist S. Shustov set two tanks on fire. The attack of the enemy got bogged down. The courageous fighter perished in the battle. During all the years of the war, belonging to the party was a distinguishing feature among the border guards of military qualities: Courage, fearlessness in battle, unyielding determination, and an aggressive impulse. If border guards who were communists died, then they did so only after having fulfilled their duty to the Mother- and Fatherland to the end.

Vanda Vasilyevskaya, in the essay "Party Card", written hot on the scent of the border fights, told about the heroic deeds of ten border guards who perished.

shed at their post, headed by the commandant Aleksey Nazarov. The wife of the commandant brought their documents to the party committee and said:

". . . The Party cards of ten comrades--border guards, who perished in the battle with the Germans today at dawn.

The secretary stood up. The party cards lay on the table. Ten red booklets, gleaming on the green cloth, as if stained with the blood of life."²⁷

Among the many heroic deeds accomplished by the border guards and partisans during the years of the Great Patriotic War, there is also the following. In the steppes of the Ukraine, a 3,000-strong detachment of Soviet partisans, headed by the captain of the border guards, M. I. Naumov, was operating daringly and courageously. During the winter of 1943, the detachment received the task of undertaking a raid into the southern regions of the Ukraine, through the steppes, in almost woodless places. The detachment fulfilled this difficult task brilliantly. When a report about this was given to I. V. Stalin, he remarked: "Not every general can carry out such a task." By the decree of the Council of People's Commissars of 9 April 1943, M. I. Naumov was awarded the rank of major general, and by the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 7 March 1943 he was awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union.

The force of personal example shown by the border guards belonging to the Communist Party during the years of the Great Patriotic War was exceptionally great. As a rule, they were always model fighters, who showed examples of great fearlessness, zeal for the service, military and Chekist skill. When Pfc V. Anikin was decorated with the Order of the Red Star for his self-sacrificing defense of the state border and for courage, demonstrated by him himself and by his detail in the battle with a band, Anikin said:

"The duty of the communist, the honor of the border guard, hatred for the enemy, and responsibility for the undertaking entrusted to me--all of this obligates me to be in front."

A great service of the Communist Party in the matter of the leadership of the border guards during the years of the Great Patriotic War was the fact that passionate patriots of the Fatherland and fearless defenders of its sacred boundaries grew up and were educated in its ranks. At the head of formations, units and subdivisions of the guards, there stood skillfull commanders and political workers, who distinguished themselves by high command and political qualities. In talking about the successes of the border guards, it is impossible not to note the great work of the Chief Directorate of Border Troops, headed during the war years by Lt Gen N. P. Stakhanov, and the Political Administration under the leadership of Lt Gen P. N. Mironenko.

During the years of the war, high organizational quality, military mastery and Chekist training of the commanders of the border guards of the war years were clearly manifested. The following showed their worth in the role of officers in command of the troops of border districts and troops for the protection of the rear of the fronts: Lt Gen P. V. Burmak, G. A. Stepanov, Maj Gen A. V. Abyzov, S. A. Bannykh, M. S. Bychkovskiy, I. M. Gorbatyuk, S. I. Gusarov, I. I. Demshin, V. N. Dolmatov, P. I. Zyryanov, N. P. Zubarev, N. S. Kiselev, A. P. Kuznetsov, Ya. G. Kotomin, I. S. Lyubyy, N. M. Malyshev, I. P. Moloshnikov,

N. P. Nikol'skiy, A. A. Nikiforov, I. S. Pankin, I. I. Pavlov, I. A. Petrov, A. L. Prusskiy, K. I. Rakutin, V. T. Rogatin, B. P. Serebryakov, S. I. Fadeyev, V. A. Khomenko, and M. N. Shishkarev.

Among those who skillfully directed the political organs of the border districts and the guard of the rear of the fronts during the years of the war, we must name, first of all, N. A. Andrianov, F. A. Vereshchagin, S. I. Gusarov, A. P. Dotsenko, P. I. Zaretskiy, M. P. Zvonov, A. A. Klyuyev, A. I. Kirillov, P. N. Kuznetsov, A. I. Kornyshev, S. S. Kryshan, S. Ya. Logvenyuk, Ya. Ye. Maslovskiy, I. M. Mazurovskiy, I. Kh. Nikanorov, N. N. Potekhin, B. M. Rodionov, A. N. Smirnov, M. I. Tel'nyy, A. F. Tikanov, M. I. Khurtin, S. I. Tsarev, V. F. Shevchenko, N. P. Shpakov, M. D. Shlyakhtin, I. M. Shchukin, and N. D. Yanvarev.

In paying tribute of deep respect to the war generation of the border guards, it must be pointed out that there is every reason to again address the heroic deeds accomplished by them for the purpose of their deserved immortalization.

Thus, high consciousness of his military duty and staunchness in battle were shown at the beginning of the war by the student of the district school for junior command staff of the Murmansk Border District, Ivan Lozhnikov. He was wounded, but did not leave the field of battle. He was wounded a second time, but even after this the fighter did not abandon his place in the order of battle. A third bullet hit the courageous border guard in the head. Lozhnikov became unconscious. Regaining his consciousness, the student once again joined the battle. To the repeated suggestions of his comrades to get help, he invariably replied: "I can still fight." When, completely weakened, they laid him on a stretcher, the fearless fighter began to sing before his death: "The storm-clouds came up over the city. . ." For 65 kilometers his comrades carried the student I. K. Lozhnikov, but it proved impossible to save him, he died in the arms of his comrades. In January 1942, the personnel of the outpost addressed a joint letter to the command of the district, in which it expressed its admiration for the heroic conduct of the border guard Ivan Konstantinovich Lozhnikov, who was killed.²⁸

One heroic deed accomplished by the border guards during the years of the Great Patriotic War must not go without attention. An exceptionally noble task in this regard was solved by the former border guard Lt Col M. G. Padzhev. Thanks to his concern, seven monuments were installed in honor of the heroic deeds of the personnel of the detachment and regiment in which he served during the years of the war. About the heroic deeds of his comrades, he wrote in the book "Cherez vsyu voynu" [Through the Entire War].²⁹ And it is desirable, of course, in our view, that this patriotic and noble cause be given broad scope. It is important to persistently continue the search and popularization, through the press, of the heroic deeds of other border units, involving in this work the veterans and the literary aktiv. Before time has run out and while the heroic deeds are alive in the memory of the veterans, such work must be carried out.

Service in the border guards leaves a large trace in the life of everyone who has gone through it. It exerts an exceptionally strong influence on the formation of the personality of the fighter. The authority of the border guards as a remarkable school of life was confirmed by the Great Patriotic War. The generation of border guards of the war years, who have written one of the bright

pages in the fighting chronicle of the Soviet people, deserves special attention. All of them are living examples of fighting experience and of the glorious traditions born by the Great October and multiplied during the years of the Great Patriotic War. Unfortunately, fewer and fewer of them remain on duty with every year.³⁰ The following border guards are welcoming the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory on military duty: Intelligence officer of the period of the Great Patriotic War V. A. Matrosov, military intelligence officer A. G. Viktorov, the Komsomol worker of the war years G. P. Sechkin, the fighter of a special purpose division K. V. Regush, the army pupil V. S. Vinogradov, and others. The veterans of the Great Patriotic War carry their honorable title high and are doing a great deal of work transmitting the experience of the front-line soldiers to the young generation of fighters.

The great importance of the battle experience of the front-line soldiers was again talked about in authoritative terms at a meeting of veterans of the party, war and labor in the CPSU Central Committee on 15 August 1983.³¹ It is extremely noteworthy that among those who spoke at the meeting were two veterans of the border guards--V. P. Vinogradov, a member of the CPSU since 1915, a participant of the First All-Union Congress of Soviets, Hero of Socialist Labor, the former military commissar of the border guards, and a participant in the Great Patriotic War, and N. N. Golovatskiy, a member of the CPSU since 1931, the chairman of the 40-Let Oktyabrya Kolkhoz of Taldy-Kurganskaya Oblast of the KaSSR, Hero of Socialist Labor, and the former sergeant-major of a border outpost during the years of the Great Patriotic War.

The fighting history of the border guards during the years of the Great Patriotic War has convincingly shown that all of their successes are, above all, the result of the scientifically substantiated leadership on the part of the Communist Party, which was manifested in daily concern for the increase of combat-readiness of the troops, the education and training of ideologically tempered courageous and skillful defenders of the Fatherland.

In the plan for the expansion of publications about the border guards, the time has come to realize the preparation and publication of a special work on the party leadership of the border guards, beginning with the Great October Socialist Revolution to our time.

* * *

The fourth decade since the day of the victorious conclusion of the Great Patriotic War is coming to an end. The Soviet people and all progressive mankind never lose interest in this period of the history of our country. The organizer and inspirer of the Soviet people in the great heroic deed was the Communist Party, which, on the basis of the ideas of V. I. Lenin, making use of its extremely rich practical experience of the leadership of the country during the terrible years of the Civil War, developed a clearcut program for the crushing defeat of the Hitlerite aggressors and the Japanese militarists, and brilliantly realized it in practice. The strength of the party leadership during the years of the war was vividly manifested also in the border guards. All the basic questions and sectors of the auxiliary and operational activity of the guards, the training and education of the personnel, were under the unremitting party attention. The extensive utilization, in modern conditions, of the very rich

experience of the Great Patriotic War is one of the most important practical tasks of all the commanders and political organs of the troops. The paramount role of history in the formation of the Soviet man was convincingly discussed by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, comrade K. U. Chernenko, in his speech at the anniversary plenum of the USSR Union of Writers, dedicated to the 50th anniversary of this creative organization, on 25 September 1984. "Education through history," he emphasized, "has been and remains an important instrument of the development of civic spirit, Soviet patriotism, and internationalism... The ability to speak about the past seriously, thoughtfully, and from the positions of the Marxist-Leninist world view--this, as practice shows, is what brings success in this undertaking."³² By realizing these instructions, the commanders, political workers and party organizations of the border guards are attaining significant successes in the education of the present generation of soldiers of the border--the heirs to the glory of the fearless border guards of the period of the Great Patriotic War.

Noting the contribution of the border guards to the securing of state security during the present-day stage, candidate Politburo member and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Security Arm Gen V. M. Chebrikov, in his speech to the voters of the Leninskiy Election District of the city of Sukhumi on 20 February 1984, said: "The border guards reliably protect the boundaries of our Fatherland, stopping any attempts of the penetration of spies and agents into our territory."³³

Party leadership of the activity of the border guards constitutes the basis of their successes at the present time, as during the years of the Great Patriotic War. Questions of protecting the border, the state of the border guards, bringing them up to strength, their supply with weapons and military equipment, material-technical supply, the training and education of personnel--all these things are under the constant control of the Central Committee of the party and its Politburo. A new and striking manifestation of the concern of the CPSU and the Soviet people for the reliability of the protection of the state border was the adoption, on 24 November 1982, of the Law "On the State Border of the USSR" by the 7th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 10th convocation. For the first time, the highest organ of our country reviewed and confirmed a basic document on the state border of the USSR. The entire auxiliary and operational activity of the border guards is organized on the basis of the adopted law.

"The entire practice of world socialism," comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasizes, "convincingly indicates: The creation and successful functioning of our new social order is possible only in the presence of the directing activity of the Communist Party. With every new historical stage--this is also confirmed by the work that has already been done in regard to the perfection of developed socialism--the leading role of the the party increases. That is an objective regularity."³⁴

As during the years of the Great Patriotic War, in present-day conditions the Communist Party constantly carries out the leadership of the border guards. Under its leadership, scientifically substantiated decisions, aimed at the securing of reliable protection and defense of the boundaries of our Fatherland, are developed and realized, and party and political work, which are regarded as the most important condition for the high vigilance and constant

combat-readiness of the guards, is organized. The increase in the role of the party, which is a law-governed phenomenon of the development of our socialist state, is manifested in the border guards in the strengthening of party influence on all aspects of their life and activity. This was convincingly demonstrated by a conference of the secretaries of the primary party organizations of the border guards, which was held during 16-17 February 1983. The reports given by the chief of the border guards of the USSR State Committee for State Security, Arm Gen V. A. Matrosov, and the chief of the Political Administration of the Border Guards, Maj Gen V. S. Ivanov, and the entire course of the conference graphically demonstrated the leading role of the party organizations in the life of the guards; they have indeed become the political core of the military collectives. The organizational and ideological strengthening of the primary party organizations in every conceivable way, and above all in the basic subdivisions of the border guards--the border outposts, ships, and the departments of regimental command posts, the securing of the vanguard role of every communist, especially of the communists holding officer rank, in the performance of military duty, the strengthening of party influence on all aspects of the operational and auxiliary activity of the leadership of the party organizations--these are the concrete paths, as the party points out, of the further strengthening of party work in the border guards in present-day conditions.

The leadership of the Communist Party is the most important guarantee and the indispensable condition for the strengthening and development of the border guards. The Great Patriotic War is convincing proof of this.

NOTES

1. KOMMUNIST, 1984, No 9, p 36.
2. Cf. "Pogranichnyye voyska SSSR v Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyne. 1941. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov" [The Border Guards of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War. 1941. Collection of Documents and Materials]. Moscow, 1976; "Pogranichnyye voyska SSSR v Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyne. 1942-1945 gg. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov" [The Border Guards of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War. 1942-1945. Collection of Documents and Materials]. Moscow, 1976; V. A. Matrosov, "Pogranichnyye voyska" [The Border Guards], Moscow, 1977; K. F. Telegin, "Ne otdali Moskvu!" [They Did Not Give Up Moscow!], 2nd enl. and rev. ed., Moscow 1975; B. D. Mostovik, "Ideologicheskaya rabota KPSS v pogranichnykh voyskakh v gody Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyny 1941-1945" [The Ideological Work of the CPSU in the Border Guards During the Years of the Great Patriotic War, 1941-1945], Moscow, 1980; "Chasovyye sovetских granits. Kratkiy ocherk istorii pogranichnykh voysk SSSR" [Guards of the Soviet Borders. A Short Essay on the History of the Border Guards of the USSR], Moscow, 1983, and others.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 407.
4. Tsentral'nyy arkhiv pogranichnykh voysk [Central Archive of the Border Guards] (hereafter TsAPB), f. [archive] 14, op. [inventory] 8407, d. [file] 50, l. [sheet] 34-41, 47-54; op. 2, d. 257, l. 80-85.

5. TsGASA [Central State Archive of the Soviet Army], f. 32880, op. 5, d. 143, l. 129-130.
6. TsAPV, f. 14, op. 2, d. 257, l. 23.
7. TsGASA, F. 32880, op. 5, d. 152, l. 64.
8. Vasil'yevskiy, A. M., "Delo vsej zhizni" [A Matter of All of Life], 4th ed., Moscow, 1983, p 517.
9. Cf. *ibid.*
10. V. A. Matrosov, "Pogranichnyye voyska," p 15.
11. "Pogranichnyye voyska SSSR v Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyne. 1941. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov," p 518.
12. Cf. "60 let na strazhe gosudarstvennykh granits SSSR. Sb. statey" [60 Years of Guarding the State Borders of the USSR. Collection of Articles], Moscow, 1979, p 146.
13. TsAPV, f. 19, op. 11, d. 863, l. 12.
14. POGRANICHNIK, 1944, No 3-4, p 17.
15. K. U. Chernenko, "Voprosy raboty partiynogo i gosudarstvennogo apparata" [Questions of the Work of the Party and State Apparatus], 2nd rev. and enl. ed., Moscow, 1982, pp 126-127.
16. TsAPV, f. 19, op. 9474, d. 12, l. 13; op. 11, d. 537, 1010, 453.
17. *Ibid.*, op. 11, d. 537, 1010, 453.
18. *Ibid.*, f. 14, op. 8047, d. 25, l. 8.
19. *Ibid.*, d. 50, l. 52.
20. Cf. "KPSS v rezolyutsiiakh i resheniyakh s"ezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], Vol 6, 8th ed., Moscow, 1971, pp 32-33.
21. Cf. "Pogranichnyye voyska SSSR v Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyne. 1942-1945. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov", p 248.
22. TsPA IML [Tsentral Party Archive, Institute of Marxism-Leninism], f. 17, op. 22, d. 555, l. 30.
23. Cf. "Pogranichnyye voyska SSSR v Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyne. 1942-1945 gg. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov", p 784.
24. K. U. Chernenko, "Narod i partiya ediny. Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i" [The People and the Party Are United. Selected Speeches and Articles], Moscow, 1984, p 131.

25. Cf. "Pogranichnyye voyska SSSR v Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyne. 1942-1945 gg. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov", pp 907-908, 922-926; Tsentral'nyy muzey pogranvoysk [Central Museum of the Border Guards], Docum[ents] archive, inv[entory] No 756/H.
26. POGRANICHNIK, 1944, No 21, p 18.
27. Ibid., p 29.
28. TsAPV, f. 19, op. 11, d. 686, l. 94.
29. Cf. M. Padzhev, "Cherez vsyu voynu", 3rd enl. ed., Moscow, 1983.
30. Cf. PRAVDA, 27 March 1984.
31. Cf. KOMMUNIST, 1983, No 13, pp 4-8.
32. K. U. Chernenko, "To Confirm the Truth of Life and the High Ideals of Communism". Speech at the Anniversary Plenum of the Governing Board of the USSR Union of Writers on 25 September 1984. Moscow, 1984, p 10.
33. PRAVDA, 21 February 1984.
34. K. Chernenko, "On the Level of the Requirements of Developed Socialism. Some Current Problems of the Theory, Strategy and Tactics of the CPSU," KOMMUNIST, 1984, No 18, p 15.

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NATIONAL

LENINGRAD STOCKRAISING CONFERENCE VIEWS COLLECTIVE CONTRACT

PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' Conference Report

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 4, Feb 85 (signed to press 5 Feb 85)
pp 15-27

[Article: "To Provide for the Broad Introduction of the Collective Contract and Cost Accounting and to Strengthen Organizational and Political Work Among Stock Breeders: From the Zonal Conference in Leningrad"]

[Text] An economic potential has been created that permits one to reach higher levels in the production of output in farming and animal husbandry and in providing the population with food products and to accelerate the transition of the agrarian sector to the path of intensive development. And this, notes Comrade K.U. Chernenko, requires new approaches, a decisive improvement in the work of agroindustrial associations, an increase in the level of all economic work, and the broad introduction of cost accounting and the collective contract.

The questions of the broad introduction of cost accounting and the collective contract in animal husbandry and the strengthening of the organizational and political work among livestock breeders in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and the addresses of Comrade K.U. Chernenko were discussed in Leningrad at the zonal conference of secretaries and department chiefs of kraykoms and party obkoms and chairmen of agroindustrial associations of autonomous republics, krays and oblasts of Severo-Zapadnyy, Tsentral'nyy, Volgo-Vyatskiy, Tsentral'no-Chernozemnyy, Severo-Kavkazskiy and Povolzhskiy rayons of the RSFSR.

Ye. K. Ligachev, CPSU Central Committee secretary, spoke at the conference.

The present conference, he said, is being held on behalf of Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Similar conferences are being held in all union republics.

We are to discuss questions having to do with the broader introduction of the collective contract and cost accounting in animal husbandry and with the increase in the organizational and political work among livestock breeders.

As is known, agriculture, including animal husbandry, is a sector of the economy that touches the interests of everyone. Upon it depends what will be on

the store counters and on the tables of the Soviet people. And this is a question of great political importance.

The CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo headed by Comrade K.U. Chernenko are carrying on a many-sided theoretical, political and organizational work directed to the improvement of developed socialism. In recent years, the bold and in many ways innovative elaboration and the energetic realization of a number of measures for the further development of the society's economic and political system and the strengthening of organization and order allowed one to increase the rate of economic growth and to raise the efficiency of public production. The implementation of the plans for natural indicators and the delivery of output according to contracts is somewhat better.

The first 2 years of the realization of the Food Program were fruitful. Despite adverse climatic conditions, there was an increase in the production of basic food products and the level of their consumption rose. The results in animal husbandry were especially gratifying. During this period, the sale of milk to the state increased by 8.2 million tons, that of cattle and poultry by 2.2 million tons, and 3 billion more eggs were sold. Two years in a row, the plans for the purchases of farm output were fulfilled and exceeded ahead of schedule.

One can now be completely justified in saying that the decisions of the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum established favorable economic conditions for the development of agricultural production. There was a significant improvement in the financial position of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. If things are managed properly, each farm can produce an income, expand its reproduction and raise its profitability. Noticeable changes for the better are occurring in the social reorganization of the rural areas.

The task involves consolidating and multiplying the positive changes. And this means that it is necessary to raise all the work to a new and higher level, to do a better job of managing, and to make more effective use of the potential that has been established in rural areas for increasing production, raising the quality of output, and lowering its production cost.

This is all the more important since the situation in agriculture remains difficult in a number of sectors, as was said with complete candor at the October (1984) Central Committee Plenum. The production of output of the fields and farms still lags behind the needs of the country. Still acute is the supplying of the population with some food products, above all meat.

As before, a key problem is still that of providing for a continual increase in the production of grain and fodder and, on this basis, ensuring the further development of animal husbandry. This year, state purchases of cattle and poultry as well as milk must be increased by a minimum of 8 percent relative to the average annual level of the past years of the five-year plan. In this connection, one must not forget about meeting obligations. The Food Program outlines high objectives for the 12th Five-Year Plan. By 1990, it is essential to increase the procurement of meat by 24 percent over this year's plan and the procurement of milk by 14 percent.

In animal husbandry, as in other areas of the economy, stressed the speaker, the broad application of intensive methods is coming to the fore. The increase in the production of meat, milk and other products must be provided for mainly through increased productivity of livestock and poultry on the basis of a decisive strengthening of the fodder base and improved herd quality.

During the first 3 months of the stall period in the course of this wintering, many enterprises increased the productivity of the farms as well as the production and sale of meat and milk to the state. Milk yields increased by 7 kilograms compared with the corresponding period of last year and milk procurements increased by 453,000 tons, or by 4 percent. In a number of oblasts and republics, however, there was a decline in livestock productivity. Less milk than last year was produced at the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Dagestanskaya and Chubashskaya ASSR's and in Gor'kiy, Saratov and several other oblasts. This situation has come about because of the untimely preparation of livestock-breeding premises for the winter, interruptions in supplying them with fuel and electric power, and the poor use of industrial equipment, especially feed shops and plants. At many farms and complexes, labor discipline is still low, everyday production processes have not been coordinated as they should be, and there is no systematic organizational and mass-political work.

The country's stock breeders have now entered into the most critical period of the wintering. Experience teaches that it is by no means easy to make up for what is lost in the winter. It is therefore necessary to do everything possible to raise the level of organization as well as order and responsibility and to concentrate existing strengths and resources on increasing the production of milk and meat.

One of the main directions in which the party has now begun to work actively and innovatively is that of improving production relations and making them correspond with the powerful productive forces in all links of the national economy. This includes the active propagation of the brigade contract, the more and more intensive introduction of cost accounting, and the carrying out of large-scale economic experiments. In his article "On the Level of Demands of Developed Socialism," K.U. Chernenko stresses that the "extreme importance of this work as a whole is determined by the fact that it is intended for the establishment of the economic conditions without which the aims of the technical reequipping of the national economy and its intensification may--let us say it right out--be up in the air."

This also applies fully to animal husbandry. Its transition to the path of intensification depends upon many factors. But of particular significance is the broad introduction of cost accounting relations and progressive forms of organization and labor stimulation as well as making maximum use of economic means. It is precisely this that should be the aim of the organizational and political work of party committees, soviet and economic authorities, and leading personnel and specialists.

Naturally, the primary attention must be paid to improving the production relations in the leading link of the agroindustrial complex [APK], in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, where operational and educational tasks are solved directly. The essence of the question is to have cost accounting relations

be included in all links of kolkhoz-sovkhoz production. As a method for comparing expenditures and income, of control by the ruble, and of raising the efficiency and responsibility for the final results, cost accounting must be made the real basis of all operational-organizational activity. It should be introduced more boldly, perhaps at first in the elements and individual subdivisions and finally with full coverage of the collectives of brigades and farms. In this connection, as experience shows, cost accounting should be closely and organically tied to collective forms of organizing and stimulating labor and to the flow line-shop system of production. The greatest effect is achieved precisely in this interrelationship.

Special mention should be made of the brigade contract. The party opportunely saw its great potential possibilities. This progressive form of organizing and stimulating labor was found in practice and is the result of the creativity of the workers themselves. It appears as a very important instrument of the economic methods of management and the development of the principles of self-administration in primary production subdivisions.

The experience of many collectives of the country is convincing evidence of the effectiveness of cost accounting and the brigade contract. The party's Central Committee gives great significance to the strengthening of organizational work to introduce the collective contract into agricultural production. In March 1983, this question was expressly reviewed by the Central Committee Politburo and later at the All-Union Conference in Belgorod. Specific measures and ways of resolving this task were outlined.

Party organizations and soviet and economic authorities have done much during the last 2 years to promulgate the collective contract in rural areas, including animal husbandry. There are now about 84,000 brigades and production teams working under contract in this sector, or almost two and a half times as many as in 1982.

This work is being carried out in a businesslike manner in the enterprises of Stavropol' Kray and Belgorod, Bryansk, Penza and a number of other oblasts. Unfortunately, noted the speaker, things are not this way everywhere. Many party committees were not able to turn the attention of managers and specialists to this very important problem. Specific organizational work is frequently replaced by general appeals and conversations about the importance of the collective contract. In the final analysis, this leads to the situation where new forms of organizing and paying for labor cover only 14 percent of livestock breeders, and they are mainly in sheep raising and livestock fattening. The brigade contract is being introduced especially slowly in dairy farming. Only individual collectives of dairy farms have been transferred to the brigade contract in Kalinin, Ryazan' and Lipetsk oblasts and in the Checheno-Ingushskaya ASSR.

In the establishment of such collectives, one frequently sees a formal approach. For example, a certain collective is included in the category of contract collectives but wages are not tied to final results, with the coefficient of labor participation. Brigades and production teams do not have their due independence in resolving production questions and are not provided with essential physical resources. Naturally, such a contract does not give positive results.

The speaker directed the attention of the conference participants to the criteria for evaluating economic activity, stressing that some party committees and agricultural authorities still evaluate the work of kolkhozes and sovkhozes according to quantitative results only and do not analyze the price that must be paid to achieve them. At times they loudly proclaim production increases and forget to mention whether they correspond to the planned tasks. They lose sight of expenditures of labor and resources, the cost of production, the relationship between the increase in labor productivity and its payment, the use of funds, and their reimbursement. Such an uneconomical and superficial approach to operational results is now disorienting to the people and does not mobilize key personnel to work efficiently.

A critical question is that of the rational use of all resources, especially feed. In this connection, the organizational work to promulgate the experience of the Belgorod Oblast party organization approved by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo in reducing the expenditure of grain for fodder is important both now and in the future.

A large role in introducing cost accounting and strengthening the saving regime belongs to all kolkhoz and sovkhoz specialists. For today they solve their tasks, making use of significant material values and skilled working personnel, and therefore they must think in economic categories and master and have confidence in the cost accounting mechanism.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and government on the further improvement of the system of raising the skills of leading APK personnel and specialists provides for broad possibilities for the continued professional growth of workers. This very important party document pays special attention to the in-depth study, among several others, of the questions of the scientific organization of labor, cost accounting and the collective contract as well as to improving the organization of the production training and practical experience of key personnel at advanced enterprises. Party committees are called upon to put these tasks into full effect.

It is necessary to form this new economic thinking, constantly uniting theory with practice, said the speaker. At times the transition of a farm or complex to cost accounting and the collective contract requires much reflection on the new economic thinking. It is for good reason that the folk wisdom says: it is better to see something once than to hear it a hundred times. For this purpose, it is essential to have base farms in the republics, krais, oblasts and rayons, in which all subdivisions would operate under cost accounting and the collective contract and would be a true school for the economic training and retraining of key personnel.

More and more often, the opinion is expressed that all subdivisions of a kolkhoz or sovkhoz without exception should be transferred to cost accounting. In this connection, an important social and economic experiment is being carried out in Altayskiy Kray. All kolkhoz groups, including the administrative apparatus, are going over to contract relations. The work of contract subdivisions is evaluated according to the amount of output obtained of the required quality with consideration given to expenditures for its production. There are economic incentives for reducing expenditures and overexpenditures

are retained from the income of the production team. Effective forms of economic interrelationships with RAPO [rayon agroindustrial associations] partners have been found.

One should be bolder in agriculture in carrying out economic and social experiments. This makes it possible to try progressive ideas in practice, to work out all elements of new forms and methods without making errors, and to begin their mass assimilation in farms.

In the opinion of specialists, all collectives working in such sectors as poultry farming and the raising and fattening of livestock can very soon be transferred to cost accounting relations. This process must be activated in every way possible in dairy farming as well as in the processing sectors of industry and in the APK service area. In this matter, one must resolutely raise the responsibility of the administrative apparatus of agroindustrial associations, the corresponding ministries and departments, and the state committees for labor and social questions.

The implementation of substantial and largely qualitatively new tasks in animal husbandry requires the further improvement of the party leadership of this sector and the strengthening of party influence in the labor collectives of brigades and farms. A paramount role here belongs to oblast and kray CPSU committees, which bear the main responsibility for the implementation of party policy locally. It is a matter of consistently and purposefully putting into effect the aims of the CPSU Central Committee in questions of animal husbandry and of persistently improving all organizational and political work.

The great importance that V.I. Lenin attached to control by managers is well known. He demanded that "1 or ...2 hours a day be devoted to a personal check of the work...." This instruction is still current today.

Recently, for example, a study was made of the situation with the wintering of livestock in Kirov Oblast. It turned out that at the beginning of the wintering period here one-third of the enterprises had less than 10 quintals of feed units per standard head. And they did not know how to manage this fodder economically. Meanwhile, the feed question was discussed 23 times in the last 4 years at the party obkom buro and secretariat and more than 40 times at the oblispolkom. Decisions were made but no one is serious about implementing them. It is now necessary to provide extra help to the oblast. Unfortunately, this is not an isolated case.

The main productive force in the society, the speaker continued, is the individual with his interests, skills and work relationship. In the final analysis, the fate of all plans and of the best intentions is decided in the labor collectives. The Central Committee attaches great significance to the activation of party work precisely in this link.

Much has been done recently to improve the structure of party organizations. The role of party groups is undergoing significant growth with the development of collective forms of organizing and stimulating labor and the broad assimilation of cost accounting into the lower-level production links. The party groups are called upon to bring to each working person the essence of the

changes taking place in agricultural production, to strengthen collectivist principles and conscious discipline, to raise the responsibility for the fulfillment of plans, and to teach people to be implacable toward shortcomings and any manifestations of backwardness or conservatism.

The strength of primary organizations and party groups is in the fact that they are capable of carrying on individual work with people on a daily basis and of interpreting party aims as practical work quickly and without swaggering. Herein is the great strength of our party.

The task of the party committees is to make maximum use of the possibilities of party groups for the purpose of successfully resolving production-operational and educational tasks. It is important to direct party group organizers to this continually, systematically hold seminars with them, teach them living organizational work, and give them the necessary help and support.

The urgent and purposeful work of party groups and the vanguard role of communists must be manifested in specific work such as the struggle for the organized wintering of livestock, the preservation of livestock and the increased productivity of animals as well as the assimilation of all that is new and advanced. Communists are called upon to provide a personal example of a responsible, truly efficient and interested relationship to the work and to take on what is most difficult. Worthy of attention is the practice in a number of places of holding rayon meetings of communists working in animal husbandry. This is done for the purpose of raising the responsibility of communists for the situation on the farms and of exchanging experience in their work.

Under the conditions that have developed, it is extremely necessary to ensure a proper distribution of party forces so as to influence all production sectors. One must also try to reach literally every person. There are small farms in the kolkhozes and sovkhoses where it is still difficult to organize party groups. Here party organizers have shown themselves well. The establishment of an institute of party organizers is one of the evidences of the creative approach to party work. Things must be set up so that they are everywhere where there are no party groups. It is better when a communist working directly in a collective is confirmed as a party organizer. At the same time, this assignment can be given to any other party member, but it must without fail be a person of authority with a good knowledge of production.

But in some places, noted the speaker, they do not pay the proper attention to this. Thus, there is now not a single communist at more than half of the farms in Vologda, Novgorod, Ivanovo and Yaroslavl' oblasts. It is a matter of the distribution of communists as an important means of party leadership in decisive sectors of production. In this connection, it would perhaps be worthwhile to send communists to work on farms during the wintering period where this is necessary. This is already being done in Volgograd and Rostov oblasts, for example.

At the same time, the work must be intensified everywhere to select for the party stock breeders as well as mechanization experts, fitters and electricians working in animal husbandry, as their role under the conditions of saturating

farms with complex equipment is increasing significantly. It is absolutely inadmissible that random and poorly trained people are often sent to these sectors. In short, the more branched out our party structure is, reaching even the lowest-level production cells, the better we will be able to exert political influence on the workers in animal husbandry and accordingly on the results of all of this very important sector.

The party committees must attentively analyze the work on the farms of trade-union and Komsomol organizations, deputy posts and national control groups and they must raise their level of activity and initiative. All of these cells of our political system must be involved to the maximum in resolving the tasks in the intensification of the sector.

The extremely rich experience of the CPSU confirms the fact that the larger the scale and the more complex the tasks that we have to solve, the closer managers must be to people and to their everyday concerns and needs and the more important is their personal participation in that multifaceted process that we call the ideological provision of economic tasks.

The organizational and educational work on the farms, the continual participation of managers in working meetings and stock-breeder days and in carrying out political information and question-and-answer evenings, and their concern with the conditions of labor and everyday life as well as the nutrition and the medical, commodity and cultural services provided to livestock breeders must become a daily standard. Things must be set up so that key workers of the oblast and rayon links are always present on the farms, above all those responsible for the organization of production, everyday services, trade, and the health of people. And the stock-breeder days must be carried out in the enterprises every week without exception. This is one of the forms of managing the labor collective and one of the ways that its members participate in managing production and training people.

Increased agricultural production is achieved where problems are solved in an integrated manner and where the proper attention is paid to the mechanization and automation of production processes, to solving social questions, and to regulating people's regime of labor and rest. Taken together, all of this is becoming a determining factor in the development of production and in getting people to stay in rural areas.

This approach has become more visible of late in many republics and oblasts. A graphic example of this is the work of the party and soviet authorities of Leningrad Oblast. During the 10th and first 4 years of the 11th Five-Year Plan, more than 600 million rubles were assimilated in the oblast for the public welfare of rural inhabited localities and for improving the conditions of labor and everyday life in rural areas. A significant part of available housing has been renovated and more than 70 percent of housing has been supplied with gas. All central farmsteads and large inhabited localities are linked by good roads.

But this work is not being done everywhere. And the problem is not one of money or physical resources. The state allocates tremendous resources for these purposes. The entire question involves one's attitude toward the

matter. One can name a number of enterprises where the farms are not well organized and are not mechanized. Hard manual labor prevails at many of them, the normal everyday conditions are lacking, and hot meals have not been organized. In many places, they are still not very involved in the construction of housing. On the average, in Orel, Kaliningrad and several other oblasts, only a few apartments are rented each year per enterprise. You will agree that in this situation it is difficult to tie down key personnel in animal husbandry and even more so to count on an influx of additional forces.

The reorganization of agricultural production on the basis of cost accounting and the collective contract presents new tasks to trade union organizations and rural workers. They must be seriously involved in the reorientation of socialist competition toward the achievement of high final results and they must do a good job of organizing this in the scope of the RAPO's. The trade unions are called upon to see that every collective has economically justified cost accounting tasks, norms and estimates. In short, that people know what they are supposed to do and what they can earn. In these questions, the trade unions must exercise especially strict control and be particularly demanding. And, of course, it is very important to develop the initiative of people and efficiency thinking and to support and encourage the independence of brigades and other collectives in solving questions in their competence.

The future of the sector, stressed the speaker, largely depends upon attracting young people to the farms. Everything possible must be done to help the schools orient students toward occupations in animal husbandry, to teach young rural men and women to love the labor of the livestock breeder, and to strengthen in every way the basis of rural vocational and technical schools. Good traditions in this work are being established in Kostroma Oblast and in the Tatarskaya, Mariyskaya and Mordovskaya ASSR's, where in recent years livestock collectives have essentially been filled with young people. This valuable experience must be fully utilized in other regions of the country as well.

In providing for the organized realization of the wintering of livestock, party committees are obligated to make more efficient use of the tremendous mobilizing possibilities of newspapers, radio and television. The party press is not a dispassionate register of events but a militant organizer of the workers. This invaluable quality of our press must come into full force at the present difficult moment for animal husbandry. And the party committees are obligated to help journalists in this. A truly interested and qualified illumination of the situation on the farms and in the brigades and enterprises and concern about the effectiveness of the printed word is also a sort of test of the professional mastery and maturity of the editorial collectives and all journalists.

The party committees, in relying on their press organs, must draw public attention to cost accounting, the brigade contract, and animal husbandry as a whole. For this purpose, it would be proper to increase the analytical depth and critical orientation of published materials, to note in time where there are breakdowns and where they are slow to assimilate the experience of advanced workers and progressive forms of organizing and remunerating labor, and to be bolder in revealing shortcomings and omissions in organizational and educational work.

It is expedient to make use of the most militant newspaper forms, including the carrying out of raids, reviews and checks by the forces of the press and its aktiv. Full use must be made of rayon radio broadcasting. Precisely this makes it possible to ensure a truly mass control of the course of the wintering and the preparation for spring sowing and to achieve the adoption of operational and effective measures.

Concern about the needs and interests as well as the conditions of labor and everyday life of livestock breeders, a clear and understandable propaganda of advanced practices, a principled and well-founded criticism of the existing shortcomings, and a bold formulation of acute and unsolved problems must all be at the center of attention of our press, television and radio broadcasting.

Our homeland, said Ye. K. Ligachev in conclusion, has begun the final year of the five-year plan. We are approaching the 27th CPSU Congress, which is an event of great historical significance. It is gratifying that many collectives of sovkhozes and kolkhozes have made a good start in the first days of the year and are working intensely.

The Central Committee attaches great importance to the fact that this frame of mind has become entrenched everywhere and has been embodied in notable results in all sectors of economic and cultural construction.

At this time in the country, socialist competition is developing steadily for the worthy celebration of the 27th CPSU Congress. Its content is to be determined by high frontiers, an active search for and broad assimilation of progressive forms of organizing and remunerating labor, and a strengthening of economic incentives and the policy of economy. It is necessary to provide for continual publicity on the competition and to organize matters so that everyone can see everyday how his obligations are being met, will strive to get ahead, and will feel the importance of his labor for the state as a whole.

L.B. Yermín, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, presented a report at the conference. He noted that at the October (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum Comrade K.U. Chernenko set the task of obtaining more output from the same amount of livestock, with rational expenditures of feed, labor and resources. This must be the basic direction of the development of animal husbandry.

This means that efforts must be directed above all to increasing livestock productivity through consolidation of the fodder base, full mechanization, improved pedigree and veterinary work, and the general transition of farms to cost accounting and progressive forms of organizing labor and paying for it according to final results. Precisely this path will ensure stable growth in production with a simultaneous reduction in expenditures per unit of output.

A certain amount of work has been done in this direction in the republic in recent years. In animal husbandry and poultry farming, problems in mechanizing the supply of water at the 90 to 95 percent level have been practically solved and the milking of cows and collection of manure have been mechanized. More than half of all livestock is located on fully mechanized farms.

At the same time, noted the speaker, at many enterprises of the oblasts and autonomous republics mechanization of cattle farms is still in the initial stage. At the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Kalinin, Ivanov and Yaroslavl' oblasts and Mordovskaya, Dagestanskaya and Checheno-Ingushskaya autonomous republics, for example, more than half of livestock breeders work manually. Naturally, this has a negative impact of the economic indicators of the sector and leads to large expenditures of labor and to a high production cost.

In resolving the questions involved in the intensification of production, it is necessary to increase the pace of full mechanization of animal husbandry and to strive for the timely and full assimilation of capacities. This is a task not only of agricultural authorities. It must be resolved by all APK partners and be under the continuous control of party, soviet and economic authorities.

The speaker stressed that it is essential to bring about an abrupt turn of the attention of all of our key personnel and farm collectives toward economic indicators and the more active utilization of economic means of influencing production. Now, when the system for the extension of credit has become stricter, financial discipline is being heightened and each kolkhoz and sovkhoz, to successfully produce and solve social problems, must learn to manage wisely and prudently.

One of the main means of resolving this problem is the more rapid assimilation of the collective contract and internal cost accounting at kolkhozes and sovkhozes along with the transition to progressive forms of organizing and remunerating labor. Under the existing new economic situation, the most important and urgent task in economic management is to make the forms of organizing and stimulating labor directly dependent upon final results.

Experience shows that cost accounting and the collective contract are assimilated where these questions are subject to the continual attention of party organizations, soviet and economic authorities, and the managers and specialists of kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Thus, on the experimental farm of the horse breeding institute of Ryazan' Oblast, where 570 cows are kept in the dairy complex, the collective contract was introduced in 1983. A contract was entered into with the administration, the daily work schedule was confirmed, and cost accounting tasks, output estimates and economic incentive measures were transmitted. Labor discipline rose noticeably in the collective and there was a significant improvement in production and economic indicators. The productivity of cows increased from 4,970 kilograms to 5,400 kilograms. Labor input per quintal of milk declined to 3 man-hours and the production cost was reduced to 21 rubles. In this connection, labor productivity increased by more than 14 percent and the wage by 13 percent.

At the same time, the speaker continued, this fine example has not been widely disseminated even in Ryazan' Oblast itself. Not a great deal is being done to introduce the collective contract on the farms of Severo-Osetinskaya ASSR and Arkhangel'sk, Novgorod, Kalinin, Smolensk, Kirov and a number of other oblasts.

What facts are we up against? One fact that draws particular attention to itself is the fact that the assimilation of cost accounting is extremely weak in a number of brigades and production teams working under contract. Direct expenditures are not reaching the subdivisions, there is no accounting for the expenditure of resources, the check system of reciprocal calculations and control is not being incorporated, and frequently bonuses are not paid out for saving direct expenditures.

Many kolkhozes and sovkhoses underestimate the value of determining the coefficient of labor participation, which is called upon to take into consideration individual abilities and the attitude toward labor as well as the discipline of each member of a contract subdivision. In the final analysis, leveling out the distribution of supplementary payments and bonuses for output without considering the coefficient of labor participation diminishes the role and the importance of the entire collective contract as a progressive form of organizing labor.

In a number of rayons, there is still too little being done to explain the advantages of the collective contract and the necessity for its broad application. There are cases of the untimely signing of labor agreements with brigades and production teams and the assignment of production targets to them. At many enterprises, in determining output estimates, the standards for its production are frequently raised or lowered, which leads to inordinately high wages or, on the other hand, to low wages that do not correspond to the labor performed. All of this has an extremely negative impact on the work of contract subdivisions, and such collectives often disintegrate.

Agricultural authorities are still making insufficient use of the measures for economic incentives to managers, farm specialists and the workers of contract collectives for the more efficient work of these subdivisions.

The introduction of the collective contract requires of the key personnel of agricultural authorities and kolkhozes and sovkhoses more thoughtful planning and economic analysis, an increase in the overall level of management and organization in production, strict observance of technological discipline, and the consolidation and significant improvement of the work of economic, veterinary and other services.

The speaker emphasized that matters need to be handled so that this year will be the year of the mass introduction of the collective contract so that at the beginning of the 12th Five-Year Plan this progressive form of organizing and stimulating labor will be a lasting part of the practice of all of kolkhoz and sovkhos production.

Also speaking is L.N. Zaykov, first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom of the party. Together with the entire country, he said, the citizens of Leningrad are working persistently on the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, and the tasks of the current five-year plan. Animal husbandry is the subject of particular concern of the party obkom. And this is understandable. Its share of output in the overall volume of commodity agricultural production now exceeds 70 percent, and almost one-fourth of that is made up of the output of dairy farms.

This growth is accounted for above all by the determination of the most effective ways of developing the sector and of putting into effect the line that has been worked out. The long-term plans for the intensification of animal husbandry are an integral part of the overall plans for the economic and social development of the oblast, rayons, associations and sovkhozes, and they are continually in the field of vision of party, soviet and economic authorities.

Today paramount importance is being attached to the questions of the introduction of cost accounting and the improvement of the organization and remuneration of labor. Cost accounting has become an effective means of managing the economy in all links of the oblast's APK. Collective forms of organizing labor and the brigade contract have been disseminated most actively in poultry farming as well as in the raising and fattening of cattle and swine. At the present time, 80 percent of labor collectives are working under the method of the brigade contract.

The contract is becoming more and more widespread in dairy farming. In the sector as a whole, more than one-third of the collectives have mastered these progressive forms of organizing and remunerating labor. It is precisely in such collectives that not only the highest economic but also the best educational results are being achieved.

One of the main conditions for the successful changeover to the brigade contract is the conversion of the animal-husbandry sector to industrial bases. Along with the construction of large-scale complexes in animal husbandry, the reconstruction and technical reequipping of existing livestock farms is well established, whereby the scale of this work is increasing all of the time. Thus, whereas in the 10th Five-Year Plan 34 percent of all state capital investments allocated for the development of animal husbandry were directed to the reconstruction of existing farms, it is already about 70 percent in the 11th Five-Year Plan. This made it possible to raise the level of full mechanization to 70 percent for dairy farms, to 80 percent for swine fattening farms, and to almost 90 percent for poultry farms.

On the average, the number of cows per enterprise increased to 1,500, and to 500 head per farm. At the present time, 56 percent of the dairy herd is located on farms with an industrial technology of production.

What does this mean? During the 10th and the current five-year plans in the oblast as a whole, the expenditure of labor for the production of milk was reduced by 15 percent, by 30 percent for beef, and by 40 percent for pork.

There is something else of importance. Young people are more willing to go to farms with industrial technology. More than 300 young machine operators are now working in animal husbandry alone.

Also of great importance in the conversion of animal husbandry to the brigade contract, stressed the speaker, is what sort of concern party, soviet and economic authorities are demonstrating about the establishment of suitable conditions for the highly productive labor and rest of livestock breeders. Two-thirds of the farms and complexes of the oblast have now been converted

to the two-shift, team, and other progressive forms of organizing labor. Most farms have recreation rooms, shower rooms, and places for political and economic training. The delivery of hot meals has been organized and the commercial and everyday services to stock breeders are provided for directly on site. As a rule, this category of workers is the first to be provided with housing and places in children's preschool institutions.

In speaking about the work experience of the oblast party organization in the introduction of the collective contract and cost accounting in animal husbandry, A.F. Ponomarev, first secretary of the Belgorod Obkom, stressed that the oblast party committees are purposefully increasing the role of economic services in this matter and are forming a new type of economic thinking of the key personnel of all links. This is served by the regular holding of practical scientific and economic conferences, in which there is intensive dissemination of the accumulated experience in the assimilation of internal cost accounting in various sectors of agricultural production and specific recommendations are worked out for improving the work. On the basis of the best farms, schools of advanced experience are established and there is on-the-job training of managers, specialists, secretaries of party organizations and above all the newly elected.

In accordance with the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee, the role of economic training is being increased. It covers 95 percent of stock breeders. All of them have studied the course "The Collective Contract in Rural Areas." There are 1,740 schools of communist labor in operation on farms and complexes.

Today, emphasized the speaker, a quarter of the livestock in the oblast is being served according to the method of the collective contract. The contract is particularly widely used in the raising and fattening of cattle. Their average daily weight gain is 32 percent higher at cost accounting links. The expenditure of fodder is 18 percent below the average for the enterprises of the oblast and the production cost is 34 percent lower. The results of the contract have been positive in swine breeding, dairy farming, and sheep raising.

This year, according to the long-term plan for the development of collective forms of organizing and stimulating labor confirmed by the party obkom, all collectives involved in the raising and fattening of cattle, in sheep raising and in the fattening of swine will work under contract.

In the organizational and educational work with livestock breeders, the party obkom is proceeding from the directive of Comrade K.U. Chernenko to the effect that to be involved in the economy means above all to be involved with people managing the economy. Party organizations are striving to strengthen the influence of communists on the situation in the collectives of the farms and complexes going over to the contract. There are now more than 5,000 communists in the oblast's animal husbandry. Last year alone, 411 leading farm workers were accepted into the party ranks. During the years of five-year plan, the number of shop party organizations and party groups more than doubled. An additional 147 temporary party and 105 party-Komsomol groups were established for the period of this wintering and an additional 840 communists and about 500 Komsomol members were sent to work on the farms. Effective work is being

done by the commissions to control the administrative work in questions of increasing the quality of livestock products.

Ideological-educational work and socialist competition are continually being improved. Topical unified political education days have become traditional. More than 1,000 veterans of labor, advanced workers and production innovators are the tutors of young livestock breeders and advanced experience is extensively propagandized.

In analyzing the organizational and political work in incorporating the collective contract and cost accounting in animal husbandry, the speaker also noted some omissions in this important work. At times, he said, production teams are put together formally, material and technical resources are not always distributed rationally, and contract obligations are not completely fulfilled. A shortage of highly productive equipment is being felt, especially for the overall organization of fodder production and preparation as well as for the harvesting and subsequent processing of corn for grain. The oblast party organization is taking measures to eliminate the shortcomings.

I.D. Plyusnin, head of the section for organizational party work of the Vladimir CPSU Obkom, said in his address that about half of kolkhoz and sovkhos workers of the oblast are working in animal husbandry. He noted that 60 percent of all animal husbandry brigades in the oblast are now working according to the method of the collective contract with payment for final results and with the application of the coefficient of labor participation. In one out of five collectives, party organizations or party groups have been established, and party organizers have been appointed in those where fewer than three party members are working. Komsomol organizations or groups have been established in youth brigades.

Progressive forms of organizing and stimulating labor assert themselves more rapidly where party committees carry on this work persistently and consistently, knowing their business. In one of the best enterprises of the oblast, Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin, they were at first skeptical about the brigade contract.

But when the party committee of the kolkhoz organized an objective study of advanced experience (by that time it had been accumulated in a number of enterprises of our and neighboring oblasts) and began to use specific examples to convince specialists and livestock breeders of the advantages of the collective contract, then no one was indifferent to the new form of organizing and stimulating labor. All workers in animal husbandry went over to the contract. Communists headed brigades, sector specialists were included in them, and their wages were made directly dependent upon final results.

It has already been 2 years since the enterprise stock breeders began working in the new way. During this period, labor productivity increased by 20 percent and the milk yield per herd cow increased by 700 kilograms. Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin has become a base enterprise in the assimilation of the collective contract. By the way, today there are such enterprises in every rayon.

The oblast committee and the party gorkoms and raykoms, the speaker reported, see their task as one of further strengthening party influence on the situation

in animal husbandry. These questions are systematically reviewed in the party obkom and raykoms. Responsibility is being raised for the implementation of adopted decisions and improvement is being made in the work with key personnel and in the distribution of communists in production. The party organizations have been given the task of seeing to it that there are communists on each farm and that the work of party organizations and party groups operating on farms and in brigades is continually improved.

Last year, stressed M.N. Varshavskiy, chairman of the council of the Stavropol' Kray Agroindustrial Association, it was possible for the first time to achieve a reduction in expenditures for the production of output in animal husbandry, and all of its sector became profitable. All of this became possible thanks to the improvement in the methods of organizing labor and the extensive use of economic incentives as well as the evaluation of the work of collectives in animal husbandry according to final results.

At the initiative of the kray party organization, a special plan of organizational measures has been worked out and is being put into effect for the assimilation of the collective contract. Base enterprises have been determined in all rayons for the practical development of new forms of organizing and remunerating labor. Great significance is attached to personnel training. More than 12,000 managers and specialists of kolkhozes and sovkhozes have received special training. Advanced experience is systematically being made known and disseminated. These questions are continually under review by party committees.

In incorporating the contract, emphasized the speaker, we became convinced of the necessity of considering the coefficient of labor participation of all farm workers, including auxiliary services. The key personnel of the administrative apparatus were reviewed. As a result, it was possible to reduce the number of staff units by 2,700, which saved more than 2 million rubles in wages.

Interesting experience was accumulated by the rayons, where managers and key enterprise specialists are paid 80 percent of their salaries and the remaining portion is added according to the annual results. Premiums for successful work are added to this.

A subject of special concern of party organizations, as pointed out in the address of I. N. Kitayev, head of the section for propaganda and agitation of the Kuybyshev party obkom, is the strengthening of ideological and educational work in animal husbandry collectives that have gone over to progressive forms of organizing and paying for labor. The main thing in this work is to convince people of the advantages of the collective contract and to provide for normal working conditions on the farm. The speaker told of the system that has developed in the oblast for the ideological provision of the development of animal husbandry and the broad dissemination of the collective contract. For the party organizations of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, brigades and farms in particular, special posters and flyers are issued that tell about the advantages of the collective contract in an understandable way. In the holding of unified political education days, there is also regular discussion of the questions involved in the introduction of the brigade contract in animal Husbandry. For several years now in oblast television, there has been a school

for the advanced experience of livestock breeders, in the work of which the initiators of the introduction of the collective contract on farms participate actively. In continually meeting with farms workers, about 3,000 lecturers explain the high efficiency of the collective contract as a form of organizing labor and applying economic incentives.

In the oblast, all 40 large-scale dairy complexes, all 30 large enterprises for fattening calves, the majority of swine breeding complexes, and all enterprises of the poultry farming sector have now been converted to the brigade contract. Party groups are actively operating in each of the cost accounting collectives. The communists working in them are organizers of socialist competition and they instill in each worker the feeling of being the master of production.

In speaking at the conference, M.M. Amelina, secretary of the party committee of the Pobeda Production Association of the sovkhozes of Leningrad Oblast, noted that in animal husbandry here 30 production teams serving 56 percent of livestock are working under the unified job order. The main difficulty that party organizers have to overcome in beginning the incorporation of the brigade contract is the unwillingness of some managers and specialists to take on additional worries. This usually occurs with those who have a poor understanding of the questions of the economy, organization and management of production. Here the party committee of the association must be closely involved in the training and retraining of personnel and in teaching them new forms of organizing labor.

The party committee is simultaneously improving the distribution of communists and increasing the party presence among the workers of the leading occupations. The number of communist milkmaids in the enterprises of the association doubled since 1975. Now one-sixth of them are party members, which made it possible to establish party groups on farms everywhere, increase their influence on all aspects of the life of the collectives, and raise the leading role of communists in production.

The attention of the livestock breeders of the association is now primarily concentrated on the successful wintering of livestock. They obligated themselves to obtain 52 kilograms more milk per cow compared with the winter period of last year. Their word was reflected in their actions. During the first 3 months of the wintering, the increment per milking amounted to 35 kilograms and milk production increased by 7 percent relative to the corresponding period of the stall maintenance of livestock last year.

But it is too early to rest, said the speaker. It is no accident that animal husbandry is called a shock front. It requires the constant attention of party organizations and all rural communists. The primary tasks are to be skillful in disposing people to fulfill essential tasks and to attain the rational utilization of existing strengths and resources.

Kh. S. Sibagatullin, chairman of the RAPO [rayon agroindustrial association] council of Baltasinskiy Rayon of the Tatarskaya ASSR, dedicated his speech to the work of the RAPO council in assimilating progressive forms of organizing

labor at livestock farms. He emphasized that the RAPO council is paying a lot of attention to coordinating the work of partners, directing their efforts above all to the achievement of good final results and the strengthening of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, especially those that are lagging behind.

The base enterprise Kolkhoz imeni SOTSIALISTIK TATARSTAN [newspaper], established at the initiative and with the support of the party raykom, has become a unique laboratory of advanced experience in the rayon and a school for the formation of new economic thinking among the key personnel and specialists of the animal husbandry sector. The kolkhoz specializes in the production of milk and meat. Good-quality livestock enclosures have been constructed here in recent years, full mechanization has been introduced on all farms through the participation of Goskomsel'khoshtekhnika, and an up-to-date engineering-technical complex and other production installations have been established. A flow line-shop system of milk production and a two-shift labor regime for farm workers were introduced. The collective contract and cost accounting have been introduced at all farms.

On the basis of this kolkhoz and in accordance with a special program approved by the party raykom, the RAPO council organized the training of managers, specialists and key mid-level personnel as well as other workers in effective methods of management and the introduction of progressive forms of organizing labor and production on livestock farms. All of this was productive. Most kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the rayon are now successfully applying new methods of organizing labor. As early as last year, 80 percent of livestock farms were operating under contract collectives. Farms working under contract attained an increase of 12 percent in animal productivity and reduced the production cost of output by 8 percent.

The conference participants were made familiar with the experience in the work of the party organizations and collectives of the associations of the Detsko-sel'skoye and Gatchinskoye sovkhozes of Leningrad Oblast in the intensification of animal husbandry, the introduction of the collective contract and cost accounting, and in putting into effect overall plans for economic and social development. They visited farms, talked with enterprise managers and specialists as well as livestock breeders, and took an interest in the working and living conditions of workers and in the course of the implementation of the five-year plans and the obligations and demands of the CPSU Central Committee in regard to providing for the organized wintering of livestock and an increase in the production and purchases of livestock products during the winter period.

Participating in the conference work were I.K. Kapustyan and P.Ya. Slezko, deputy heads of CPSU Central Committee sections, and responsible workers of the CPSU Central Committee, the RSFSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee.

The conference results were summarized by Ye.K. Ligachev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

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"Partiynaya zhizn'", 1985.

LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA Conference Report

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 85 pp 1-2

[LENTASS report: "Financial Autonomy and Work with People -- Powerful Means of Intensification of Stockraising; Zonal Conference in Leningrad"]

[Excerpt] On 25-26 January a zonal conference was held in Leningrad involving secretaries and section chiefs from party kraykoms and obkoms and chairmen of agro-industrial associations of autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts of the RSFSR's Northwest, Central, Volgo-Vyatka, Central Chernozem, North Caucasus, and Volga Regions.

There was an examination of questions of the broad introduction of financial autonomy and the collective contract in stockraising and the intensification of organizational and political work among stockraisers in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, and the speeches of Comrade K.U. Chernenko.

Ye.K. Ligachev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed the conference.

The report was delivered by I.B. Yermin, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

The following addressed the conference: L.N. Zaykov, first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom; A.F. Ponomarev, first secretary of Belgorod CPSU Obkom; I.D. Plyusnin, chief of the Vladimir CPSU Obkom Organizational Party Work Department; M.N. Varshavskiy, chairman of the Stavropol Kray Agro-Industrial Association Council; I.N. Kitayev, chief of the Kuybyshev CPSU Obkom Propaganda and Agitation Section; M.M. Amelina, secretary of the Pobeda Sovkhoz Party Committee, Lomonosovskiy Rayon, Leningrad Oblast; and Kh.S. Sibagatullin, chairman of the Tatar ASSR's Baltasinskiy Rayon Agro-Industrial Association Council.

The conference participants familiarized themselves with the work experience of the party organizations and collectives of the Detskoselskoye and Gatchinskoye Sovkhoz Associations in intensifying stockraising, introducing the collective contract and financial autonomy, and implementing comprehensive plans for economic and social development. They visited livestock units and talked with stockraisers.

The following addressed the conference participants: N.F. Fedorov, first secretary of Tosno CPSU Gorkom; A.I. Ilyin, first secretary of Gatchina CPSU Gorkom; N.I. Komendantov, general director of the Detskoselskoye Sovkhoz Association; I.G. Kravchenko, general director of the Gatchinskoye Sovkhoz Association, N.N. Kuzmina, milking machine operator and party group organizer of that association's milking complex; and others.

Taking part in the conference's work were P.Ya. Slezko, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department; I.K. Kapustyan, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department; S.V. Kozlov, secretary of the AUCCTU; A.N. Kolyakin, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; V.P. Nikonov, RSFSR agriculture minister; V.I. Naumov, RSFSR minister of the food and vegetable industry; senior workers of the CPSU Central Committee; and members of the Leningrad party Obkom Bureau.

The conference's results were summarized by Ye.K. Ligachev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Addressing the conference, he said:

The present conference-seminar is being held on the instructions of Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Such conferences will be held in all the union republics.

We are to discuss questions connected with the broader introduction of the collective contract and financial autonomy in stockraising and the intensification of organizational and political work among stockraisers.

As is known, agriculture -- including stockraising -- is a sector of the economy which touches the interests of each of us. On it depends what will be on store counters and on Soviet people's tables. And it is a question of great political importance.

The CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo led by Comrades K.U. Chernenko are carrying out multifaceted theoretical, political, and organization work aimed at improving developed socialism. The bold and in many respects innovative elaboration and vigorous implementation of a number of important measures to further develop society's economic and political system and the strengthening of organization and order have made it possible in recent years to accelerate the rate of growth of the economy and increase the effectiveness of social production. The plans for physical indicators and product deliveries in line with contacts are being fulfilled somewhat better.

The task is to consolidate and augment the positive improvements, which means that all work must be raised to a new and higher level, there must be better management, and more effective use must be made of the potential created in the countryside to increase production, improve output quality, and reduce prime costs.

It must be stressed very clearly that in stockraising, as indeed in other economic spheres, the broad use of intensive methods is becoming of paramount importance. Increases in the production of meat, milk, and other products must be ensured mainly as the result of an increase in livestock and poultry productivity based on a decisive strengthening of the feed base and qualitative improvement of the herd.

During the current wintering period many farms have improved livestock unit productivity and increased the production and sale to the state of meat and milk in the first 3 months of the stabling period. In comparison with the corresponding period last year, milk yields have increased by 7 kg and milk procurement by 453,000 metric tons, which is a 4-percent increase.

However, in a number of oblasts and republics a reduction in livestock productivity has been permitted.

One of the chief directions in which the party has now launched active and innovative work involves improving production relations and bringing them into line with the mighty production forces in all components of the national economy. This includes the active dissemination of the team autonomy, the carrying out of large scale economic experiments. "The exceptional significance of this work as a whole," Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko stressed in his article entitled "Equal to the Demands of Developed Socialism," "is determined by the fact that it is designed to create the economic conditions without which the guidelines for retooling the national economy and intensifying it might, to put it bluntly, come to nothing."

This applies to stockraising. Its transition to the path of intensification depends on many factors, but the broad introduction of financially autonomous relations and progressive forms of labor organization and incentives and the maximum utilization of economic levers are of special importance. It is toward this that the organizational and political work of party committees, soviet and economic organs and leading cadres and specialists must be directed.

Naturally, the main attention must be paid to improving production relations in the leading components of the agro-industrial complex -- on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, where economic and educational tasks are resolved directly. The crux of the question is to involve all components involved in kolkhoz-sovkhoz production in financially autonomous relations. Financial autonomy as a method of measuring expenditure and income, using the ruble as an instrument of control, and increasing efficiency and responsibility for end results must be made the real basis for all economic and organizational activity. It must be introduced more boldly, at first in individual elements and subdivisions and, ultimately, to include all team and livestock unit collectives.

Here financial autonomy -- as experienced shows -- must be closely and organically linked with collective forms of labor organization and incentive and with the flow-shop system of production. With this interconnection the greatest effect is attained.

I would particularly like to mention the team contract. The party saw its great potential at the right time. This progressive form of labor organization and incentive was found through practice and is the result of the creative work of working people themselves. It is a most important instrument of economic management methods and for the development of the principles of self-management in primary production subdivisions.

You know, comrades, what importance the CPSU Central Committee attaches to the intensification of organizational work to introduce the collective contract into agricultural production. In March 1983 there was a special examination of this question in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and then at the all-union conference in Belgorod. Specific measures and ways to resolve this task were outlined.

Over the last 2 years party organizations and soviet and economic organs have done much to extend the collective contract in rural areas, including in stockraising. At present, about 84,000 teams and links, or 150 percent more than in 1982, are working on the contract system in this sector. Unfortunately, in many places specific organizational work has been replaced by general appeals and discussions on the importance of collective contracts.

Some party committees and agricultural organs will evaluate the activity of kolkhozes and sovkhozes only in terms of quantitative results, without analysing the cost at which they have been achieved. At times they speak at the top of their voices about output growth and forget to say whether it meets plan targets. Sight is lost of expenditure of labor and funds, production costs, the correlation the growth of labor productivity and earnings, and the utilization and recouping of capital. Today this noneconomic and, to put it bluntly, superficial and unsophisticated approach to the results of economic activity confuses people and fails to mobilize cadres for efficient management of affairs.

We are faced with the urgent question of making rational use of all resources, especially feed. In this connection, great current and long-term importance is attached to organizational work to disseminate the Belgorod Oblast party organization's experience in cutting consumption of grain for feed purposes, as approved by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

A great role in introducing financial autonomy and strengthening the policy of thrift is to be played by all kolkhoz and sovkhoz specialists. After all, today they are resolving their own tasks by bringing into operation considerable material assets and skilled worker cadres and, therefore, have to think in economic terms, be fully familiar with the machinery of financial autonomy, and have faith in it.

The new economic thinking must be molded by constantly combining theory and practice. At times the transition of a stock unit or complex to financial autonomy and the collective contract system involves lengthy discussions about the new economic thinking. There is much to be said for the folk wisdom that it is better to see something once than hear about it a hundred times. It is therefore necessary for republics, krays, oblasts, and rayons to have base farms in which all subunits operate on financial autonomy and the collective contract system, serving as a real school for the economic training and retraining of cadres.

There is an increasingly often expressed opinion that all kolkhoz and sovkhoz subunits without exception should switch to financial autonomy. An important socioeconomic experiment in this sphere is in progress in Altay Kray. All kolkhoz links, including the management apparatus, have switched to contractual relations. The contractual subunits are evaluated in terms of the quantity of output produced up to the required standard, taking production costs into account. There are material incentives for reducing expenditure, while overexpenditure is deducted from the links' income. Efficient forms have been found for economic mutual relations with rayon agro-industrial association partners.

There must be a bolder approach toward economic and social experiments in agriculture. This makes it possible to test progressive ideas in practice, work out all aspects of new forms and methods without allowing mistakes, and move on to their mass introduction in the economy.

The implementation of ambitious and, to a large extent, qualitatively new tasks in stockraising requires the further improvement of party leadership in this sector and stepped up party influence within the labor collectives of teams and stock units.

A primary role here has to be played by CPSU obkoms and kraykoms, which bear the main responsibility for implementing party policy locally. We are talking about the consistent and purposeful implementation of CPSU Central Committee instructions on stockraising questions and the insistent improvement of all organizational and political work.

We all know how much importance V.I. Lenin attached to monitoring by leaders. He required "the initial allocation of 1 or...2 hours per day for personal inspection of work...." These instructions are still topical today.

The main productive force in society is man with his interests, qualifications, and attitude to the work at hand. The fate of all plans and the best ideas is ultimately decided within labor collectives. The Central Committee attaches great importance to the stepping up of party work at precisely this level.

Much has been done recently to improve the structure of party organizations. The role played by party groups expands considerably with the development of collective forms of labor organization and incentives and the wide introduction of financial autonomy in basic production links. They are called upon to make each working person aware of the essence of the changes occurring in agricultural production, consolidate collectivist principles and conscientious discipline, enhance responsibility for plan fulfillment, and educate people to be implacable toward shortcomings and any manifestations of inertia or conservatism.

The strength of primary organizations and party groups lies in the fact that they are capable of conducting individual work with people on a daily basis and translating party instructions into practical deeds quickly and without prodding. This is the source of our party's enormous might.

The task of party committees is to make the utmost use of party groups' potential for the purpose of successfully resolving production, economic, and educational tasks. It is important that party group organizers are constantly reminded of this, that seminars with them are organized regularly, that they are taught practical organizational work, and that they are given the necessary assistance and support.

All means and opportunities must be used to ensure that the necessary political and organizational work is carried out in all sectors of stockraising production. The better the soil structure, the richer the harvest. Figuratively speaking, this applies to party work, too. The more diversified our party structure is and the more it reaches each one of the lowest production cells, the better we will manage to ensure political influence on labor collectives and, therefore, on the results of their work.

Party committees must closely analyze the work done in stock units by trade union and Komsomol organizations, deputies' officers, and people's control groups, and boost their activeness and initiative. All these tiny cells of our political system must be involved to the utmost in resolving the tasks of the sector's intensification.

The extremely rich experience of the CPSU confirms that the bigger and more complex the tasks we have to solve, the closer leaders must be to people and their daily concerns, and the more importance is attached to their personal participation in the multifaceted process we call ideological backup for economic tasks.

An upsurge in agricultural production is achieved wherever problems are resolved comprehensively and wherever due attention is paid to the mechanization and automation of production processes, the solution of social questions, and the proper organization of people's labor and leisure. All this put together is becoming a decisive factor, both for developing production and for keeping people in rural areas.

This approach has recently become increasingly noticeable in many republics and oblasts. A graphic example is provided by the work done by Leningrad Oblast's party and soviet organs. During the 10th 5-Year Plan and the first 4 years of the 11th 5-Year Plan over R600 million has been used in the oblast to provide amenities in rural population centers and improve working and living conditions in rural areas. A large proportion of the housing stock has been renovated and main gas supplies have been provided for over 70 percent of the housing. All farm centers [usadba] and major population centers are linked by good roads.

The level of comprehensive mechanization now stands at about 70 percent in cattle farming, 80 percent in pig farming, and 90 percent in poultry farming. All stock units use the two-shift two-cycle daily work schedule. The stock units have centers for sociopolitical work, rest rooms, cafeterias, and shower rooms. The system of medical, trade, and consumer services for stock breeders is well organized. The measures that have been taken have helped to not only stabilize but also increase the oblast's rural population.

However, such work is by no means being carried out everywhere, and the problem here is neither one of money nor of material resources. The state allocates huge sums for these purposes. It is all a question of attitude. Several farms can be cited where livestock units are neither well appointed nor mechanized. At many of them heavy manual labor predominates, there is an absence of normal living conditions, and hot food is not organized.

The reorganization of agricultural production on the basis of financial autonomy and the collective contract poses new tasks for trade union organizations working in the countryside.

They must seriously engage in reorienting socialist competition toward obtaining high end results and must ensure that these matters are well organized within the framework of the rayon agro-industrial associations.

The sector's future depends largely on recruiting young people into livestock units. Schools must be helped to the utmost in orienting students toward stockraising professions, fostering love for the work of the stockraiser in young rural men and women, and strengthening as far as possible the base of the rural vocational and technical schools.

In ensuring the organized wintering of livestock party committees must make more effective use of the tremendous mobilizing potential of newspapers, radio, and television.

Our motherland has embarked on the concluding year of the 5-year plan. We are advancing toward the 27th CPSU Congress, which will be an event of great historic significance. It is pleasing that from the very beginning of the year many sovkhoz and kolkhoz collectives have made a good start and are working intensively. The Central Committee attaches great significance to the fact that this mood has strengthened everywhere and has been embodied in weighty results in all sectors of economic and cultural building.

Socialist competition to greet the 27th party congress fittingly is now being mounted on an increasingly broad scale in the country. The content of competition must be defined in terms of achieving high targets, actively seeking and extensively introducing progressive forms of labor organization and payment, and intensifying economic incentives and the policy of thrift. Competition must be backed up with constant publicity, and matters must be organized in such a way that everybody sees every day how his pledges are being fulfilled, strives to be in the forefront, and feels the statewide significance of his labor.

CSO: 1800/195

NATIONAL

MOSCOW RABBI SAYS STATE SUPPLYING PASSOVER NEEDS

LD021208 Moscow TASS in English 1056 GMT 2 Apr 85

[Text] Moscow, 2 April (TASS)--Parishioners of the Moscow choral synagogue will gather there on Friday night for the first Passover public worship, and the synagogue's chief rabbi, Adolf Shayevich told a TASS correspondent that all of them have been able to buy the amounts of matzoh needed by a believing family as a total of 130 tons of the unleavened bread have been made by the bakery owned by the synagogue.

The rabbi said demand for kosher meat and poultry has also risen ahead of the holiday. He added that state procurement agencies have supplied the parish with poultry and meat required for special slaughter under ritual rules at fixed rate prices.

"We are preparing for the Passover with a special feeling this year as the great 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, the worst enemy of humanity, is approaching," the chief rabbi of the Moscow choral synagogue said. "Hitlerite fascism has brought untold suffering to peoples, including the Jewish people. On April 13, the last day of the Passover festival, we shall devote a sermon to the memory of the six million Jews who have been killed by the Nazis."

"By tradition," Adolf Shayevich said, "we have sent Passover congratulations to our brothers in faith in other countries. In particular, we congratulate American Rabbis Arthur Shneyer and Pinchas Taiz, Canadian Rabbi Isaac Gechman, the Hungarian leaders of the community and rabbinate, and other religious workers who have been hosted at our synagogue on more than one occasion."

CSO: 1812/215

REGIONAL

DEMIRCHYAN ADDRESSES ARMENIAN PLENUM

GF111555 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 29 Mar 85 pp 1, 2, 3

[Report on the speech by Karen Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, during the Central Committee Plenum held 28 March 1985]

[Text] In his speech on "the tasks of the republican party organization toward the further improvement of the work carried out on the cadres and the perfection of the style and method of their activities, in light of the requirements of the party's 26th Congress and the CPSU Central Committee Plenums following the congress," Armenian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary Comrade K.S. Demirchyan said:

"The Soviet Armenian workers, as did all the Soviet people, approved with great satisfaction the decisions of the extraordinary CPSU Central Committee Plenum of March, where the continuity of the party's policy is reflected vividly as is its unshakable loyalty to its traditions and principles and to the Leninist course of creation and peace.

The republic's communists and all people warmly and unanimously approved the plenum's decision to appoint as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee the prominent party and state official Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, who is dedicating his entire knowledge, rich experience, and organizational talent to the implementation of the party's policy and is self-devotedly serving the great work of Lenin.

It was noted at the plenum that the line adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee Plenums following the congress has been and remains the same; that is, the line to speed up the country's socio-economic development and perfect all sides of public life. It includes the reformation of the material and technical base of production and the perfection of public relations, primarily the system of economic relations, as well as the development of the real man and the qualitative improvement of the material conditions of his life and work and spiritual character.

The party considers its primary task to make a decisive shift in the work to transfer the national economy on an intensive development basis, to raise it to the most prominent scientific and technical positions in a short period,

and reach the highest international level of public work production. The party is undeviatedly running its adopted social policy and further enhancing the planning system with profound and concrete measures, everything for the sake of the people and their well-being. Its policy has been and is aimed at the undeviated consolidation of unity between the working class, kolkhoz workers, and intellectuals and the friendship of the USSR peoples.

"The most important task of propaganda activities are to raise the labor and social activity of the Soviet people and to give instructions in patriotism and internationalism. Henceforth, also decisive measures will be adopted for the further establishment of law and order to prevent any violation against the public and the citizens' interests and to consolidate socialist lawfulness.

The plenum noted that our course in foreign policy is clear and consistent. The CPSU and the Soviet Government consider their first task in the struggle to realize the preservation and consolidation of fraternal friendship with socialist countries. Stemming from principles of equality, mutual respect, and non-intervention in internal affairs, our country works for the peaceful and profitable cooperation of all countries. The Soviet Union always responds to good will with good will and trust with trust. But we never neglect the interests of our fatherland and its allies.

The solution of complicated issues is set before us--said Comrade M.S. Gorbachev during the plenum--which foresees the further consolidation of the party and the raising of its organizing and guiding role. The CPSU has always based its policy on the Leninist idea that the principled policy is the only right policy. That policy, which is established collectively, is being realized constantly and undeviatedly. The party is the power which is able to take into account the interests of all classes and social groups in the country, all nations and nationalities, and assemble them and mobilize the efforts of the people for creative communist work.

"The pan-national approval of the results of the March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum once again displayed the deep unity of the party and people, the determination of the communists and all workers to do everything to make the Soviet fatherland stronger, to further reveal the creative capabilities of socialism, to achieve higher levels of progress, and to mark the 27th Congress of the genuine communist party with new work and creative achievements.

Our Leninist party is moving toward its 27th Congress full of creative powers and enthusiasm. The upcoming congress will be a great event in the public and political life of our country, will summarize the results of the party's work in the past period, will mark the country's development dimensions for the next 5-year plan period and until the year 2000, and will adopt the new CPSU plan.

The tasks of historic significance, which are set by the CPSU plan, and all those plans for the further comprehensive development of our country which will be projected by the congress, should be realized by the cadres and our people. That is why they are the basic and decisive factors for our further progress and for the successful realization of our social, economic, and educational targets. That is why the party considers the cadres policy one of the most important bases which can influence all the processes taking place in public life.

The Leninist principles on cadres policy are the basis of the party's cadres work. They have been and will be the party's guide. The party's Central Committee is carrying out scientifically based, comprehensive, and constant work toward the realization of the cadres policy. That policy is being structured in accordance with the solution of social and economic questions, taking into account the interests of all classes and socialist groups and all nations and nationalities.

The party's cadres policy is always developing creatively, being enhanced with new measures, and being adjusted in accordance with the issues that are being solved. The socialist democratic ways and methods of the work carried out on the cadres is further developing and strengthening. The realization of the tasks set by the party for developed socialism naturally also takes into consideration the perfection of our cadres work and the entire system of selecting, educating, and distributing the cadres.

The CPSU Central Committee instructions on a number of issues dealing with modern cadres policy are significant for the solution of this issue. Noting the necessity of constant improvement of the work carried out by the cadres on the basis of strict preservation of Leninist principles, the CPSU Central Committee directs the efforts of the party committees toward the achievement of the stage where all the economic and cultural construction locations are headed by politically mature and knowledgeable leaders who have high moral characteristics, enjoy authority among the masses, and are capable of successfully implementing party policy.

Comrade K.S. Demirchyan said: "The republic's party organization performed substantial work after the 26th CPSU Congress toward the improvement of the qualitative structure of the cadres, their selection, distribution, education, and qualifications.

In the cadre work of our organization, as in the entire party, the course of scientific approach, preservation of certain stability, and increase in workers' responsibility and creativity has been established. Belief, trust, and respect are coupled with a principled attitude toward the cadres, which enables them to gain confidence and given them the opportunity for initiative and a creative approach toward work.

The questions of selection, distribution, and education of the cadres are constantly at the center of attention of the Armenian Communist Party, its Political Bureau and Secretariat, and the party's gorkoms, raykoms, and primary organizations.

An important event in the cadres work of our party organization was the April 1983 Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, which reviewed the audit of the Leninakan party gorkom on the selection, distribution, and education of the cadres in light of the 26th CPSU Congress resolutions. The revision of this question at the Central Committee plenum turned into a principled, interesting, beneficial, and operative discussion on the cadre policy of the party organization. The plenum registered the productivity of cadre work of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau and Secretariat and its correspondence with the requirements of the party cadres policy.

During the period following the congress many national economic experts have been introduced into party work. The party and political education work of the secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms has improved; more than one-half have received or are receiving higher party education. The majority of the secretaries and officials of the party gorkoms and raykoms have passed to practical school in the enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes, and worked as secretaries of primary organizations and participated in soviet, trade union, and komsomol work. One of every three secretaries of the party gorkoms and raykoms secretaries has begun his work as a laborer of kolkhoz worker.

We have a mighty cadre potential. The most important locations of party, state, economic work, and cultural construction are being chaired by politically mature, polite, and knowledgeable leaders, organizers, and instructors with experience with the masses and individuals who bear high responsibility toward party and people.

The republic's achievements in the social and cultural development sector greatly depend on the productive work of our cadres, the improvement of their qualitative structure, and the constant realization of the plan for perfection of work style.

The obligatory condition and characteristic line of the successful work of our cadres have become the capability to work among the masses and enhanced their organizational capability. The influence of propagandist factors such as awareness, ideologism, large political aptitude, and politeness on cadre work have considerably increased. Our cadres have also started to take into further consideration the social, political, and educational sides of their activities. The ideological and theoretical standard of the leaders and the communists is constantly rising.

Taken as a whole, the leading cadres of all the economy branches, propaganda sector, science, and culture are notable for their practical and highly specialized standard. The majority are successfully resolving the tasks set before them and displaying a creative approach and initiative toward work. The labor collectives have proposed hundreds of talented organizers and experts and marvelous inventors from their environments, whose names today are known for all of working Armenia.

Comrade K.S. Demirchyan said: "Along with that there are also narrow places in our cadres work and mistakes are being permitted. Sometimes in responsible locations such leaders are being detected who cannot cope with the work, are staying behind the requirements of life, are not displaying a creative approach and initiative, and are working with old methods. The party gorkoms and raykoms and the Central Committee departments in certain cases are neglecting these and are not solving the questions in time or noticing them when its too late, and already the harm has been done to the work. On the other hand, sometimes we are being hasty and careless when selecting leaders. The practice of selecting cadres on the basis of subjective evaluations and personal considerations has not been fully uprooted, which is inevitably creating an atmosphere of non-stringency, resulting in negative consequences and is reflecting badly on all work results."

It is necessary to decisively remove these shortcomings and to define the strictest supervision in order to preserve the Leninist principles of the work carried out on the cadres and basically be implemented in all party organizations and state and economic management sectors. It is necessary to display a more stringent attitude in the question of evaluating the political characteristics of the workers appointed to leading positions. Those characteristics are primarily displayed in how deeply the future leader comprehends the party's policy, and how ready he is for devoted and active work for the sake of implementing that policy.

Particularly high requirements are being presented to the party workers. In all their work and deeds and relations with people they should epitomize the best ideological and moral characteristics of the communist. Only in that case can they be an authority for the other and successfully lead a political and organizational work and solve the set tasks.

At the moment, under the scientific and technical revolution conditions, the Leninist requirement that deeply knowledgeable people should be appointed in leading posts achieves important significance. V.I. Lenin used to point out that in order to lead it is important to be fully and rightly aware of all production conditions, and it is necessary to know the technology of that production and to have a certain scientific education.

Now, when a larger struggle is being waged to raise the national economy to a better scientific, technical, and organizational standard, the professional aptitude of the cadres, their economic knowledge, their creative judgement, ability to work as planned, and aptitude to respond to the scientific and technical achievements are of exceptional significance for the intensification of production and the raising of productivity. Without all these it is impossible to be a modern leader.

It should be said that some of our party, soviet, and economic bodies often do not pay the necessary attention to these factors and do not actively endeavor to improve the qualitative structure of the leading cadres. For example, look at the material production sector. The statistics show that the proportion of the workers who occupy positions of specialists in the republic's industry is high, but they do not have higher or secondary specialized education.

This concerns the industrial, agricultural, and other economic branches and life sectors.

And this is taking place at a time when our republic occupies the most prominent positions in the country with the number of its graduate experts. There can be no other reason for this except for the fact that certain party, soviet, and economic bodies are doing insufficient work with regard to cadres, and some leaders of branches, enterprises, and farms are shortsighted and sometimes irresponsible.

The incorrect method of work carried out on the cadres has deep roots in the "Haykinart Ararat" Industrial Association of the republic's food industry. Due to the rude violation of party principles with regard to the selection and

distribution of cadres by the association's leadership, in recent years a number of workers, who do not have corresponding education, qualifications, and experience, have been appointed to or chosen for leading work. There are many among these who have previously been disgraced or sentenced. Over half of the engineering and technical workers of the branch do not have higher education. The same applies to the technological posts.

Under such conditions of work carried out with the cadres, is it surprising then that the quality of output is insufficient in the branch? Or that occasional violations against public possessions are being allowed?

Analyzing the various aspects of the work carried out on the cadres, Comrade K.S. Demirchyan said that due to the mistakes made by some ministries, departments, and party committees during appointments for leading positions, disruption in the role of the cadres has taken place. Many enterprises and organizations are appointing a new director or leader every year. This is concrete proof that when the ministries of light industry, food industry, local industry, housing and consumers services, and other ministries appoint individuals for leading work, they do not comprehensively study the moral, political, and operational characteristics of the candidates.

Strictly criticizing the leaders of the said ministries and departments, Comrade K.S. Demirchyan at the same time noted the serious shortcomings in the cadres policy permitted by the corresponding party gorkoms and raykoms and the necessity of raising the personal responsibility of the leading party and soviet workers in this most important sector.

Comrade K.S. Demirchyan also invited the attention of the agriculture ministry and the rural party raykoms and the Central Committee's departments to the unjustifiable and constant change of leading cadres in the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes. He said: "The frequent change of economic leaders is particularly high in Oktemberyan, Spitak, Ichevan, Koris, and Gukark rayons."

Demirchyan said: "The comrades leading the agriculture sector should take into account this criticism and correct the situation."

The situation is also unsatisfactory in another important branch, that is construction, where the unjustified changing of leaders is frequent. The corresponding ministries should take active measures to put an end to this. Is it not a known fact that one of the obligatory conditions for successful and fruitful work is the stability of the cadres?

The party committees, ministries, and departments should put an end to the frequent changes of cadres and should constantly ensure their stability, particularly the stability of the economic cadres. Let us stress here that under no circumstances should stability result in inertia or the total immobility of the cadres and stagnation of work. Certain leaders who are not sharp have reconciled with the shortcomings and are incapable of recognizing what needs to be changed.

Moreover, under conditions of an acute lack of high-quality agricultural and other specialized cadres in certain rural rayons, necessary measures are not

being adopted to create appropriate housing and living conditions for the young cadres and as a result their consolidation in locations is low. Moreover, there is much evidence that the rayon bodies are not employing all the specialists, claiming that they do not have the positions to be filled.

The November 1984 Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee talked about the consolidation of farms and rayon water resources services with middle-level machine operators and specialists. But today we are obliged to say that at the moment there are no serious shifts in that sector.

In one of our plenums we comprehensively talked about the problem of preparation and rational use of science and national education cadres. Today it is also necessary to point out the shortcomings in the cadres work of the health and culture sectors. For example, while the republic has a sufficient number of medical cadres, the medical establishments of a number of rayons (Amasiya, Gukasyan, Mardun, Megri, and Sisyan) are not fully staffed with specialists. The emergency medical centers of Yerevan, Lenakan, and Kirovakan are in need of doctors. The situation is also insoluble at the republic's cultural and educational establishments, particularly at the libraries, the majority of which do not have workers of higher and secondary specialized education. In the republic's theater sectors many people who have no training or relationship to this field of work have been appointed to it.

It is necessary to improve the selection, distribution, and education of cadres in science, national education, health, culture, and propaganda establishments. During the realization of the cadres policy in these sectors, the party committees must constantly couple the experienced cadres of the older generation with young receptive workers. The network for work carried out on the cadres is urged to actively contribute to the consolidation of all the circles of the spiritual sector with politically capable and deeply knowledgeable leading workers and to the creation of a harmonious and creative work atmosphere.

It is difficult not to appreciate the social, economic, and political importance of party management of the preparation of specialized cadres for the national economy, which is heading toward intensive development. The interests of work require that the party committees, and organizations and soviet and economic bodies analyze the cadres potential of the cities, rayons, branches, enterprises and organizations, and establish concrete measures for their perfection and efficient use.

The interests of the republic's development and the further full use and growth of its production potential require the implementation of an active popular policy in order to improve the use of existing labor resources, and the preparation and employment of specialists, public professional cadres, and highly qualified laborers and agricultural workers.

Comrade K.S. Demirchyan urged the state planning committee, the ministry of higher and secondary specialized education, the state committee for vocational and technical education, and corresponding ministries and departments to take active measures to overcome the irregularity created in the republic with regard to the preparation and use of specialists and labor cadres, by depending on the comprehensive and systematic study of future requirements.

The organization of a clear and constantly operating system for the promotion of qualified cadres is of important significance in the current conditions. This is necessary in order to help our leading workers and specialists to keep the level of their knowledge at the appropriate height. Each leader should be noted for his knowledge or work, deep awareness, capability for organizing the united and harmonious work of people, principled approach, and operativeness. Those who do not want to bother themselves with the study of modern things or to enrich their knowledge, and do not progress as a specialist or master of the art of management sooner or later will be incapable of fulfilling the assigned work at the appropriate level.

For example, for a long time the Haytunelshin administration was not fulfilling the plans and targets for the construction of the Ichevan-Razdhan railway tunnel, and the schedule for commissioning the installations was being delayed. This was due to the fact that its leader was not showing any growth in his specialization, was displaying indifference, was insufficiently engaged in preparation for production, and was not able to mobilize the collective for the fulfillment of the set tasks. It is necessary to consolidate the leadership of the administration.

Indeed, certain work is being carried out to raise the qualifications of workers and their economic and scientific knowledge. But, it must be confessed that we have not ordained this work as needed. People who fail to acquire new knowledge not only are unable to be active strugglers of technical progress but also directly or indirectly obstruct the retooling and modernization of production. Only those who know how to conduct detailed study and know the meaning of all this are able to struggle for the new and the progressed. We must not forget the Leninist instruction that says: "Not any kindness or any party authority is able to alternate knowledge of work, which is the basic factor in any event," The real leader should be a front-ranking specialist and organizer and collective instructor.

It is necessary to radically improve the work of raising the qualification of cadres, work in a way that people do not lag in their specialization growth, always accumulate new and necessary knowledge, and perfect the art of management.

Improving the qualitative structure of the cadres in all locations and taking care of their professional growth, we must always keep at the center of attention the questions dealing with the moral character of the leaders. Only one who is disciplined, kind, conscientious, humble, and simple, and who endeavors to master the Leninist style of leadership has the right to lead the people. These are the characteristics of the majority of our cadres. Unfortunately, due to mistakes permitted in the cadres work, sometimes we detect leaders who are retreating from the norms of party life and communist morality, and are exploiting the official posts. Our plenums have reported on the measures adopted by the Central Committee Bureau on punishing and relieving a number of party, soviet, and economic workers. We have constantly led and will lead the policy of strengthening organization and law and order, preserving the state of affairs at recommendable locations, and our morality norms and principles and raising the responsibility of the cadres of all levels.

Experience shows that many of the mistakes allowed in the activities of the cadres, the exploitations of official posts, and violations of party ethics and criminal acts are due to the insufficient supervision by party bodies and because the work has not been set in a way that each leader is constantly supervised by higher bodies and the masses.

Comrade K.S. Demirchyan gave concrete evidence on the extent of harm inflicted by the lack of appropriate party stringency in the selection of the cadres, by unjustifiable forgiveness toward those who permit offences. He gave the example of how the chairman of Aragadz Agro-Industrial Association, who was relieved of his post, was appointed the director of Oshakan Sovkhoz. Here also violations have been permitted and notable harm has been done to the farm. Due to the ignorance of cadres work principles a director has been appointed for the No 2 Public Food Association of Spandaryan Rayon against whom criminal charges have been brought for the violations allowed there.

Comrade K.S. Demirchyan strictly criticized the culprits for the above-mentioned violations and a number of other incidents and the leaders who have allowed serious mistakes in the selection of the cadres.

"We must make it a rule," he continued, "that the cadres who have failed in work should not be reappointed as a leader until he has proved at a lower chain that he can again be trusted with serious work. Principled consistency should be displayed here by the party organizations, committees, and a central committee department.

People are justifiably getting perturbed by the violations, immoral steps, and offenses of those who, according to their posts, should have preserved lawfulness and struggled for the consolidation of public life.

The evidence once again proves that when introducing workers to work it is necessary to pay attention to their moral characteristics and close the way to leading posts and responsible work for the worthless and immoral individuals. In this regard it is necessary to pay greater attention to the replenishment of the law-preserving bodies in order to prevent the infiltration of unkind individuals into these bodies.

The party Central Committee, gorkoms, and raykoms should constantly instruct the leading cadres in ideological conviction, devotion to work, and high moral and political characteristics, and reach the level where leading posts are occupied by individuals of good conduct, who enjoy authority not only thanks to their official post but also because of their personal characteristics. The full and correct implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decision on the course of implementation of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum decisions at the Armenian Republican Organization, will greatly contribute to this work.

The party cadres policy, continued Comrade Demirchyan, takes its roots from the labor collectives, those initial cells of the socialist public. The shaping of future leaders start here during the creative process. The republic's party organizations as the political core of the labor collectives in the

recent years have accumulated worthwhile experience in selection, employment, and education of the cadres. In order to better study the characteristics of the workers and raise their responsibility toward the undertaken work, certificates are periodically given to the leaders and specialists of industrial, construction, transport, agriculture, and other national economy branches enterprises and organizations.

However, it is necessary to note that not all the party organizations are realizing the necessary supervision over work. The task for the party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations is to ensure the objective and comprehensive study of the ideological, political, moral, and professional characteristics of the cadres during reevaluations and selections by competitions. Experience shows that in those collectives where an atmosphere of high stringency toward workers prevails, where the leaders and party and public organizations work unitedly and where people's opinions are taken into account, the work of selecting the cadres is much better. The creation of such an atmosphere in all locations is one of the ardent tasks of the party organizations.

The komsomol is a good school for the education of the cadres. The youths grow fast and display their receptiveness quickly when they actively participate in Komsomol, public, and political work. The current generation is more refined and displays readiness for work. The task of the gorkoms and raykoms is to train the young active workers on the work they will carry out in labor collectives, to help them master the work and be shaped up as an expert and organizer and prepare them for more complicated activities.

It is particularly necessary to outline the necessity of introducing women into party, soviet, economic and other leading work. According to the results of the past electoral campaign the number of the female secretaries of party organizations is 39.1 percent. The number of women specialists is also big. As you see we have enough reserve to introduce women into leading posts, but the existing capabilities are not being fully used. In a number of fields the proportion of women among leading workers does not correspond to the role they occupy in work.

A good method for the work carried out by cadres at all levels is the training of workers in leading enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes and party bodies, the main target of which is to prepare the workers for the fulfillment of new and more complicated tasks and arm them with the best experience. In recent years another widely used method of work with cadres has been the discussions held with the secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms and leaders of ministries and departments. Discussions with various level leading workers are being held in the majority of gorkoms and raykoms. During the discussions many useful advices and proposals are being made.

The task of the party committees is to henceforth also perfect the structure and method of the education of party and soviet cadres, raise its quality and to fully bring it near to the party's work practice and the various problems of our activities. It is necessary for each party gorkom and raykom to deeply analyze the structure of its nomenclature and ensure the selection, distribution, and education of the workers, the promotion of the standard of their

political and operational preparation and the clearer operation of the mechanism to preserve the professional and educational structure of the cadres.

In order to correctly assess the work of the cadres it is necessary to recognize them and have contacts with them, as well as to constantly analyze the result of their activities and know how the collectives are treating them. And for that it is necessary to be present at the labor collectives more often and to meet and talk with the people.

The workers of the Central Committee, gorkoms and raykoms and the leaders of the ministries and departments must recognize the cadres not by their applications but personally and have contacts with them not only at the conferences but also at the production levels and periodically hold talks with them on the questions dealing with their activities and development perspectives, defend the good initiatives and help to resolve the tasks set before them.

The employment of worthwhile cadres in leading posts, as experience shows, can take place only in case of having a good cadre reserve, the creation of which has been and remains to be our important task. The voluntary party aktiv is a good reserve. Many leaders have given talent to production organizers and mass educators thanks to the fact that they have passed through the course of voluntary work. The national structure of that aktiv fully corresponds to the national structure of the republic's party organization.

A good cadre reserve has been created in many locations where the candidates have unitedly studied and reviewed the administration, party, trade unions and komsomol organizations of the said labor collectives. However, a lack of clear and ordained approach is noticed in the work of a number of party committees toward the shaping of the cadres reserve. In many incidents the list of cadre reserves are being formed formally and necessary consistency and constant care are not being displayed toward the progress of the comrades included in them.

Constantly realizing the CPSU Central Committee instructions on cadre work, the republic's party organizations should do everything to make it correspond to the high requirements of today and have a good influence on the fulfillment of the task for social, economic and cultural development and the strengthening of defense set by the party.

Comrade K.S. Demirchyan said that the productive activity of the cadres directed toward the realization of economic and cultural construction tasks is directly linked with the perfection of the work style and method. The decisive course run by the party's Central Committee, which encourages operativeness, develops initiative, and a creative approach toward work and the strict preservation of law, order and lawfulness is aimed at the strengthening of labor, state and party discipline, and helps our cadres to establish such a method which is instructed by real life and is operative and realistic and assumes scientific approach toward all public processes, does not tolerate bureaucratism and any austentation, parading, bragging, boasting, irresponsibility, and all types of mismanagement and disorganization.

This work method and creative approach toward the solution of economic and political issues is being further established in the republic's party organizations. The party's Leninist norms and principles are further consolidating and developing and the interparty life is improving.

Notable shifts have been made in the work of the party gorkoms and raykoms. They have begun to manage the economic and cultural construction more knowledgeably. Interparty democracy has further expanded their work methods as well as the strictly preserving legislative requirements, the practice of scientific methods of management, perspective planning and the development of regular party aktiv meetings and bureau sessions. Prior to the adoption of decisions, the issues are being deeply studied and the possible consequences of the adopted decisions are being weighed and taken into consideration.

For example, this is the attitude of Echmiadzin and Akhuryan party raykoms.

The desire to achieve the set goals, the ability to isolate the main chains in the complex of issues to be solved, the balanced approach toward work and the unity of organizational, ideological, political and economic activity are characteristic of Yerevan, Leninakan, and Kirovakan party gorkoms.

There are certain positive shifts in the work of many of the republic's ministries and departments.

In many of the republic's party committees productive ways and methods have been established for supervision and organization of the fulfillment of individual and high bodies' decisions. Noting the fulfilled work, at the same time we consider it necessary to outline that it has not always been that the party's gorkoms and raykoms are productively influencing the solution of the most important economic and cultural construction questions. The verification of execution continues to be the loose side of work in many party organizations. Sometimes the powers of the voluntary aktiv and party apparatus are being used for the establishment of different plans and measures. The main part of the leading work is the constant supervision and organization of the fulfillment of the adopted decision.

If we talk in general, the main thing in every work as well as party work is to fulfill with active political and organizational work everything that is planned and fully execute the economic and political and communist education tasks set before the party, soviet, economic, and all other bodies.

Operativeness is not an abstract but a concrete concept. Thus, it should ensue a concrete purpose. And our important task is to instruct the cadres with the spirit of purposefulness and instill in them a method of concrete and productive work.

Our cadres should be able to organize the work and be exacting people, and should be notable with their high discipline, initiativeness and creative approach.

Unfortunately, not all our locations have learned how to decide the goals and primary tasks correctly and how to correspondingly adopt estimated and concrete decisions which comprehensively encompass all the questions and problems and the paths and means for their realization. On the other hand (where we are most lagging) it is not always that our adopted decisions are being fulfilled fully and on time which naturally is harming the work.

We must direct the efforts of our party committees and organizations, soviet and economic bodies and all the management chains toward the elimination of shortcomings in these two work directions.

All of us consider the fulfillment of the food program our most important task. It is also justifiable that one of the main points of the program is the development of livestock breeding and the increase of meat and milk production. Is it possible to achieve that without the expanded reproduction of public livestock? Indeed not. Let us recall the manner of fulfillment of the decision of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers on "the measures to improve livestock reproduction and increase the quantity of the cows in the republic in the period 1982-1985." Taken as a whole the targets established by that decision in the republic have been fulfilled by 96.5 percent in 1982, by 95.5 percent in 1983 and by 95 percent in 1984. Can this be allowed?

Referring to the work of the Krasnoselsk party raykom toward the realization of the abovementioned decision, Comrade K.S. Demirchyan noted that the volume of livestock provisions production in a number of rayon sovkhozes continues to remain on the same level. In the period 1981-1984 every third farm did not fulfill the plans for milk procurement and every fourth farm has not fulfilled the meat procurement plans. There is not notable improvement in the selection of breeding work. The party Raykom Bureau has not reached the stage where the work carried out by the cadres becomes one of the decisive conditions for the improvement of production activities of each farm. The state or preparation of the cadres reserves is loose. In the past 4 years, 10 out of 16 sovkhoz directors have been replaced.

There is another issue also. Verifications show that during the 1982-1983 period and the first half of 1984 the culture ministry has violated the fulfillment schedules of every second recommendation and decision on supervision. Such examples can also be found in other ministries and departments. All these prove that in many of our locations execution discipline is low, necessary stringency toward undertaken tasks is not being displayed by the leaders, and the supervision over their work is loose.

Undeviatedly perfecting the ways and methods of their activities, the party gorkoms and raykoms, all levels of soviets, ministries and departments should endeavor to establish good operations. Operativeness is characterized by the knowledge of managing work, clarity and organization of work, unity of work and its fulfillment, discipline and initiative, intolerance toward shortcomings, mismanagement and waste and practical purposefulness to overcome growing difficulties, use of existing capabilities and reserves, solid achievements and good final results.

Unfortunately, this work method is not being used in all party committees at the moment.

The party bodies and organizations should consider their main task the establishment of practicability and operativeness, optimal auditing of real capabilities as well as principled assessment of achievements.

A major responsibility for this work belongs to the party apparatus which should constantly be directed toward the realization of the party's policy, supervision of the party's decisions and the organization of their fulfillment. Its most important task is to consolidate the organizational and political work at locations, to give practical help to the primary party organizations, command the people, convey maximum operativeness to work, generalize front-ranking experiences creatively and eliminate the detected shortcomings.

Experience shows that many mistakes and shortcomings and various types of exploitations are due to the lack of appropriate supervision over cadre work. While it happens that with us not only the work of one cadre but of entire organizations are not being verified for years, they do not give accounts to the higher bodies and by that basically remain away from supervision and criticism.

The establishment of the spirit of criticism and self-criticism in all the labor collectives is of important significance. Criticism and self-criticism are hopeful means to instill in all the workers high moral characteristics, initiativeness and intolerance of inertia and stagnancy.

It is necessary to raise the capability of the party organizations, reach the stage that they acutely and operatively respond to every mistake allowed in work, to the bad state of affairs and take care that criticism is always practical and constructive, honest and right, kind and principled.

The development of criticism and self-criticism is helped by the order operating at the republican party organization which takes into account and understands the critical remarks and proposals for the republican and local bodies made at the party and collectives' meetings and united political days and inform the workers on their results.

The establishment of party methods in work assumes an uncondescending struggle against every display of bureaucratism, negligence of state interests, irresponsibility and ostensibility. For example, an expression of bureaucratism and cruelty is that certain workers are avoiding the solution of the questions under their jurisdiction and put the burden on the shoulders of others. They are not using their efforts for the successful solution of the questions but for its "conclusion" in any way or its "transfer" to another department and "baricade" themselves from every side with paper in order to evade responsibility.

On the other side it is necessary to decisively halt all those who love resolving the issues by neglecting the law, the activities of the so-called "practical people," people who justify their illegal arrangements and instructions by pretexts such as "interests of work," "importance of the applicant" and so forth.

We consider it suitable to once again outline the necessity of defining the functions of the party, state and economic bodies and their leaders. It is necessary for all our party workers to remember that the party management of economy is not realized by administrative pressure or by working instead of economy managers but through raising their responsibility toward the organization of the masses, the development of their activity and initiativeness, the education of harmonious and united collectives, systematic supervision of the work of administrative apparatus and the implementation of the directives of the party and government.

This should be realized through principles characterizing unity of purposes and be based on separation of functions. The party bodies are called on to develop in every way the enterprising uniqueness of the economic, state and public organizations. Small nepotisms disturbs the education of cadres and creates people lacking initiative who only wait for instructions from above and do not work on personal initiative based on the concrete state of affairs.

The perfection of work style and method of the party bodies and apparatus as well as the lower level party chains and the primary party organizations should be at the center of our attention as well as the promotion of their authority and the strengthening of their influence on the affairs and life of the labor collectives.

We have many primary party organizations that are the initiators of the new and modern, are notable for their consistent improvement of work, their creative approach toward the solution of economic, political and educational issue and their search for more productive methods for the development of the activities and creative work of the communists.

Along with that, it is not possible to turn a blind eye to the fact that the work standards of many primary party organizations lags behind modern requirements. Many of them are working loosely, are not displaying appropriate initiative are accepting shortcomings and are not appropriately influencing the work of enterprises and establishments. It is not in all locations that the CPSU legislature and party life norms are being strictly preserved, or continuous work is being carried out to consolidate deficiencies in production and management with cadres or discipline is being increased at all levels of leaders with regard to local conditions.

Certain party committees, by concentrating their attention on the big party organizations, are ignoring attention to others particularly organizations with few members. These shortcomings are characteristic of the Talin, Tumanyan, Noyemberyan, Amasiya and a number of other raykoms. The task of the party raykoms and gorkoms is to strengthen in every way the management of all the primary party organizations, to show active assistance to them and reach a level that each one of them actually becomes the core of labor collective.

An important course of the Leninist work method is the close and constant contact with the large working classes, a deep belief in their creative powers and not only the aptitude to teach the masses but to be taught from them.

It is necessary to further raise the standard of inter-party information so that it fully serves the purpose of perfecting party management in public life. Management, particularly party management is indeed capable if it strongly depends on deep knowledge of life and is realized on the basis of real conditions. The correct solution of each problem and even the smallest problem and more so with the complicated problems require full knowledge of all that pertains to work.

However, perhaps we have difficulties and unsolved problems in that sector. One of these is the question of raising the operativeness of information. Many of the party committees have not ordained the systems for receiving and analyzing information and certain committees have not created permanent information sectors.

The task of the party gorkoms and raykoms is to immediately establish law and order in that important work. "To live in the depth of masses, to know the dispositions and everything. To understand the masses and achieve their total trust. The leaders should not be cut from the led masses, the avant-gardes of the entire army of work." This is how the question was set by V.I. Lenin. Struggling for the realization of the party's policy, we must constantly consolidate relations with the masses and depend on the experienced principles of collective management.

The leaders should work in such a way that the entire leading chain works in harmony and collegially in order that there will not be any impersonality. We have a number of ministries and departments, where the deputy ministers and other leaders are not taking the responsibility for solving the problems on themselves. Some of them think that there is a first leader, let him answer for everything. And sometimes it happens that the first leaders are not creating opportunities for creative, unique and enterprising work for their deputies and the leaders of the corresponding services, which is disturbing the work. The party committees and organizations should be awake in here. Their task is to make an effort in order to ensure work harmony and collegiality and high responsibility of each worker in all locations.

The party committees should raise the stringency toward leaders of all levels, who are responsible for everything in the locations assigned to them and on whom greatly depends the work organizations and the state of labor and production discipline. It is necessary for leading workers to often be at the locations, show concrete assistance, study and solve production problems, and the socio-economic questions and not be carried away by holding various conferences and session. The direct duty of all party organizations and the leaders of labor collectives is to constantly realize the decisions of the November 1982 and March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenums on strengthening of the struggle for raising discipline, law, order and organization in all life activity sectors, constantly remembering that it is not a short-term campaign and will always be one of our most operative measures for the achievements of the great targets of public progress.

The soviets, trade unions, and komsomol should make the most active contribution to that most important work. Constantly perfecting work style and method, they are obliged to raise their role in the solution to social, economic, and educational questions in all locations.

Comrades, the CPSU Central Committee instructions oblige us to promote the efficiency of management of all sectors of the republic's life, to raise all work carried out on the cadres to the standard of today's high demands, and improve the style, ways and methods of their activities. Skillfully, using the existing capabilities, it is necessary to aim the efforts of the communists and all the workers toward the realization of the party's creative plans and the big and responsible tasks set by the extraordinary March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

"The time requires diligent and creative work by all party organizations," noted Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,

at the plenum. "In all locations the communists should serve as an example for fulfilling civil duty and conscientious work for the sake of welfare and establish the Leninist work method in all locations. That first concerns the party cadres and party and state leaders. The CPSU Central Committee undeviatedly conducts the policy of strengthening stringency and raising responsibility toward the undertaken task."

Thus, it is important that all of us, each communist and worker, undertake the work with new enthusiasm and a feeling of high responsibility. Comrades, we have a lot to do in order to successfully fulfill the economic and social development plans of this year and that of the entire 11th 5-Year Plan period and in this way ensure the certain basis of the upcoming 5-year plan period. The cold winter and the natural disasters complicated the realization of the tasks. That urges us to raise organization, law and order, labor, and state discipline in all industrial and agricultural production chains, in construction, transport, and all sectors of life activities, to unite and use maximum efforts, to put into operation all the reserves in order to complete the unfulfilled tasks, and to unconditionally achieve the planned targets.

The labor enthusiasm of the masses, their high political and public activity, and the large movement launched in the entire republic for the worthwhile welcome of the 40th anniversary of the victory in the great paternal war and the 27th Congress of the genuine Leninist party, fill us all with the firm confidence that those tasks will be fulfilled with honor.

"Allow me," said Comrade K.S. Demirchyan by way of concluding, "to assure the party's Leninist Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, that the republic's party organizations will make all the necessary efforts to constantly realize the CPSU Central Committee instructions on the improvement of the work carried out on the cadres and the perfection of their work style and method, will achieve new successes in creative work, and will make a valuable contribution to the further prosperity of our great fatherland."

CSO: 1838/47

REGIONAL

DEMIRCHYAN ATTENDS ARMENIAN PARTY PLENUM

GF201434 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 13 Apr 85 p 1

[Excerpts] A plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee was held on 12 April.

The plenum discusses a report by the commission of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium involved in agro-industrial complex questions concerning the work for overcoming the consequences of difficult winter conditions, the organized performance of spring field work, the successful completion of wintering, and the fulfillment of plans and socialist pledges during 1985 and the 5-year plan period as a whole. Comrade V.M. Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, delivered a report on this question.

[passage omitted]

Comrade K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered an important speech at the plenum. A relevant resolution was passed on the questions discussed.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum reviewed organizational questions. The plenum relieved Comrade G.N. Andreyev of his commitments as second secretary and member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau due to his transfer to diplomatic work. Comrade Yu. P. Kochetkov, who previously worked as an inspector of the CPSU Central Committee, was elected by the plenum as second secretary and member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. The plenum relieved Comrade Yu. V. Shatalin of his commitments as member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau due to his transfer to another post. Comrade M.P. Kolesnikov was elected as a member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

With this, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum concluded its work. Comrade V.M. Nikiforov, deputy chief of the Organizational Party Work Department of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in and addressed the plenum.

CSO: 1830/533

REGIONAL

ROSTOV OBKOM CHIEF ON CADRE POLICY

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 85 p 3

[Interview with A. V. Vlasov, first secretary of the Rostov CPSU Obkom, by N. Kozhanov, PRAVDA special correspondent; date and place not specified]

[Text] There are quite a few signs by which one can judge the fighting efficiency of a party organization and its leaders and the effectiveness of the systems, methods and work style that are used by them. Perhaps, however, two of the most reliable ones are the capability to mobilize oneself in difficult situations without losing one's head when there are failures and the ability to concentrate one's efforts on the main direction and to achieve the planned goal firmly and persistently, avoiding everything that interferes with the task. Not an ostentatious but a genuine measure of the maturity of party personnel is revealed with special clarity when solving complex tasks.

Verification by deeds, a careful study and thorough mastery of both positive experiences and experiences in overcoming negative tendencies are an integral part of the preparation of communists for their next, the 27th, congress. A. V. Vlasov, first secretary of the Rostov CPSU Obkom, reflects on this in a conversation with a PRAVDA correspondent.

Aleksandr Vladimirovich pointed out that a letter from our distinguished field-team leader on the Put' Lenina Kolkhoz, Nina Vasil'yevna Pereverzeva, was published in PRAVDA at the beginning of this year. The celebrated machine operator and very modest individual is one of those who can be freely called the spirit and conscience of the Don's party organization. She has expressed quite a few bitter words about the shortcomings that are causing a fever in the economy of the Rostov village. In this connection, a justified reproach was made against the party obkom and the oblispolkom.

I read these lines, and along with an understandable sense of bitterness -- what do you do? Criticism is no joke-- a sense of pride in our communists

grew more and more in me and the conviction that the existing difficulties would be overcome without fail grew. The thought also appeared: What people our party is rearing! A Bolshevik, direct, passionate and open discussion of the sore subject; and a delicate and thoroughly expert analysis of the errors that had been made Other names, for which the Don is famous, came involuntarily to mind: Mikhail Pavlovich Chikh, a miner; Petr Kondrat'yevich Kolesnikov, a Rostov agricultural machine operator; Lyubov' Vasil'yevna Filatova, a textile worker.... Yes, can one really find a firmer and more reliable support than these and thousands of our other party members when solving any problem?! Does not one of the reasons for our different difficulties and failures lie in the fact that we do not always fully use this strength and this energy and in the fact that we emasculate them at times with unnecessary organization and overcautiousness?....

[Question] Incidentally, Pereverzeva spoke sharply in that letter about a different type of bureaucratic obstacle which often discourages people from good work.

[Answer] It is indeed possible to call formalism one of the main and most difficult to eradicate of our ills. Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko wrote in the December issue of the KOMMUNIST journal: "The impression is being created that some institutions are evaluating their work not in accordance with the actual state of affairs in the sector within their jurisdiction but according to the number of resolutions, decrees and other types of instructions that are produced."

This attraction for "paper shuffling" to a certain degree concerned several party and soviet bodies in the oblast at one time. Meanwhile life teaches us over and over that no conference and planning session, no "staff" and "pumping" and no "initiative", which is written in a director's office, can replace direct organizational and political work with people on the spot, a lively initiative coming from below, a specific statement of the task, and concrete responsibility for the entrusted sector. The resolute eradication of declarative and paper methods of leadership and speechifying at all levels, the maintenance of a business-like approach and the strengthening of organization and order-- this call has become the banner of the times today.

[Question] The call -- it is necessary to assume -- is not going unanswered by the party oblast committee?

[Answer] Naturally, it is only possible to answer it with deeds, with the best arrangement of internal party work and with an improvement in the style of leadership. For example, we have drastically revised the regulations and the procedure itself for planning the work of the obkom buro and secretariat. The number of meetings and conferences have been curtailed threefold; and the number of staffs, commissions and councils attached to the obkom-- fivefold. The same type of reorganization is being conducted in the city and rayon party committees at our recommendation....

[Question] The fewer the better? However, the reorganization, about which you speak, is evidently related for all that more to form than to content. Afterwards -- everyone is solving the final results. Aleksandr Vladimirovich, do you have now a feeling that this is having a positive effect on the state of affairs in the oblast and is leading to the expected results?

[Answer] First, form and content are interrelated in this case as is prescribed. Second, I would not use such a subjective concept as "feeling" when we are talking about completely concrete phenomena. It is possible to advance many slogans and appeals and not achieve the desired results. The main thing consists in clearly defining the main avenues. The CPSU obkom has moved the task of improving the use of production potential to the forefront. An integrated program for incorporating the achievements of scientific and technical progress has been developed and is being implemented in the oblast. The certification and streamlining of work positions is being done based on the experiences of the Dnepropetrovsk Combine Plant's collective.

All of these measures are providing concrete results. During 1984, the work of more than 5,000 workers was mechanized and the oblast exceeded the control quotas for the five-year plan based on an increase of 1.5 percent in labor productivity. The task has been posed to exceed the control target in the five-year plan for increasing the volume of commodity output during the current year. The movement to work for two days a year using material, raw materials and fuel, which have been saved above the plan, has been expanded in collectives everywhere. We consider the task of increasing construction volumes at combine-building installations 1.5-fold in comparison with last year and of producing a batch of 100 Don-family combines by the opening of the 27th CPSU Congress, to be one of the primary ones.

Or take, let us say, the village. Understandably, it is early to talk about final results there. Next fall will talk about them. However, the work, which has been done in anticipation by the efforts of the Don's party organizations and corn-growers, is rather impressive. In the rayons, the mastery of the zonal agricultural system is being completed and intensive technologies for cultivating grain are being introduced widely. The winter sowing was conducted during the optimum periods and with good quality, and the fallow area has been expanded. Compared with past years, almost double the organic fertilizer has been applied, and 80,000 tons more of mineral fertilizers. The preparation of seeds for spring crops and the equipment for spring has been completed. We are stressing the hardy varieties: Instead of last year's 100,000 tons of hardy and high-priced wheat, we are now counting on obtaining no less than a million tons.

What else? A machine system for the surface processing of soil with winter crops is being introduced on the farms. Experience has shown that this not only increases the yield but also decreases the expenditure of fuel and oil by 20-25 percent....

[Question] And how are things on the farms?

[Answer] This winter was a severe test for our livestock breeders. I think that it is possible to say that the oblast passed it, generally speaking. We exceeded all the main indicators when compared with the last wintering period -- although there were also failures and we encountered cases of indifference, laxity, bad management, and stupid bungling. Incidentally, one can determine who is who more clearly than ever during difficult times -- who is a true master and who is a loafer and windbag according to whose negligence an individual has been promoted to a responsible sector.

[Question] This means that evidently the appropriate adjustments must be made in personnel policy?

[Answer] The personnel question is acquiring special importance now when the times are demanding deep qualitative improvements from us in all areas of production and social life. The policy is being carried out through people. From this point of view, the reorganization of work style and methods, which is being carried out by the oblast party committees, is providing its own fruits. For example, in eliminating turbulence and non-productive meetings and conferences, the secretaries and responsible workers of the obkom and city and rayon party committees have freed time for more serious and long-range work with personnel.

New forms for working with the personnel reserve are entering into practice. Special-purpose reserve groups of leading workers have been established in the obkom and the party gorkoms and raykoms, and a more orderly system for their differentiated training and probationary work is being established. The competitive selection method is being practiced on a larger scale; and cases where directors are promoted based on the labor collective's recommendation, are becoming more frequent. It is possible to demonstrate this using the example of the millionaire brigade of the Gukovugol' Association's Mine imeni 50th Anniversary of October, which is well known in the Don area. When the question of a new brigade leader arose, the section's administration declared a contest to fill that position. Six individuals participated in it. The collective named Yu. Maksimov, a communist and a progressive miner, as their brigade leader.

Reports by directors to the work collectives, which had recommended them for advancement, have become a tradition in the oblast. During interviews in the party committees, we pay attention not only to the business qualities of the executives but also to their moral make-up and to their participation in social and indoctrinational work.

Concerning irresponsible, incompetent and mercenary people -- they do not have any place at all in leading positions.

[Question] Incidentally, it is often possible to encounter in the editorial mail letters expressing bewilderment that party committees at times try for some reason to avoid publicity by any means and to conceal the true reason for the transfer when they punish or fire some director or other for gross mistakes or abuse of his position. An individual has obstructed work, or

worse than that -- he showed indulgences to embezzlement. The press writes: "Released in connection with a transfer to other work." Not a word else.

[Answer] We think that publicity is one of the effective ways both to publicize progressive experiences and to struggle against laxity, irresponsibility and any violations of the norms of socialist legality and party ethics. Thus, more than 100 party, soviet and economic workers have been recently dismissed from the positions that they occupied. The oblast radio and television reported on the decisions that were made, and they were talked about in discussions which the oblast's leading workers conducted in work collectives and at the places where the people live.

I think that it does not serve the interests of the cause if cases of abuses and violations of the norms of our legality and party ethics are concealed and glossed over. Will we be able to eliminate similar violations if we do not attach a sharp and uncompromising public party evaluation to each case like this?

[Question] You agree, however, that punishment is an extreme indoctrination method in working with cadre.

[Answer] Of course, reporting by communist leaders on their fulfillment of official and regulation duties and on their personal participation in political and indoctrinational work with the people has recently begun to be practiced more frequently in the plenums and meetings of the oblast's party committee buros and in the meetings of primary organizations. For example, more than 5,000 of these reports were given during the past six months.

I and other obkom workers have had occasion to be present at these meetings more than once. The general impression is that the public reports are a genuine school for instilling responsibility in personnel if, of course, they are conducted not formally and not for show but according to a previously prepared scenario. I would like to repeat, you see, that the essence does not lie in once again transferring or "shaking up" personnel and in numbers of "reports heard" that are expressed by several figures. The essence lies in how the party teaches so that our work will proceed better, the economy will be strengthened, and the people's prosperity will grow -- so that the people will live better and work better -- so that obsolete patterns and schemas in work will be eliminated more boldly, more economic thinking will be taught, and we will be on a par not with obsolete instructions and stereotypes but with the best achievements of innovative thought and experiences and the initiative and creative searching of progressive workers.

The Rostov Oblast party organization has drawn very serious conclusions from the criticism that sounded during the October 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and in Comrade K. U. Chernenko's article "Equal to the Requirements of Developed Socialism." Greater harmony and organization is being sensed everywhere in work. Industry is operating steadily, and tempos and the builders are gathering speed, overcoming the lagging behind. "Urgent Stakhanovite tempos for the final year of the five-year plan!"-- this is the slogan under which the oblast's workers are competing to greet the 40th Anniversary of the Great Victory and the 27th CPSU Congress in a fitting manner.

The Don communists are trying to be worthy of this slogan both on the assembly lines of Rostsel'mash, where they are preparing for the production of new highly-productive grain harvesting combines, and in the shops of the Novocherkassk Electric Locomotive Plant, where they are building a powerful electric locomotive for the Baykal-Amur Mainline... at the Volgodonsk construction sites, where the building of the unique Atomash is being erected, and on the steppe expanses of the oblast, where agricultural workers are preparing to greet the spring of the final year of five-year plan fully armed and to make the motherland happy with large Don round loaves....

8802

CSO: 1800/196

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDIUUM MEETS

OF210730 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 30 Mar 85 p 1

[Text]: The elections of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, the highest state body of the republic, and the local soviets of the people's deputies held on 24 February once again displayed the support of the Soviet Armenian workers for the communist party and its Leninist central committee and became a real victory celebration of socialist democracy.

Having as a work guide the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the 27th Armenian Communist Party Congress and the CPSU Central Committee plenums following the congress, the Armenian workers have aimed all their efforts toward the achievement of the high 5-year plan targets, the realization of the food, energy and land reclamation plans set by the party and are making a worthwhile contribution to the consolidation of the economic and defense might of the socialist fatherland. Approving the economic course set by the party, which is aimed at the acceleration of the country's national economy and social development and the perfection of all the aspects of public life, the republic's working class, the kolkhoz workers and the intellectuals are heading with new patriotic achievements toward the party's 27th congress and the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War.

The newly elected deputies of the 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet held their first session on 29 March filled with that high popular disposition.

It is 1000. At the dias are Comrades K.S. Demirchyan, B.Y. Sarkisov, F.T. Sarkisyan, K.L. Dallakyan, V.B. Galumyan, G.G. Gambaryan, L.N. Nersesyan, G.M. Voskanyan, S.M. Petrosyan, A.O. Topuzyan, T.A. Arutyunyan, G.A. Martirosyan, M.A. Yuzbashyan, L.G. Saakyan, and V.I. Polyakov, CPSU Central Committee official.

Upon the recommendation of the senior council of the Armenian Supreme Soviet to open the first session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, Deputy S.M. Mitaryan (Geghakert electoral ogruk of Echmiadzin rayon) invited to speak one of the senior deputies of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, chief of Yerevan State University department and academician of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences E.B. Aghayan

(Demirchyan electoral ogruk of Yerevan).

Expressing appreciation for the high trust and honorable task presented to him to open the first session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, he said:

Soviet Armenia and its people are living significant days. One month ago a historic act took place in the republic. The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, the highest state body, and the local bodies of the government were elected. That act reflects the socialist nationalization of our people and affirms that the Armenian people and all the republic's workers, as are the Soviet people, are closely assembled around the communist party and fully approve the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government.

The communist party has no higher interest than the interests of the workers. The unshakeable rule of its activity is to care for the people's welfare and for the full satisfaction of their material and spiritual requirements.

"The party is that power," said M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, during the extraordinary March CPSU Central Committee Plenum, that is able to take into account the interests of all the classes and socialist groups, all nations and nationalities of the country and to unitedly assemble them and mobilize the energy of the people for the communist work."

The 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet is beginning its activity in a period when all the Soviet people armed with the decision of the party's 26th congress and the CPSU Central Committee plenums are successfully resolving the issues of the conclusive year of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The workers of Soviet Armenia have realized great achievements in the united family of USSR peoples. They are full of determination to create a strong basis for the successful start of the 12th Five-Year Plan period and to welcome the 40th anniversary of the Great Fatherland War and the 27th CPSU Central Committee with new work achievements.

A substantial work awaits us, the chosen ones of the people and the plenipotentiary representatives of the people at the Supreme Soviet. At the moment, when the role of the soviets in all activity fields has grown, there is no higher honor for us the deputies than to fully justify the trust of the electors and serve with total enthusiasm, loyalty, and conscientiousness for the further development of Soviet Armenia and the welfare of our great fatherland.

Deputy E.B. Aghayan declared open the first session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The floor was given to Deputy N.B. Stepanyan (Yerevan Muradyzan electoral ogruk) for nominations. On the recommendation of the senior council of the supreme soviet she proposed the election of Deputy S.K. Tonoyan (Yerevan Garibdzanyan electoral ogruk) as the chairman of the supreme soviet.

Comrade S. Tonoyan, she said, is well recognized in our republic. He has passed through a glorious work path. For nearly 25 years he has been working at the Yerevan trailer factory as a laborer. For his services to the fatherland he has been awarded with the October revolution medal and the title of bearer of USSR state award. He has been elected as envoy to the 27th Armenian Communist Party Congress, deputy of Yerevan city soviet and chairman of the 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. Deputy S.K. Tonoyan was unanimously elected as the chairman of the 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. He expressed deep gratitude for the great honor displayed to him and assured that he will use all his efforts and capability to justify the high confidence.

Following that at the proposal of Deputy V.L. Aleksanyan (Yerevan Norakavit electoral ogruk), M.A. Mstoyan (Aragadz electoral ogruk of Talin Rayon), V.I. Shubin (factories electoral ogruk of Razdan city), and B.G. Stepanyan (Yerevan Vagharsh Vagharshyan electoral ogruk) were elected as deputy chairmen of supreme soviet.

The session participants stood to pay tribute to the memory of Deputy G.S. Darbinyan, who died after the previous session.

The first session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet set for revision the following agenda:

The election of the credentials commission of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The election of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The formation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Standing Commissions.

The formation of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

The establishment of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees.

The formation of the Armenian SSR Committee of People's Control.

The election of the Armenian SSR Supreme Court.

The work done by the republic's people's deputies soviets toward the realization of the CPSU Central Committee decision on "the course of fulfillment of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum decisions at the Armenian republican party organization."

The Supreme Soviet unanimously established the session's agenda and work order.

Following that the deputies passed to the revision of the first issue of the agenda.

The rostrum was given to Deputy M.G. Khachatryan (suburban electoral ogruk of Ashtarak city) for his proposal. On the recommendation of the seniors' council he proposed to form the credentials commission consisting of 15 people. At the same time a proposal was made to elect Deputy L.G. Saakyan (Kirov electoral ogruk of Echmiadzin city) chief of the Armenian Communist Party central committee organizational party work department the chairman of the credentials commission.

The deputies unanimously approved that proposal. After a recess the session heard the report of the credentials commission presented by L.G. Saakyan, chairman of the commission, on the results of verifying the plenipotentiaries of the deputies of the 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The session unanimously decided to recognize the plenipotentiaries of all the elected supreme soviet deputies.

Following that the session passed to the second issue of the agenda, the election of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The rostrum was given to the first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, Deputy K.S. Demirchyan, who was warmly welcomed by the participants.

Comrade deputies, he said, according to the Armenian SSR constitution our session should elect a chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Constantly realizing the party's policy, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and its presidium and the bodies formed by them have carried out purposeful and fruitful work toward the solution of important governmental, social and economic issues of the republic, the further perfection of all the sides of the activities of the people's deputies soviets, the promotion of their role in economic and cultural development field at locations and the expansion of socialist autonomy.

On the recommendation of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee a proposal defended by the party group and the seniors' council of the Supreme Soviet is being submitted for your revision, which is to elect Deputy Babken Yesayevich Sarkisov, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet unanimously elected deputy B.Y. Sarkisov (Parakar electoral ogruk of Echmiadzin Rayon) as chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The chairman of the session congratulated B.Y. Sarkisov on behalf of the deputies for being reelected as the chairman of the republic's supreme soviet presidium and wished him productive activity.

B.Y. Sarkisov, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, addressed the session. Expressing deep gratitude to the deputies for the great confidence displayed toward him, he said:

The newly elected chairmanship of the Supreme Soviet will use all its powers in order to constantly enhance the work of the soviets, to always perfect and improve their work style and nature in the spirit of the modern requirements of the party and its central committee.

We will use all our efforts in order to raise the role of the soviets, their standing commissions and the large deputies' army, to enhance their responsibility and contribution in the successful fulfillment of the political, social and economic tasks of the republic.

The work of the soviets is constantly aimed at raising the state discipline and the preservation of the regime, socialist lawfulness, adopted laws, operating legislature, socialist ownership, and legal rights of the citizens.

The republic's Supreme Soviet presidium and all the local soviets will from now on also concentrate on important state questions such as the undeviated realization of socialist democracy, the fulfillment of the electors' recommendations, the ideological and internationalist education of the masses, the further improvement of the study of citizen's petitions and recommendations, the active encompassment of the workers in the republic's state affairs, the full implementation of the plenipotentiaries given to the soviets according to the legislature and other issues of the republic's state life.

The decision of the 28 March Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum will have great significance for the further perfection of the work carried out by the cadres of the republic's soviet bodies and the work style and method of the soviets.

The republic's soviets are contributing with active work in order that Soviet Armenia along with Soviet peoples welcomes with worthwhile achievements the 40th anniversary of the victorious conclusion of the Great Fatherland War and the 27th CPSU Congress.

Allow me to express confidence that the newly-elected Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium as well as the newly-elected soviets of the republic and

all their deputies, under the leadership of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, will successfully fulfill the state duties set before them which stem from the CPSU policy, from the decisions of its central committee's plenums and other tasks which are noted in the subjects of the March 1985 extraordinary CPSU Central Committee Plenum and in the speech of Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium B.Y. Sarkisov proposed the structure of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on behalf of the seniors council of the Supreme Soviet.

In accordance with the Article 108 of the Armenian SSR legislature two deputy chairmen of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium were elected as well as a secretary of Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and 15 presidium members.

The Supreme Soviet unanimously elected as deputy chairmen of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputies O.M. Bagdasaryan (Gandzakar electoralial ogruk of Ichevan Rayon), and I.A. Bagirov (Amasiya electoralial ogruk of Amasiya Rayon). It elected Deputy M.M. Bakhchinyan (Oktember electoralial ogruk of Oktemberyan Rayon) as secretary of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Deputies R.M. Galstyan (Leninakan factories' electoralial ogruk), K.S. Demirchyan (Yerevan Telman electoralial ogruk), A.O. Topuzyan (Yerevan Sovetakan electoralial ogruk), L.Y. Khachatryan (Kirovakan Aghayan electoralial ogruk), L.I. Iskandaryan (Oktemberyan Rayon Medzamor electoralial ogruk), V.F. Arutyunyan (Yerevan Davitshen electoralial ogruk), N.V. Mkhitaryan (Yerevan Tamandziner electoralial ogruk), A.A. Petrosyan (Yerevan Baku electoralial ogruk), G.L. Petrosyan (Yerevan Kond electoralial ogruk), S.K. Sarkisyan (Ghap'an city Gunan Avetisyan electoralial ogruk), M.A. Semerdzhyan (Yerevan Kiev electoralial ogruk), N.P. Stepanyan (Yerevan Murats'yan electoralial ogruk), S.M. Vartanyan (Ararat Rayon Vedi electoralial ogruk), and L.V. Timin (Leninakan city Kirov electoralial ogruk) were elected as members of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The session unanimously elected the 16 standing commissions of the 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet except the credentials commission. Nineteen deputies were elected for planning and budget commission and 15 deputies for each of the other commissions. Taken as a whole the Supreme Soviet standing commissions comprise 259 deputies.

The session elected the following standing commissions:

Legislation and socialist law commission, chairman of commission Deputy S.M. Khachatryan (Echmiadzin city Ch'arents' electoralial ogruk).

Foreign affairs commission, chairman of commission Deputy K.L. Dallakyan (Leninakan city Antaravan electoralial ogruk).

Planning and budget commission, chairman of commission Deputy R.P. Amiryan (Yerevan Kalinino electoral ogruk).

Industry commission, chairman Deputy K.L. Mandalyan (Yerevan fraternity electoral ogruk).

Energy commission, chairman Deputy S.G. Iyosifyan (Yerevan friendship electoral ogruk).

Transport, communications and road construction commission, chairman M.S. Minasbekyan (Goris city urban electoral ogruk).

Construction and construction materials industry commission, chairman Deputy R.A. Vartanyan (Yerevan Leningrad electoral ogruk).

Agro-industrial complex commission, chairman N.K. Ayvazyan (Arat Rayon Ararat electoral ogruk).

Science and technology commission, chairman Deputy A.B. Melkonyan (Kirovakan city Spandaryan electoral ogruk).

Housing, municipal services and welfare commission, chairman Deputy E.M. Kirakosyan (Leninakan Sayat Nova electoral ogruk).

Health, social security and physical culture commission, chairman Deputy K.G. Shuk'uryan (Yerevan Galabyan electoral ogruk).

Education and culture commission, chairman Deputy D.I. Asratyan (Yerevan Atoyan electoral ogruk).

Trade and consumer services commission, chairman Deputy S.M. Petrosyan (Yerevan Komsomol electoral ogruk).

Maternity, child development and the work and life of women commission, chairman Deputy A.A. Piyatkova (Yerevan Ajap'nyak electoral ogruk).

Youth affairs commission, chairman Deputy D.G. Ananyan (Ichevan city central electoral ogruk).

Environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources, commission, chairman A.A. Arzumanyan (Yerevan Otyan electoral ogruk).

The chairman reported the announcement received in his name from the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers. Announcement reads as follows:

In accordance with the Article 117 of the Armenian SSR legislature, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers considers its duties finished and puts down its plenipotentiaries before the newly-elected Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers requests from you to inform the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet on this announcement.

On that occasion, the rostrum was given to Deputy K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, who was received warmly by the attendants.

Comrade deputies, he said, we must resolve the question of electing a chairman of Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

The Armenian SSR government, realizing the party's strategic line for perfection of developed socialism, has carried out constant work toward the economic, social and cultural development of the republic and the further promotion of the people's welfare.

Upon the recommendation of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee we represent to you for study the proposal that has been approved by the party group and seniors' council of the Supreme Soviet, which is to elect Deputy Fadey Tachatovich Sarkisyan as chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and instruct him to present proposals to the Supreme Soviet on the individual structure of the Armenian SSR government.

Taking into account the proposal made by Deputy K.S. Demirchyan, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet unanimously adopted the decision by which it admits knowledge of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers' announcement on setting its plenipotentiaries before the newly-elected Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and approves the activity of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

F.T. Sarkisyan was unanimously appointed as chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers. He was instructed to present proposals to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet on the structure of the Armenian SSR government. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers was recommended to continue implementing its plenipotentiaries until the formation of a new Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

Following that the session passed to the next agenda issue, the ratification of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees, on the occasion of which a speech was delivered by Deputy M.M. Bakhchinyan, secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees adopted after the 10th session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet were ratified, on the occasion of which Armenian SSR law and Supreme Soviet decision were adopted.

With that the first meeting in a session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet concluded.

This session is continuing its work.

CSO: 1838/50

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN SUPREME SOVIET STANDING COMMISSIONS

GF171717 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 30 Mar 85 p 2

[Text] The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet decision on the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Standing Commissions.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet decided to have the following standing commissions at the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet:

- Credentials Commission
- Legislation and Socialist Law Commission
- Foreign Affairs Commission
- Planning and Budget Commission
- Industry Commission
- Energy Commission
- Transport, Communications and Road Construction Commission
- Construction and Construction Materials Industry Commission
- Agro-Industrial Complex Commission
- Science and Technology Commission
- Housing, Municipal Services and Welfare Commission
- Health, Social Security, and Physical Culture Commission
- Public Education and Culture Commission
- Trade and Consumer Services Commission
- Maternity, Child Development and the Work and Life of Women Commission
- Youth Affairs Commission
- Environmental Protection and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources Commission

[Signed] Chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium B. Sarkisov.
Secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium M. Bakhchinyan.
29 March 1985 Yerevan.

CSO: 1838/47

REGIONAL

STRUCTURE OF ARMENIAN SSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM

GF171502 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 30 Mar 85 p 2

[Text] The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet has issued a decision on electing the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet decides to elect the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with the following structure:

Chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Babken Yesayevich Sarkisov, deputy from the Parakan Electoral Ogruk of Echmiadzin Rayon.

Deputy chairmen of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Oganess Mnatsakanovich Bagdasaryan, deputy from the Gandzakar Electoral Ogruk in Ichevan Rayon, and Ildirim Aziz Ogly Bagirov, deputy from Amasiya Electoral Ogruk of Amasiya Rayon and first secretary of the Amasiyan Party Raykom.

Secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Manik Makarovnoa Bakhchinyan, deputy from Oktemberyan Electoral Ogruk of Oktemberyan Rayon.

Members of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

Rafeyel Mikhaylovich Galstyan, deputy from Factories' Electoral Ogruk of Leninakan City and second secretary of the Leninakan Party Gorkom.

Svetlana Khchaturovich Gemorkyan, deputy from Oshakan Electoral Ogruk of Ashtarak Rayon and laborer at Sasunik Sovkhoz.

Karen Seropovich Demirchyan, deputy from Telman Electoral Ogruk of Yerevan City and first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Ayda Onikovich Topuzyan, deputy from Sovetaken Electoral Ogruk of Yerevan City and first secretary of the Armenian SSR Komsomol Central Committee.

Levon Ivanovich Iskandaryan, deputy from Medzamor Electoral Ogruk of Oktemberyan Rayon and fitter at the Armenian nuclear power station.

Levon Yegishevich Khachtryan, deputy from the Adayan Electoral Ogruk of Kirovakan City and chairman of Kirovakan People's Deputies City Soviet Executive Committee.

Vazgen Frangulovich Artuyunyan, deputy from Davitshen Electoral Ogruk of Yerevan City and secretary of the Armenian Trade Unions Council.

Norik Vagharshakovich Mkhitarian, deputy from Tamandziner Electoral Ogruk of Yerevan City and fitter at V.I. Lenin Electric Machine Building Factory of the "Hayelektramekena" Production Association.

Aleksandr Amayakovich Petrosyan, deputy from Baku Electoral Agruk of Yerevan City and machine operator at the locomotive depot of Yerevan branch of Transcaucasus Railway.

Gripsik Levonovich Petrosyan, deputy from the Kond Electoral Ogruk of Yerevan City and sewing worker at the factory of K. Ts'etkin Sewing Production Association.

Sos Khachaturovich Sarkisyan, deputy from Gunan Avetisyan Electoral Ogruk of Ghap'an City and machine operator at the V.I. Lenin mine of Ghap'an Mining Administration of the Dzankezur Cooper Molybdenum Combine.

Migran Aramovich Semerdzhyan, deputy from Kiev Electoral Ogruk of Yerevan City and director of the Yerevan Mathematical Machines Scientific Research Institute.

Nelly Petrovna Stepanyan, deputy from Murats'yan Electoral Ogruk of Yerevan City and second secretary of Yerevan Party Gorkom.

Saribek Mkhitarovich Vartanyan, deputy from Vedi Electoral Ogruk of Ararat Rayon and chairman of Vedi Kolkhoz Administration of Ararat Rayon.

Leonid Vasiliyevich Timin, deputy from Kirov Electoral Ogruk of Leninakan City and military officer.

[Signed] Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman B. Sarkisov.

Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretary M. Bakhchinyan. 28 March 1985, Yerevan.

CSO: 1838/47

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN SUPREME SOVIET HOLDS FIRST SESSION

GF221402 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 30 Mar 85 pp 1, 3, 4

[Text] On 30 March the first session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet continued its work. At 1000 the second session opened at the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet sessions hall.

At the dias are Comrades K.S. Demirchyan, B.Y. Sarkisov, F.T. Sarkisyan, K.L. Dallakyan, G.G. Gambaryan, L.N. Nersesyan, G.M. Voskanyan, S.M. Petrosyan, A.O. Topuzyan, T.A. Arutyunyan, G.A. Martirosyan, M.A. Yuzbashyan, L.G. Saakyan and CPSU Central Committee official V.I. Polyakov.

The session, led by S.K. Tonoyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, reviewed the question of forming the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

Armenian SSR Council of Ministers Chairman Deputy F.T. Sarkisyan (Yerevan Komitas electoral ogruk) delivered a speech.

He expresses deep gratitude for the confidence displayed toward him and, in accordance with Article 117 of the Armenian SSR legislature and Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet recommendation, presents for ratification the structure of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, which has been approved by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the seniors' council and party group of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, as well as the first deputies and deputies, ministers, state committee chairmen, and other government members.

The Supreme Soviet unanimously approved the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers structure.

Then Deputy F.T. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, announced the future activity of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

The first session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, he said, is taking place in an atmosphere of general political and labor enthusiasm created by the March 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenum and under the conditions of preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress and the 40th

anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War.

The election of Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the plenum was unanimously approved by the communists and all the Soviet people and achieved great international interest.

The newly elected Armenian SSR government realizes its entire activity based on the duties and powers set on it by the Armenian SSR legislature and the Armenian SSR law on the republic's council of ministers.

The republic's achievements in the past period were the result of the constant and purposeful activity of the Armenian Communist Party and its central committee toward the implementation of the Leninist course of the CPSU.

The Armenian SSR government aims its activity toward the fulfillment of the tasks set by the party in the current stage.

Under the leadership of the Armenian Communist Party it is concentrating its efforts on the main directions for the perfection of developed socialism and on the fuller use of all capabilities and advantages, endeavors to achieve the dynamic and stable economic, social and cultural perfection of the republic, and the growth of its contribution in the united national economy system and the consolidation of the country's defense might.

The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers considers as its primary task the strengthening and development of the success achieved in the republic's economic construction and to fulfill the plans and socialist obligations of the current year and the entire 5-year plan period with high achievements.

Important significance will be given to the ensurance of additional labor productivity growth, to the decrease in output prime cost, the fulfillment of contractual obligations, to work for 2 days this year on the basis of the saved substances, raw materials, and fuel, the dynamic and stable socio-economic development of all the republic's regions, and the use of all the existing production and scientific potentials for the further escalation of the republic's economy.

Considerable work has been done in the republic toward the further intensification of all branches of the agro-industrial complex in light of the food program tasks.

Thanks to the strengthening of the material and technical basis of agriculture and the perfection of agro-industrial measures' complex, the republic's agricultural production has achieved certain stability in recent years.

The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers from now on also will endeavor to achieve a further agricultural production increase and undeviatedly fulfill the CPSU Central Committee and Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum decisions on the full satisfaction of the population's growing requirement for food products.

The republic's government pays particular attention to the further perfection of capital construction, timely commissioning of installations, raising construction quality, and the obligatory fulfillment of socialist obligations.

The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers continues to prevent the misuse of capital investments, to cut down the time taken for construction of installations and to make the volume of the incomplete constructions reach the standard.

In 1985, additional measures will be taken for the completion of the Ichevan-Razdan railway construction, for the development of new subway lines, and to improve and perfect the operation of transport and communications means.

Along with the fulfillment of the current plan targets, the outline of the 12th Five-Year Plan for the basic directions of Armenian SSR socio-economic development has been established in the republic.

This work is based on the instructions and decision of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, on which depend the further dynamic and balanced growth of our republic's economic potential and its social and cultural development.

The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, as in previous years, is constantly realizing the course established by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, which is aimed at the rational distribution of the republic's production powers, further perfection of the branch structure of national economy, and the development of the branches of industry that consume less metal and energy. Stringency will further increase the movement toward the large introduction of technologies that save resources and have no refuse. The republic's fuel and energy plan will occupy an important place in the republic's activity.

Large-scale work will be continued for the further social construction of the villages and the intensification of the republic's mountainous regions and valleys.

The solution of the big and complicated issues dealing with the development of production powers requires the perfection of management. It will be necessary to realize measures that will enable corresponding to the system and methods of economy management to the growing requirements of national economy. Thus, the work for the perfection of economic mechanism and the

implementation of new methods of work organization and economic experience will be realized at a larger scale.

The decisive condition for the further progress of our economy is the public, political, and labor activity of the workers, the high stringency on all levels and in all state apparatus circles and organizations, and strict discipline.

It was noted at the March 1985 plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee that while steadfastly perfecting their work style and methods, the ministries and departments should endeavor to establish efficiency in their work. Efficiency is characterized by the knowledge of how to run the work, work clarity and organization, unity of word and deed, decision and execution, by discipline and initiative, intolerance toward mismanagement and waste, and by practical purposefulness to overcome the rising difficulties, to use the capabilities and reserves, and to make real achievements and worthwhile final results.

In its everyday activity the republic's government will from now on also continuously implement the party's directives, steadfastly safeguard the state interests, decisively struggle against bureaucratism and narrow departmental approach, consolidate socialist ownership, and raise organization, law and order and discipline and strictly preserve socialist lawfulness.

The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers considers as issues of great importance the material welfare of the workers, the further improvement of cultural and spiritual life, the improvement of the population's health care, the perfection of the public education system, and the speedy development of science.

The public funds projected for the various growing requirements of the population are increasing every year. Henceforth the main direction for the use of state means will also be the rising of material prosperity and the ensurance of a worthwhile cultural and spiritual life of the people.

A most important task is the establishment and realization of the comprehensive plans to raise public consumer goods production and develop the services sector. A primary plan is to improve the quality and assortments of the goods and services provided to the population.

The republic's government constantly keeps at the center of its attention the questions of ensuring the population with reformed residences, developing rational use of natural resources, and protecting environment.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet unanimously adopted a decision which approved the basic directives for future activities of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

The Supreme Soviet then proceeded to the revision of the next issue, the formation of the Armenian SSR committee of people's control.

The session was addressed by Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary G.M. Voskanyan (Razdan City central electoral ogruk).

He presented for television by session the proposal approved by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet party group and seniors' council, which will form the Armenian SSR committee of people's control, consisting of 13 people.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet unanimously established the structure of the Armenian SSR committee of people's control by the chairmanship of G.A. Martirosyan.

The Supreme Soviet next reviewed the question of electing the Armenian SSR Supreme Court.

A speech was delivered by G.M. Bagdasaryan, deputy chairman of Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Court, the republic's highest juridicial body he said, is being elected in accordance with Article 151 of the Armenian SSR constitution by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet for a period of 5 years. Deputy G.M. Bagdasaryan presented for establishment by session a proposal approved by the party group and seniors' council of the Supreme Soviet, which is to elect an Armenian SSR Supreme Court, consisting of a chairman of supreme court, deputy chairmen, 31 court members and 400 public magistrates.

The Supreme Soviet elected Comrade A.A. Gevorkyan as chairman of the Armenian SSR court and Comrades C.G. Matevosyan and R.K. Dzhanoyan as deputy chairmen. The entire proposal structure of the Armenian SSR Supreme Court was unanimously elected.

The session then considered the revision of the final question on the agenda.

Deputy K.L. Dallakyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a speech on the activities of the republic's people's deputies soviets toward the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decision on "the course of fulfillment of June 1983 CPSU Central Committee decisions at the Armenian republican party organization."

"Our party and all Soviet people warmly approved the decision of the party's extraordinary March plenum," he said.

The speech of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, at the plenum revealed the tasks ahead aimed at the mobilization of the national economy mechanism of all the party and state

bodies and public organizations for the decisive overturn in economic intensification and speedup of socioeconomic development of soviet public.

The unchanging strategic line of the party includes the qualitative change of production powers and perfection of production relations, as well as the comprehensive development of the individual, the constant improvement of the material conditions of his life and work, and the forming of new spiritual character.

Our party is heading toward its 27th congress. Getting prepared for that great event, the party deems it necessary to comprehensively assess the past path, realistically evaluate the current state of affairs, make each communist and Soviet individual aware of the newness and scale of the tasks set before us, and aim all their creative powers toward their solution.

Exactly the same purpose was pursued by the recently held Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, which profoundly analyzed the work carried out with us toward the realization of the party's cadres policy and clearly summed up the tasks set before us now and in the future. As always, particularly today and in the future, the requirements of the time are the deeply assimilated cadres which will determine everything. In short, this is how to define the entire meaning of the plenum decisions.

Next, Deputy K.L. Dallakyan outlined the popular and democratic nature of the elections of the 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets, described the social structure of the soviets, and talked about the tasks set by the party for democratic bodies.

"Nearly one-half year has passed since the CPSU Central Committee decision on the 'the course of fulfillment of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee plenum decisions at the Armenian republican party organization,'" he said. "That exceptionally important decision has a huge mobilizing significance for us and is a long-term work plan for party, soviet, trade unions, komsomol organizations, and all labor collectives.

The CPSU Central Committee decision highly appreciates the main result of our entire work, the health, moral and political atmosphere prevailing in the republic, and the growing production and public activity of the workers, which in turn has contributed to the fulfillment of the 5-year plans.

The role of the Soviets is significant in our achievements and all sectors of public and political life. The first session of the local soviets of people's deputies largely reviewed the questions dealing with the work of the local soviets toward the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decision and the January 1985 Armenian Communist Party central decision in this regard.

The most important question in the activities of the soviets is the promotion of their role in economic construction. And that means to more actively participate in the perfection of planning, economic mechanism, and work remuneration system, as well as the most important, to organize and realize the entire educational process.

The party's supreme target is care for the individual and the improvement of his life conditions. The soviets are called on to continuously realize that instruction of the party. People not only should be well-insured materially but also be physically health, spiritually developed, and have active lives.

All our substantial plans of recent years are aimed at improving people's welfare.

Deputy K.L. Dallakyan talked in detail about the construction state of the houses, schools, preschools establishments, and cultural and health care installations in the republic. He voted that thanks to the efforts of the party, soviet, and economic bodies, improvement has been noticed in that sector in recent years.

The realization of social plans, he continued, are greatly linked with the enhancement of the spiritual world of the people. Our main task, as noted by Comrade K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, at the January 1985 plenum, is to fully use the active and reforming power of our propaganda in the solution of economic and social issues and the vital problems of communist education of the workers.

An individual's nature is shaped by actual socialist reality and the deep influence of our way of life. Thus, the necessary condition to increase influence of propaganda measures is the clear organization of work at centers and locations and the strict use of socialist principles in production and life.

Many interesting phenomenon have appeared in the educational activities of the soviets. They are daringly resorting to experiments in order to find active measures to strengthen the unity of economic management and education. In recent times the soviets have considerably enhanced their educational activities. A good example is shown by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and its presidium.

In his speech, Deputy K.L. Dallakyan gave concrete examples on the positive and initiating activities of the local soviets aimed at the realization of radical tasks of economic and social questions, and talked in detail about a number of shortcomings in the work of the soviets. He noted that under current conditions an issue of exceptional significance is the further instruction of the people with the spirit of mutual respect and peoples' friendship and proletarian internationalism, noting the great

capabilities provided for this work by the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people against fascism.

After the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee plenum attention has been strengthened on the organization of workers' free time. The cultural and educational establishments have activated the mass measures carried out in accordance with residential location. In all locations the workers of clubs, libraries, and museums are participating in the measures dedicated to the victory day and the professional and labor days. The "Erepuni-Yerevan" traditional holiday and the "unshakeable unity" theatrical play in Leninakan are being held in an interesting way and the majority of the people's rayons are making the spring and crop harvest days. The flower day, public talent competitions, and street days have become traditional in residential areas of the workers.

However, perhaps the executive committees of the local soviets are not paying enough attention to the propagandization of new celebration days. In one of the recently adopted decisions of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers was instructed to create a republican commission for the establishment and development of new socialist rites, celebration days, and ceremony orders. The creation of a republican commission and similar local soviet commissions will bring new uses for mass-political work, propagandization of the soviet way of life, and achievements of socialism and patriotic and internationalist education of the people.

The CPSU Central Committee decision on Armenia notes that there are serious shortcomings in the atheist education of the population. The analysis of the work of the Soviets show that in certain events they are being lenient toward certain violations of the rites' legislature. Sometimes the illegal wandering preachers of various rites are not receiving the necessary punishment.

Continuous work is being done in our republic toward the moral education of the workers, and serious struggle is being waged against negative phenomena and violations of socialist lawfulness. However, as is noted in the CPSU Central Committee decision on Armenia, that work is not being carried out all the time and in all locations. Incidents of bribery, embezzlement, plunder, and holliganism are being allowed, which negatively reflect on the productivity of educational activity. The people's deputies soviets and their corresponding services are called on to struggle against all that.

The party gorkoms and raykoms are obliged to take the necessary measures to raise the standard of party management of Soviet bodies, endeavoring to reach for what each people's deputies soviet consistently perfects in the nature and method of its work and effectively realizes the capabilities and powers given to it.

The authority of the soviets is the authority of the entire Soviet Government. Their activity is exceptionally responsible, particularly in the preparation for the 27th CPSU Congress and the realization of the large-scale tasks set by the party. Being deeply popular not only in their deputies' structure but also with their targets, principle of structure and work method, the Soviets should have a deep influence on the life of each city and rayon and each borough and village, on all the sectors of our public and political life, and work purposefully, efficiently, and creatively and make their contribution to the communist education of the workers.

Debate was held on the speech. All the speeches noted that the March 1985 CPSU Central Committee decision and the speech of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the plenum were largely defended and approved. Those who spoke said that the plenum of our party once again affirmed our party's loyalty to the Leninist course of peace and creation, which is the evidence of deep consistency in the CPSU's policy. The deputies were talking with great satisfaction about the CPSU Central Committee decisions at the Armenian Republican Party organization," which is the proof of the party's care for the further development and prosperity of Soviet Armenia.

Deputy A.G. Stepanyan (Yerevan youths electoral ogruk) talked about the fact that the party organizations, soviet bodies, and all the propaganda sectors should continue to strengthen the mass-political, ideological, and educational work and raise that work to the standard of the great and complicated issues being solved by the party in the process of perfecting developed socialism.

The Yerevan party city and rayon committees and the city and rayon soviets executive committees of the people's deputies have established and approved in their plenums and sessions perspective plans for measures to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee decision. At the moment they are continuously implementing them.

"The decision of the party's central committee," said the deputy, "notes the positive factors in the work to realize the June CPSU Plenum decisions in our republic. That assessment could also be attributed to the activities of Yerevan party committees, primary organizations, and city and rayon soviets. The patriotic and international education of the workers has become fuller.

Talking about the positive factors of the work carried out toward the realization of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee plenum, we absolutely do not want to over-evaluate the achievements. There are many unsolved problems before us and substantial work is awaiting us. Realizing the course for raising the role of the soviets in the solution of social, economic and educational issues, the party requires to more efficiently use the huge capabilities of the Soviet state bodies.

The party requires that we wage struggle against all kinds of parading, charlatanism, conceit, and irresponsibility, and strengthen discipline, organization, law, order, stringency toward the cadres, and responsibility for the work undertaken.

"The decisions of the recently held Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum," Deputy A.G. Stepanyan said, "directs us toward the further improvement of the work carried out on the cadres and the perfection of the style and methods of their activities."

"At the June CPSU Plenum, as well as in the decision on the Armenian republican party organization," said Deputy E.M. Kirakosyan (Leninakan Sayat-Nova electoral ogruk), "new tasks have been set for the radical improvement of the work of soviet bodies."

Nearly two years have passed since the June plenum, but it should be said that at the moment we are slow in improving our work in fulfillment of its decisions. This particularly concerns the activities of the deputies and deputies groups at the labor collectives and the strengthening of economic and supervision activities of the city soviet. Perhaps we have still not reached the stage where all the establishments and enterprises of the city systematically fulfill the state plan targets. Herein lies our basic task, which is to mobilize the workers' powers in order to develop the positive aspects mentioned in the decision, to overcome shortcomings, and successfully fulfill the important and complicated tasks.

It is obvious that the creation of material basis and the continuous solution of the social and economic questions is an important condition to raise the efficiency of propaganda work. Following the June plenum, the city soviet has carried out certain work in this regard. By the active participation of the deputies, the deputies groups, and standing commissions, basic progress has been achieved at the enterprises regarding increasing production efficiency and labor productivity, renewal of assortments, improvement of output quality, and satisfaction of cultural and living requirements of the laborers and employees.

"The Kirovakan party and soviet bodies in their daily activities are endeavoring to perfect the style and methods of propaganda, political, and educational work," said Deputy B.A. Sidorova (Kirovakan Dzdanov electoral ogruk). "They are taking active measures to reconstruct the ideological and educational work and to extend that work to the lower circles, brigades, and locations, where the outcome of the plans are decided and the basic characteristics of the individual are formed. That is important for the city's labor collectives also, because at the moment two-thirds of the workers in various branches of the national economy are enrolled in the system of brigade work organization. They are producing 75 percent of the industrial output."

Constant measures are being realized at the labor collectives of the city in order that each brigade becomes an ideological teaching center and does concrete practical work in that regard. The political organizers, who are working in more than 700 brigades, have introduced a new fresh current in the political education work. The veterans are returning to their former locations and actively participating in the public life of the collective. At the moment over 200 party and war veterans are working successfully in our factory. Many of them are agitators, or political and party organizers.

Qualitative shifts also are being carried out in the cooperation of the workers with the schools. The close social and pedagogical cooperation between labor collective and educational institute has replaced traditional tutelage.

It is notable that the deputies of the city's soviet are also making their most active contribution to the cooperation between the educational establishment and industrial enterprise. Every fourth deputy is a member of a pedagogical team.

"The CPSU Central Committee decision on 'the course of fulfillment of June 1983 CPSU Central Committee decisions at the Armenian Republican Party organization' was accepted by all the communists and workers of the republic and Kalinino rayon as a new vivid expression of the unlimited care of the CPSU Central Committee toward our party organizations and the Soviet Armenian," said Deputy S.R. Megrabyan (Kalinino rayon Norashen electoral ogruk). The rayon's party and soviet organizations accepted it as a long-term plan for activities. For that purpose a set of measures has been established. At the moment active means are being used to correspond the style and method of the entire organizational and propaganda work with the masses with the party's current requirements.

The multi-national structure of the population stipulates that the party raykom carefully engage in the question of proper selection and distribution of the cadres to endeavor so that all the nationalities are appropriately represented in various management circles.

The rayon has established strong relations with the Korenovski rayon of Krasnodar, Dmanis rayon of Georgian SSR, and the Stepaanavan rayon. The traditional social emulation has come out of labor competition circles and turned into the real friendship of the fraternal republics' rayons.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted that the realist and creative approach and intolerance toward mistakes should be established more strongly in the activities of the party organizations and state, soviet, and economic bodies. Thus, the rayon's party and soviet organizations are assessing their work results on this basis and analyzing the shortcomings and unsolved issues in the communist education of the workers. Perhaps the work style and method are in need of perfection. Active measures should be taken in order to solve the social

development questions of the villages, to realize the school reform, and to overcome the phenomenon alien to the socialist way of life."

"We look upon the gradual solution of the socio-economic issues as a means to raise the efficiency of propaganda work," said Deputy G.A. Tayirov (Sisyan rayon Darbas electoral ogruk). "The socio-economic issues of propaganda work have also been reflected in the plans aimed at the improvement of the work of our rayons party organizations and local soviets toward the communist education of the workers. That has made it possible to increase production and change the people's way of life, the nature of work and ideological and moral shaping.

"The migration has been eliminated in our villages and through the expansion of individual farms new production collectives have been created.

"The Vorotan kolkhoz is one of the top-ranking farms of the rayon. Realizing the CPSU Central Committee decision, the party organization, the rural soviet, and the kolkhoz administration are endeavoring to ensure the unity of word and work, are struggling against patronizing and pretense, and are making the educational work subjective, concrete, and purposeful. Along with the solution of economic issues a number of socialist measures are also being realized.

"Necessary ground work has already been created to make milk production per cow reach 4,000 kgs, the average weight of procured animals reach 400 kgs, and the production of grain crops reach 35-40 centners per hectare. The farm also plans to realize a number of very important tasks aimed at resolving separate issues of agricultural development. One of the most important is the constant increase of land reclamation work volumes in the rayon.

"This is an important issue which the corresponding republican organizations also should think about."

An address was delivered by Deputy R.A. Petrosyan (Razdan rayon Alapars electoral ogruk). He said:

At the January 1985 plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the speech of Central Committee First Secretary Comrade K.S. Demirchyan summed up the tasks of the local soviets toward the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee decision. We, the soviet workers, will aim all our efforts for the further perfection and improvement of the contents, style, and method of the entire ideological, educational, and cultural work carried out in the circle of masses.

Along with the positive factors, there are also shortcomings in the work of the soviets. Perhaps certain soviets are not engaging sufficiently in the improvement of the activities of clubs, libraries, and other cultural and educational establishments. Appropriate attention is not

being paid to the elimination of the shortcomings in public services. Some farms are not fully using the existing reserves and capabilities, so the plan targets for separate types of agricultural products are not being fulfilled.

Our republic pays serious attention to the questions of improving the preservation of public health and leisure conditions. Recently the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers adopted a very important decision on implementing comprehensive measures for the reformation and development of Tsaghkadzor health resort. The realization of these measures on the leisure conditions of the republic's children and workers will radically improve, the pioneers camp chain will expand, and the city will become more reformed and beautiful. At the moment studies are also being made to ordain the construction of the Kankavan channel, to fully use the natural resources, and to develop the health resort and camp areas.

In order to efficiently and purposefully use the huge potential created in the region for the population's rest, it is necessary for the ministries, departments, and organizations having leisure installations to take concrete measures to fully use them all year round, to organize the rest of the workers in the best way, and to keep the areas in good order.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet unanimously adopted a decision on the work carried out by the republic's people's deputies soviets with regard to the CPSU Central Committee decision on "the state of fulfillment of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee decisions at the Armenian Republican Party Organization."

With that, the first session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet concluded its work.

CSO: 1838/50.

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN SSR LOCAL SOVIETS HOLD FIRST SESSIONS

GF031621 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 22 Mar 85 p 2

[Text] The 1st sessions of the 19th convocation of the Armenian SSR local soviets were held.

The sessions elected chairmen of executive committees of local soviets, deputy chairmen, secretaries, and executive committee members. Rayon agro-industrial associations councils and standing deputies commissions were formed. During the first sessions the chairmen of people's control committees and groups and the structures of the committees and groups were established.

The 1st sessions of the 19th convocation of the local soviets of the Armenian SSR cities, rayons, boroughs, and villages reviewed questions dealing with the development of housing and municipal services and the ensurance of constant and stable work in the winter. During an exchange of views the deputies revealed the shortcomings noticed in the work of individual economy branches in January and February this year, pointed out their reasons, and adopted measures to pass the winter of 1985-1986 and future years in an organized and prepared way and to implement a strict system for the consumption of fuel in all national economy branches and the municipal services sector.

The 1st sessions of the 19th convocation of the Armenian SSR people's deputies local soviets comprehensively studied questions on the work carried out by the local soviets toward the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee decision on "the course of implementation of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee decision at the Armenian SSR party organization" and the resolutions of the January 1985 Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum on this issue.

In the speeches of the deputies participating in the exchange of views and in the decisions made at the sessions, it was noted that the CPSU Central Committee decision is an exceptionally important and huge power mobilization document for the republic's party, soviet, trade unions, and komsomol organizations, where, along with the high evaluation of their various activities, the work shortcomings have also been revealed and the ways and methods for their elimination have been noted.

During their sessions the local soviets established measures to constantly fulfill the tasks and instructions mentioned in the CPSU Central Committee decision and the documents of the January plenum of the Armenian Communist Party, to appropriately activate the educational functions of the soviets, and to use the large capabilities of the local authorities in all locations for the solution of ardent economic and social problems and the communist education of the workers.

The first sessions of the local soviets heard the audits of a number of executive committees on their activities last year. The audits revealed a display of consistency in their activities.

CSO: 1838/48

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN PARTY BUREAU HOLDS SESSION ON AGRICULTURE

GF031552 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 22 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] During its routine session, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau heard the reports of Agriculture Minister Comrade G.V. Tardzhumanyan, Fruit and Vegetables Industry Minister Comrade R.A. Sukhudyany, Land Reclamation and Water Resources Minister Comrade R.G. Shagoyan, and Chairman Comrade A.N. Shagverdyan of the state committee for the supply of production equipment for agriculture on the work carried out in the kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and agro-industrial complex enterprises and organizations toward preparations for the spring agricultural work.

It was pointed out that necessary work has been done in the republic to ensure the kolkhozes and sovkhozes with spring crop seeds, mineral fertilizers, and petroleum products and to prepare machinery for spring field work.

Along with that certain farms have not been fully ensured with seeds for spring sowing; in a number of them there are postponements in the refinement of the seeds and in the repair of the agricultural machinery, and the sprinkling and irrigation machines and equipment and the transport of organic fertilizers to the fields is lagging.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau urged the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers presidium agro-industrial complex affairs commission, the Armenian SSR ministries of agriculture, fruit and vegetables industry, and land reclamation and water resources, and the state committee for the supply of production equipment to agriculture to take active measures to eliminate the shortcomings, and to ensure the completion of all operations pertaining to the prepared and organized implementation of spring sowing in time.

The attention of the party and soviet bodies was invited on the need to strengthen the organizational and political work carried out in the circles of workers of the branch, and to define strict supervision toward the realization of the measures aimed at the establishment of a good base for this year's crop.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau reviewed the question of a long-term plan for raising the efficiency of the use of irrigation and irrigated lands in the Armenian SSR aimed at the stable growth of the food reserves. The decision adopted by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers projects comprehensive measures to make the land reclamation reach a new qualitative standard, increase the volume of agricultural output production, and better use the existing capabilities in order to raise the stability of agronomy. The irrigated lands will be expanded, land reclamation work will continue in Ararat field and Akhuryan lake district, the construction of Kaps and Yegvard water reservoirs will be completed, grape and fruit production from irrigated lands will be increased, and a stable basis for food production will be created.

The session of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau reviewed the question of raising the efficiency of the use of secondary material resources in the Armenian SSR. During the study of this question it was pointed out that it is necessary to activate the work toward the use of secondary material resources in the national economy. Many ministries and departments, associations and enterprises, and executive committees of local soviets are not fulfilling the plans for the accumulation and recultivation of the secondary material resources and are not sufficiently introducing them into economic circulation. Sufficient attention is not being given to the use of resource-saving machinery and to the ensurance of comprehensive recultivation of all types of raw materials and substances. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau projected a number of additional measures aimed at further raising the efficiency of this work, the maximum introduction of all types of residue in production, the organization of their accumulation and use, and the speed-up of the creation of capabilities for the recultivation of secondary raw materials.

The party committees were urged to be more stringent toward those economic leaders who do not ensure the fulfillment of the targets for the use of secondary material resources and who are allowing unjustified losses. They were also urged to constantly steer the efforts of the party and economic bodies and the local soviets of the people's deputies toward increasing the use of secondary raw materials in production of industrial output.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau also reviewed questions of improving the use of nonferrous metals in the national economy, developing secondary nonferrous metallurgy and raising its technical standard, and further perfecting the work aimed at raising the qualification of the leading cadres and specialists of the agro-industrial complex network, and a number of other questions dealing with the republic's public, political, and socioeconomic life.

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN PARTY COMMITTEE BUREAU HOLDS SESSION

GF021929 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 17 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] The expanded session of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau was held. It was attended by first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms, chairmen of state committees, and leaders of other republic departments, large enterprises, and production associations.

It reviewed the results of the 1985 Armenian SSR socioeconomic development plan and the January-February state plan.

F.T. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, made a speech on that subject.

The session was addressed by K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

It was noted that during the first 2 months of this year there have been shortcomings in the fulfillment of the national economy plans in the individual economy branches of the republic. Many republic and all-union production enterprises have not ensured the fulfillment of state plans regarding certain technical and economic indicators. In this period the plans for the defined production volume have not been fulfilled by the industries of Ararat, Akhuryan, Ashtarak, Vartenis, Yekhegnadzor, Krasnoselsk, Mardun, Megri, Noyemberyan, Sisyan, and Talin rayons. There have been incidents of plan changes toward a reduction.

Many shortcomings were also revealed in the winter in the organization of agricultural production, capital construction, transport, and trade. Many kolkhozes and sovkhozes are insufficiently using the existing reserves for the production of livestock provisions and the expansion of their sales volume to the state. In certain rayons a decrease in cow milk production has been permitted. The milk purchase volumes have decreased in Amasiya, Artik, Sisyan, Tumanyan, and in a number of other rayons. The republic's construction workers are slow in fulfilling the 1985 plans. The targets for motor transport and freight turnover and the general tonnage of deliveries by civil aviation have not been fulfilled. Loading and unloading in railway transport is not being improved quickly. The February plan for retail goods turnover has been basically underfulfilled in the republic.

The fuel requirements of many enterprises, agricultural installations, and the population are not being ensured regularly.

It was noted at the central committee bureau session that all of this is linked with the serious weather conditions as well as insufficient preparation for the difficult winter conditions by the leaders of some ministries and departments, enterprises, structures, transport organizations, trade and services installations, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes.

The central committee bureau urged the party gorkoms and raykoms, ministries and other republic departments, industrial enterprises, installations, agricultural structures, and the party organizations of the services enterprises to immediately investigate the situation in the lagging enterprises and organizations and take practical measures to ensure the systematic and correct work in all production sectors and the obligatory fulfillment of the plan targets and socialist obligations for March with all technical and economic indicators, in order that the shortcomings permitted in the fulfillment of the plans of the last 2 months are eliminated. Particular attention should be paid to improving the fulfillment of contractual deliveries. The primary task was considered to be the fulfillment of the national economic plan by each industrial enterprise, construction organization, agricultural installation, and economy branch.

It was noted at the central committee bureau session that it is necessary to intensify public production in all locations, define a strict rule for saving, rationally use all the capabilities of production enterprises and organizations, constantly strengthen labor, production, and implementation discipline, and raise the responsibility of the leading cadres and specialists toward the undertaken task. It is necessary to uproot carelessness and sloppiness. It is necessary to further expand the struggle of the agro-industrial complex labor collectives to achieve high agricultural crops and increase livestock provisions production. The task has been set to raise the efficiency of capital investments in all locations and improve the quality of capital investments in all locations and improve the quality of construction and installation work. A lot has to be done in the trade and services sectors. It is necessary to fully and comprehensively study the conjuncture of requirements, to knowledgeably put into use the commodities resources, raise the standard of consumer services, and ensure the fulfillment of the commodities' turnover plans.

The Armenian communist party gorkoms and raykoms were requested to be led by the decisions of the party's 26th congress and the March 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenum and the instructions and evaluations in the speech of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and direct the entire organizational and political work of the production associations and enterprises, structures transport, trade and services establishments, and primary party organizations of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes toward the mobilization of the labor collectives to ensure the successful fulfillment of the entire 5-year plan targets.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau expressed its confidence that the republic's party, soviet, economic, trade unions, and komsomol organizations and all the workers, with their self-devoted work, production activity, and creative initiative, will ensure the striking start of the new 5-year plan period and welcome the 27th congress of our Leninist party with patriotic work.

CSO: 1838/48

REGIONAL

RED BANNER PRESENTED TO ARMENIAN SSR

GF011518 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 7 Mar 85 pp 1, 2, 3

[Excerpts] Similar to other fraternal Soviet republics, the Armenian SSR is confidently progressing on the path of social and economic development. Every year and each 5-year plan period is a bright page in the heroic history of all workers of the Armenian People's Republic. Indeed, Soviet Armenia occupies an honorable place in communist construction. The bright evidence of this are the medals of labor and heroism and the order of red banners from the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and All-Union Komsomol, which for the ninth successive time has been presented to our republic, to its working class, kolkhoz workers, public intellectuals, and the winners of the all-union socialist emulation.

On 6 March, a ceremonial party, soviet, trade unions, komsomol, economic, and production leaders meeting was held at the A. Spendiaryan Opera and Ballet State Academy Theater in Yerevan, dedicated to the presentation to the Armenian SSR of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Order of Red Banner.

At the presidium were Comrades K.S. Demirchyan and I.I. Bodyul, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; B.Y. Sarkisov; F.T. Sarkisyan; K.L. Dallakyan; V.B. Galumyan; K.G. Gambaryan; L.N. Nersesyan; S.M. Petrosyan; A.O. Topuzyan; M.K. Arutyunyan; G.A. Martirosyan; M.A. Yuzbashyan; L.G. Saakyan; and M.P. Kolesnikov, deputy chairmen of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; party, soviet, trade unions, and komsomol officials; veterans of party, war, and labor scientists, cultural workers, and prominent republic personnel.

The ceremonious meeting was opened by F.T. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

A speech was delivered by I.I. Bodyul, who was warmly greeted by the participants.

I.I. Bodyul said: "In the current 5-Year Plan period, the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic is developing successfully. The people's self-devoted work and the large organizational work of the party, soviet, trade unions, and komsomol organizations enabled the fulfillment ahead of time of the 1984 plan

targets for industrial output production and labor productivity. As a result they have also overfulfilled the targets of the 4 years of the 5-year plan period and basically improved the economic results of the majority of national economy branches. The republic fulfilled with great responsibility the obligations for selling agricultural provisions to the state. Discipline in the delivery of industrial output has increased.

It is pleasant to know that those great changes are taking place in a country where for centuries the wisdom and talent of the Armenian people have been continuously and cruelly suppressed. Only under the conditions of socialist order did Armenia become a republic with a mighty industry, highly developed agriculture, great science, and prominent culture.

Armenia makes a substantial contribution to the economic might of our fatherland. Today, by participating in the socialist distribution of work, the republic's industry is producing production means that meet the modern requirements, actively contributing to the increase in technical progress in the various national economy branches of the country.

The republic is not only progressing in the production of public consumer goods but also is demonstrating an example of high quality production of many products manufactured by the capable and careful hands of the workers.

Your victory in the all-union socialist emulation waged for the fulfillment of the 1984 state plans for economic and socialist development, which has been achieved in the recent extremely complicated weather conditions, can be called a truly heroic deed.

Armenia's social progress is huge. The modern scientific achievements, becoming a possession of the people, are being largely used in all sectors of life. The cultural rise of the Armenian people is admirable; it is a culture that comes from the depths of the centuries. New cities are being erected and developed, and the villages are being reformed. In the recent period huge changes have been made in ancient and beautiful Yerevan.

Those big and profound changes in the social and economic development of your republic have been carried out under the leadership of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and by the work of the working class, kolkhoz farmers, and public intellectuals.

I.I. Bodyul said: "However, it is necessary to point out that there should be a desire to be unsatisfied with the achievement, to make more and better achievements, to more fully use the capital investments, to reduce the material and energy consumption of products, to manage diligently, to prevent losses in national economy, and to protect the socialist possessions."

"It is notable that during this 5-year plan period, for 4 successive years the Armenian SSR has been recognized as victorious in the all-union socialist emulation and has been awarded with the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Order of Red Banner.

"On the basis of last year's results that honorable award has been presented to the republic's capital Yerevan, as well as to Kirovakan City, 2 republic rayons, 24 enterprises, organizations, and collectives of kolkhozes and sovkhozes."

Amid ardent applause Comrade I.I. Bodyul presented the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Order of Red Banner to the representatives of the republic.

The high awards were received by K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, B.Y. Sarkisov, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; F.T. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; M.K. Arutyunyan, chairman of Armenian Trade Unions Council; A.O. Topuzyan, first secretary of Armenian Komsomol Central Committee; S.M. Petrosyan, brigade leader of Nayirid Scientific Production Association and hero of socialist work; and A.G. Bagdasaryan, brigade leader at 26 commissars kolkhoz in Mkhchyan Village of Artashat Rayon and hero of socialist work.

A speech was delivered by K.S. Demirchyan, CPSU Central Committee member and first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. He was warmly welcomed by the participants.

K.S. Demirchyan said: "The progress of our great fatherland is marvelous. Through the leadership of the glorious Leninist party, the Soviet people, with patriotic and diligent work, are every year multiplying the country's material and spiritual wealth and further beautifying and strengthening our country.

Soviet Armenia's workers also make a worthwhile contribution to this. Fulfilling the decisions of the party's 26th Congress and the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee plenums following the congress and the 11th 5-Year Plan targets, the workers of industry, agriculture, construction, transport, and other national economy branches last year ensured the dynamic development of the public production and the growth of its efficiency, improved the qualitative denominators, and achieved notable successes in various life sectors. Their self-devoted work was highly appreciated. Due to achieving high results in all-union socialist emulation and the successful fulfillment of the 1984 state plan for economic and social development, our republic has once again, for the ninth successive time, been recognized as victorious and awarded with the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Order of Red Banner.

That is the new victory of working Armenia, which enters into the history of great achievements of the republic as a new vivid page. That is the result of the constant implementation of the party's economic strategy. That victory fills all of us with great pride toward our genuine communist party, which is leading the Soviet people on a Leninist course and the undeviated path of development.

The workers of Soviet Armenia, similar to all the Soviet people, unanimously defend the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and always connect all their victories and achievements to its wise leadership and practical activities. New evidence of this were the elections held recently, which displayed our

people's assembly around the Leninist Party and their unshakable will to successfully implement all the plans, and through consistent and self-devoted work further consolidate the economic and defense might of our socialist fatherland.

Allow me, comrades, on your behalf and on behalf of all the republic's workers, to express warm gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, for highly assessing the achievements of working Armenia in the all-union socialist emulation and the republic's contribution to the fulfillment of the glorious plan set by the party.

K.S. Demirchyan said: "Allow me to express deep gratitude to the respectable Ivan Ivanovich Bodyul, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who presented the Order of Red Banner to the republic, and for his warm words and good wishes to our party organization and workers and his advice and recommendations for the improvement of the state of affairs in various labor locations.

The Order of Red Banner presented to the republic signifies the work heroism and patriotism of our working masses. This award to the fatherland has been achieved through the inspired work of the working class, kolkhoz farmers, and public intellectuals, and through the daily diligent struggle waged for economic intensification, increase in production efficiency, and the achievement of a new quality standard for all branches of the national economy. This award is the result of that purposeful organizational, political, and educational work carried out and being carried out by the party, soviet, trade unions, komsomol and economic bodies and organizations toward the fulfillment of the plan targets, the activation of the efforts of the masses for the fulfillment of the economic and cultural construction tasks, and the improvement of work in all national economy branches.

The winners in the all-union and republican socialist emulation have made a great contribution to the republic's successes in the fourth year of the 5-year plan period.

On behalf of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, I congratulate the workers of the cities and rayons and prominent collectives on the occasion of the achieved victory and wish them new successes in creative work for the sake of the fatherland's welfare.

We express our warmest congratulations to our brothers and rivals, the workers of Georgian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR, who for successive years are continuing their victorious work in the all-union socialist emulation.

Last year, for the Soviet Armenian workers, as for all Soviet people, was a year of great and diligent work. Deciding to fulfill the annual targets ahead of time, they undertook high obligations, the fulfillment of which were not easy. But their word was not different then their deed and they achieved the projected targets with honor.

The industrial workers fulfilled the annual plan for the production and sales of the majority of the most important products on 24 December and produced an additional R208 million in output. The rate of industrial output volume growth totaled 6.8 percent and labor production grew 4.4 percent, which is 2.7 percent above the plan. The output prime cost was decreased by an additional 0.71 percent. The products of quality mark constituted 20.4 percent of the overall output volume.

The plan for production of public consumer goods was fulfilled by 103.6 percent and R163.8 million worth of products over the plan were produced.

The obligations were successfully fulfilled by the workers of railway and motor transport, civil aviation, communications and consumers services, who ensured the above-plan transportation of the national economy freights and the over-fulfillment of the services. The republic's trade workers fulfilled the plan targets.

Noting the conscientious and diligent work of many labor collectives and thousands of prominent production workers and the achievements of the enterprises and organizations that have been presented with the Order of Red Banner, Comrade K.S. Demirchyan expressed confidence that the laborers, the engineers and technicians, and all workers of the industry, transport, communications, and services sectors will henceforth continue to struggle for efficiency of production, labor productivity, and increased quality, the best use of production capabilities, and saving of all types of resources, and will do everything to complete the 11th 5-Year Plan period with honor and high achievements.

K.S. Demirchyan said: "The agricultural workers of the republic and the workers of the entire agro-industrial complex have the right to be proud of their work results achieved under difficult weather conditions. The 1984 gross agricultural output totaled R885.6 million, which is R40.4 million above 1983 figures. The procurement centers, recultivation enterprises, and trade organizations have received 67,200 tons of grain, 147,600 tons of sugarbeet, 131,500 tons of potatoes, 350,400 tons of vegetables, 119,100 tons of fruit, 230,700 tons of meat, 325,000 tons of milk, 374.9 million eggs, and 2,055 tons of wool. The fruit and vegetable deliveries were fully fulfilled.

Comrade K.S. Dmirchyan then noted the successes of the prominent agro-industrial complex farms and organizations and the patriotic work of the innovators in agricultural production. He called on them to constantly increase agricultural and livestock provisions production, fulfill and overfulfill the plan targets and socialist obligations to constantly implement the party's agrarian policy, and ensure the fulfillment of the food program.

He said: "Last year the construction workers also improved their work. Compared to 1983, the state capital investments volume in 1984 increased by 4.6 percent and volume of construction and installation work increased by 8.1 percent. The Leninakan Glass Factory and the Dilizhan Bread Factory were commissioned as well as in Kanaker Aluminium Factory, Kirovakan Chemical Factory, Razdhan Thermal Combine, and many agricultural, trade, housing and other installations were commissioned in a number of electrical, technical, light industry, food, and other industrial enterprises.

The construction workers ensured the fulfillment of the plans for the commissioning of houses, schools, preschool establishments, hospitals and clinics.

The public consumer goods production branches, departments, organizations, and enterprises at the moment are not fully using their capabilities and the existing reserves to increase consumer goods production and expand the variety of goods highly demanded by purchasers.

There are many shortcomings in the work of transport and communications. Although the abnormal work stoppages of the trains have decreased by 0.6 hours, their level is still high. Due to this nearly 100 railway cars remain unloaded. Are the culprits for these stoppages asking themselves what is the extent of the harm they are causing to the national economy? Are our party, soviet, and economic bodies doing everything to define clear law and order in that important work and to promote the responsibility of the transport workers and clientele?

The capabilities and reserves of the agro-industrial complex to increase output volume are not being used fully. In many farms the production of irrigated lands and livestock is intolerably low.

The construction organizations at the moment have not appropriately reconstructed their work to meet the current requirements. There are many unsolved questions in housing industry, passenger transport, and services sector work.

We must undertake measures to eliminate the shortcomings, do everything possible to ordain the lagging locations and to strengthen and multiply the positive elements in the national economy development.

Intensification of public production has been and still is the most important work for us, as is increasing productivity, speeding up scientific and technical progress, and ensuring the further dynamic and balanced development of the economy, the growth of all its branches, and the continuation of implementing the course to increase our contribution to the solution of the all-union questions.

The spring field work period is nearing. It is very important to complete the preparation of the machines and crop seeds in time, to define the spring work plans beforehand, and to take into account the capabilities to achieve a high crop yield.

The construction workers should carry out large-scale work this year. In order to fulfill this work honorably it is first necessary to better use all that is owned by the construction organizations and to raise the responsibility of the contracting organizations and agents for the fulfillment of the plans, to stop delivering the installations with shortcomings and to be stringent toward individuals who permit disturbances.

An important task is set before the workers of the services sector. They should do a lot to raise the quality of trade and public food to the standard of the modern requirements, to eliminate the existing obstructions in the trade of goods that exist in sufficient quantity, to develop the system in services

sector, and to improve the work of all its enterprises. As you see, comrades, the tasks set before us are many and complicated. Their successful fulfillment necessitates the full use of powers, the clear organization of production, a creative approach to work, an increase in the responsibility of the cadres, the perfection of work style and method, and the strengthening of discipline, organization, law, and order in all locations, always remembering that this is the necessary condition to achieve success in all national economy branches.

CSO: 1938/49

REGIONAL

PUGO MEETS WITH ELECTORATE

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 20 Feb 85 pp 1-2

[Article from LatINFORM in the column "On the Trail Blazed by the Party":
"Meeting of Electors with B. K. Pugo"]

[Excerpts] In the atmosphere of solidarity of the Soviet people and unity of the party and the people, in which the preparations for elections to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and the local Soviets of People's Deputies are taking place, workers of the 85th Riga Electoral District (Okrug) gathered on 19 February to meet with candidate for deputy of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, First Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee B. K. Pugo.

Having begun his working career as an engineer at the production association "Riga Electrical Machine Building Plant", B. K. Pugo rose to become a prominent party and state executive. Possessing great energy and persistence, knowledge and experience, the candidate for deputy does varied work in increasing the effectiveness of organizing, mass political and ideological work of party organizations and in mobilizing communists and all the republic's workers for successful accomplishment of the tasks set by the communist party. A skillful organizer and principled communist, combining a demanding nature with a caring, sincere attitude toward people--So they know Boris Karlovich Pugo in our republic.

B. K. Pugo was a delegate to the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses. He, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, is decorated with the Order of the Red Banner of Labor, the Red Star and the "Znak Pocheta" ["Badge of Honor"] medals.

Those who spoke at the meeting called upon all electors to give their votes to B. K. Pugo, true son of the homeland, on election day--24 February.

Those assembled warmly greeted the speech of the candidate for deputy of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, B. K. Pugo.

Having expressed his sincere appreciation for the great confidence and high honor accorded him, he assured the electors that he would do his utmost to justify these.

This confidence, said B. K. Pugo, I fully credit to our glorious communist party, for which there never has been, is not, and never will be a higher goal than the good of the Soviet people, the happiness and prosperity of our socialist homeland.

The present election campaign is ending in a year which will occupy a special place in the history of the heroic affairs of our homeland, continued the orator. This is the year concluding the 11th Five-Year Plan and laying the foundation from which the 12th Five-Year Plan will begin, the year of the 40th anniversary of the greatest victory--the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War--the year of the 50th anniversary of the Stakhanovite Movement, the year of immediate preparation for the 27th CPSU Congress.

Heading into its highest forum, the party is striving to give deeper meaning to the path pursued, to bring out the unresolved problems and determine the immediate and future tasks for developing our society.

Then, having noted that in the course of preparing for elections, the implementation of projected plans usually is summed up, the situation in various fields of work analyzed and attention focused, at the same time, on what is to be done, B. K. Pugo dwelt upon basic results of the economic and social development of the country and republic during the years which have passed since the time of the previous elections for Supreme Soviets of the union republics. The scope of the positive changes taking place in the country, and our dynamic growth, he stressed, are readily apparent also in the case of the Latvian SSR, the labor collectives of which make a substantial contribution to the overall achievements of the Soviet people. A fitting recognition of their selfless efforts--and that for the second consecutive year--became the rewarding of the republic with the rotating Red Banner award of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the VTsSPS [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] and the VLKSM [All-Union Komsomol (Communist Youth League)] Central Committee for achieving high scores in All-Union socialist competition and successful fulfillment of the State Plan of Economic and Social Development for 1984. Along with that to the republic, rotating Red Banners of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee were awarded to the city of Riga, Valmiyerskiy and Rizhskiy Rayons and a number of our best labor collectives. In that number were the production association VEF [State Electrical Engineering Plant] imeni V. I. Lenin and the "Vefovets" [VEF worker] meal service combine located in Proletarskiy Rayon. B. K. Pugo heartily congratulated the victors in All-Union socialist competition and wished them great new successes.

Speaking further of the concrete results of the work, he noted that the national income, increase in which may rightly be considered the most generalized index of economic development in the current five-year plan, increased by 18 percent instead of the planned 11, and reached 6.8 billion rubles. Four-fifths of the national income is directed into improving public well-being. The output of industrial production over these years grew by 13.9 percent as opposed

to 11 percent according to the plan. The entire increase in industrial production was provided solely by the growth in labor productivity. An absolute majority of plants managed ahead of schedule fulfillment of the obligations taken on last year for an above-plan increase by one percent in labor productivity and an additional reduction in the production costs of products by half of one percent.

For four years of the five-year plan, gross agricultural production increased by 11 percent. Especially noteworthy results were obtained during last year, which brought a record grain harvest and yielded an appreciable addition to the productivity of potato and feed crops. The productivity of livestock and poultry increased, and substantial overfulfillment of the plan for state purchases of all livestock-breeding products was provided. The increased production of livestock-breeding products and the general overfulfillment of quotas for their purchase permitted us to reduce substantially the indebtedness to the state which had developed during the first years of the five-year plan, and to improve the supply of food products to the population. In a word, much work has been done on fulfilling the food program. In the present and subsequent years, it will be continued even more actively and purposefully.

The program of social development and raising the people's standard of living adopted by the party is being implemented steadily. The average monetary salaries of blue and white-collar workers and the average monthly wages of kolkhoz farmers have grown noticeably in the public economy. The second most significant source of the population's incomes--public consumption funds--is being increased constantly. Every resident of the republic now receives 620 rubles a year from these funds. With the growth of incomes, the population's purchasing power and demand for goods and services increase. The volume of retail goods turnover last year amounted to 4.1 billion rubles, which is 6 percent more than in 1980. The volume of personal services sales increased by 15 percent. Our successes in the fields of social welfare, public education, public health, housing construction, science and culture were great and undeniable.

It is especially pleasant to note today, said B. K. Pugo, that the weightiest contribution to developing the economic potential, science and culture of the republic is being made by workers of Soviet Latvia's capital and all its rayons. They rightly proceed in the first ranks of those competing for acceleration in the intensification of production and increase in its effectiveness and for successfully fulfilling and overfulfilling state plans. Later in the speech, the impressive gains achieved during the present five-year plan in the city's social and economic development and in raising the living standard of Riga residents were spoken of in detail.

In brief, it may be said with good reason that the years which have passed since last election day were years of new elevation of our socialist economy, steady blossoming of science and culture, improvement in material well-being of the Soviet people, further development of mature socialism's political system for society and entrenchment of Soviet socialist democracy.

Evaluating the achieved at its true worth, B. K. Pugo said later, we are obliged to consider the gains made as only a foundation for solving more complicated and important problems, for further forward progress. You know that the republic accepted strenuous socialist obligations for the final year of the five-year plan. Successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of them, and ahead of schedule realization of all plans for the year and the five-year plan as a whole--this is a matter of our honor and duty, our immediate responsibility.

Insofar as the basic directions of our labors are concerned, they were set forth with the utmost precision and clarity in comrade K. U. Chernenko's speeches at the October CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 15 November 1984 Central Committee Politburo meeting. The main thing is not only to consolidate the favorable changes in the economy, but also to augment them substantially. Therefore, it is necessary to give special attention to the intensification of production, the renovation of working places and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. In your rayon there are quite a few labor collectives, the work of which is marked by striving energetically and consistently to introduce achievements of science and technology into production and implement them at the modern level.

Nevertheless, the scope of this work still does not meet those high demands which the CPSU Central Committee advances before us and life, itself, sets. Suffice it to say that last year's quota for introducing new equipment and technology in the rayon was not fulfilled. It is necessary to improve all work on science and technology radically and increase personal responsibility of the personnel decisively. Proletarskiy Rayon, having enormous production engineering potential and a high-powered contingent of qualified scientific and engineering and technical workers, can and must become an example for the entire republic in accelerating scientific and technical progress.

Yet another key task is to continue persistently the work on strengthening the economizing regime. The initiative to create an above-plan economy fund at each plant received broad support in the whole republic. Practically all labor collectives have accepted the obligation to spend two days a year working on saved materials, raw materials and fuel. Nonetheless, they limit themselves here and there to general calls for economy and don't trouble themselves with analysis and calculations. Such facts must receive the universal rebuff of labor collectives and be eradicated immediately.

Under conditions of the present, unusually frigid winter, the careful expenditure of fuel and power resources acquires extraordinary significance. The hard and prolonged freezes brought out weak spots in the maintenance of plant energy economy, something that here and there impeded normal production activity. And the executives, not the cold, must bear the responsibility for permitted interruptions. It is necessary to tighten up on control and demand, stop the mismanagement and lack of taking account in expending fuel, and stop its irrational waste.

Large reserves for increasing the effectiveness of production reside in so important an area of the economy as fulfilling delivery obligations. On the whole, plan fulfillment has improved significantly in this index. Last year the plan remained underfulfilled by only 0.3 percent both for the republic as a whole, and for Riga. Not much at all, it seems. But even this led to shortage in a number of important component parts, which badly hurt the interests of many co-operating plants. It is extremely necessary to improve radically all activity for ensuring deliveries precisely on time and of the planned kinds of items.

Discipline and order have always been, and remain, the decisive conditions for any success, the candidate for deputy said later. Still in the first years of Soviet rule, V. I. Lenin linked the successes of socialist construction to strict discipline. Proletarian labor discipline is necessary, he used to stress, to bring out the highest degree of effort, and then we shall be invincible. After the November (1982), February and April (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenums, quite a bit was done to bring about order and strengthen discipline and organization in your rayon as well as in the republic as a whole. And we are justly proud today of the entire collectives and individual workers in whom a sense of duty, unfailing conscientiousness and responsibility for assigned work were characteristic. Thousands of proletarians are setting an example of selfless, initiative-taking labor.

But other examples are well known, too. It must be confessed, we all know, that along with the shock workers and innovators there still are encountered people with a careless attitude toward work, shirkers and drunkards. This stems from the fact that, here and there, the work on strengthening discipline has been slackened and the demands upon unconscientious workers have been lowered.

One cannot accept breaches of discipline, wherever they may occur, cannot shut the eyes to bad management, undiscipline, irresponsibility and permissiveness. You see, these things not only turn into material losses for us, but also cause serious social and moral damage to the society. And here there must be no indulgences of any sort, no allowances of any kind! It is necessary that everyone understand well that, in whatever sector he may find himself, the common success, and this also means the improvement of everybody's life, depends upon his personal labor. In this struggle it is necessary to make better use of the Law on Labor Collectives, which affords broad leeway for developing workers' initiative, increasing their public activities and producing a genuinely creative atmosphere. All of this, unquestionably, will permit sharply increasing production effectiveness and the quality of all our work, rationally managing the economy and successfully fulfilling plans and obligations.

Today it is well to remind you once again that, in terms of the international situation, acutely strained through the fault of aggressive, imperialistic circles, highly organized and conscientious labor, strict fulfillment of planned quotas, becomes not only the obligation but also the patriotic duty of every Soviet person. This year's national economic plan must become, for all labor collectives, the worker's plan of preparation for the 27th Party Congress.

In conclusion, B. K. Pugo expressed confidence that the workers of Proletarskiy Rayon, as well as of all Riga and the entire republic, will always be equal to worthwhile tasks. He sincerely wished participants of the pre-election meeting and all okrug electors new successes and new labor accomplishments for the good of our multinational homeland.

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CSO: 1800/211

REGIONAL

MSSR PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE FAULTS MINISTRIES FOR LAX CONTROL

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 1 Feb 85 p 1

[Unsigned article: "In the Moldavian SSR Procurator's Office"]

[Text] The procurator's office of the Moldavian SSR has investigated the execution of laws about the protection of socialist property and the observance of state discipline at a number of enterprises in the ministries of light industry and consumer services. Serious shortcomings in the organization of inter-departmental control and in the selection of personnel for positions with material responsibility were uncovered. This helped create the conditions for embezzlement on an especially large scale in the Kishinev production leather association and for the private business activity of several workers of consumer services enterprises.

The investigation established that from 1980 to 1984 processed hides were systematically stolen from the chrome leather production shop of the association. Approximately 80,000 rubles worth of hides was stolen in all. Security personnel did not hinder this removal of goods and in a number of instances they themselves took part in the thefts.

The stolen merchandise was sold to shoemakers of the Republic Pattern House of the Ministry of Consumer Services and of the service centers (dom byta) of Kriulyanskiy, Glodyanskiy, Novoanenskiy and a number of other rayons of the republic. The latter, making use of management's laxness, manufactured in the shops unauthorized shoes from the stolen leather, which they sold to private persons, and pocketed the money.

Already in 1979 the procurator's office of the city of Kishinev had submitted a representation to the MSSR Ministry of Light Industry, in which attention was focused on defects in the accounting of material assets and on the flagrant violations of inventory-taking procedure at the Kishinev production leather association. However, the ministry did not take the proper measures and the thefts continued.

The principal reason for this, as the investigation indicated, lay in the breach of state discipline by officials of the leather association and in the connivance of the monitoring organs of the Ministry of Light Industry with the criminals. For the last 6 years people, personally interested in favorable

inspection results, were appointed as inspectors. Even during the inventory conducted already after the initiation of criminal proceedings, inspectors uncovered a shortfall of only 377 hides, though in reality the loss was far greater.

As a result of the lack of proper control over the selection and placement of materially responsible executives and accounting workers, people not deserving trust and even those previously convicted of criminal activity, have penetrated the consumer services system. Take, for example, V. Stoyanov, who worked as head of the shoe shop of the Kriulyanskiy production administration in the village of Stavcheny. He bought up stolen leather in large lots and delivered it to the shop, where a certain G. Mel'nikov, hired by Stoyanov, as well as regularly employed workers, made shoes from this material.

Workers of the Kriulyanskiy consumer services production administration who repeatedly visited the shop, unfortunately, supposedly didn't notice anything illegal.

Under such favorable conditions, other smart dealers, who had fixed themselves up in various shoe factories of the Ministry of Consumer Services, also became rich. Negligence, thoughtlessness, and the gross violation of state discipline by individual ministry officials aided them in buying up stolen merchandise with impunity and in engaging in private enterprise. During the investigation of the present case, an investigator commissioned the control and auditing administration of the Ministry of Consumer Services to carry out documentary audits of the custom-made indposhiva shoe warehouse, the central warehouse of the Republic Pattern House, and the shoe shops in the villages of Stavcheny and Gratiyeshty. The execution of these audits was entrusted to the head of the audits department, S. Dyrula, who turned this assignment over to the local accountants. A month later he went out to the localities and, not having checked a single document, drew up four identical reports in which it was stated that no violations were uncovered.

The investigation of the present case has been completed. Twenty-seven people have been indicted.

Having examined the findings of the investigation, the procurator's office submitted representations to the ministers of light industry and consumer services for eliminating the causes and conditions that facilitated criminal activity in the enterprises within their jurisdiction. The procurator's office also demanded that officials guilty of breaching state discipline be punished.

Checks of the execution of the laws on protecting socialist property and observing state discipline were also conducted in the enterprises of the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services and the State Committee for the Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture of the Moldavian SSR, where violations of legality were also uncovered. The representations of the procurator's office were discussed, with the participation of the republic procurator, at expanded meetings of the above-mentioned ministries, which have taken the necessary measures on this basis. By orders of the ministers, a number of officials who were responsible for the organization of accounting and reporting, and monitoring and auditing work were removed from their positions or severely punished under disciplinary procedure.

REGIONAL

DAGESTAN CPSU OBKOM PLENUM ON CADRE PROBLEMS

PM020937 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Mar 85 First Edition p 2

[Special correspondent I. Podsvirov report: "Dagestan CPSU Obkom Plenum: Strict Demand"]

[Text] Makhachkala--A few days before the plenum of the Dagestan Party Obkom, which discussed the tasks involved in improving the selection, training, and placement of cadres in the light of the CPSU Central Committee March (1985) Plenum's demands, there was a meeting in Kaspiysk between leaders of some of the republic's ministries and departments and the city's working people. A political theme day was conducted there by Consumer Services Minister L.M. Chubrikov, Housing and Municipal Services Minister M.B. Bagandaliyev, Food Industry Minister S.B. Babakhanov, and Trade Minister B.U. Gladzhiyev. The most topical and urgent questions were raised at the meeting. The ministers reported on what they had done to resolve those questions and on what had also been done in practice to satisfy various needs and proposals.

Such meetings are typical of the time. Meetings have already been held in Derbent, Buynaksk, Kizlyar, Khasavyurt, Izberbash, and other population centers. The obkom's propaganda and agitation section has seen for itself that the comprehensive analysis of public opinion and an efficient system for monitoring the activity of leaders who tend toward albeit not always easy talk noticeably increase responsibility and help to do away with formalism and uncooperativeness [neobyazatel'nost']. After such meetings, for example, the request by the inhabitants of Derbent for a fundamental improvement in the city's water supply and the construction of a boiler house in the coastal residential network in Kizlyar will be expanded, and considerable resources are being released for health needs.

The report by M. Yu. Yusupov, first secretary of the CPSU Obkom, and the speeches by plenum participants cited many instances to show that the course taken toward professionalism and the reinforcement of democratic principles in the selection of leading cadres and of principled exactingness in the selection of leading cadres and of principled exactingness toward them promote the successful fulfillment of socioeconomic tasks. The results of the first 4 years of the 5-year plan show that on the whole multinational Dagestan's economy is developing dynamically. Industrial production volumes have increased, more consumer goods are now being produced, and the quality of

articles has improved. The capital construction program has been fulfilled. Agroindustrial complex collectives have been working well.

Nevertheless, there are still some cadres which have not been made to accept real responsibility for ensuring the unconditional fulfillment of plans. Therefore the communists, dissatisfied with what has been achieved, focused their main attention on the shortcomings and unresolved problems. The obkom bureau recently had to take extreme measures and dismissed certain party raykom first secretaries, rayispolkom chairmen, and other leading officials who had failed to justify the confidence placed in them. These were necessary measures taken in the interest of the cause. The public received them with approval.

The measures taken made it possible to strengthen party, soviet, and law-enforcement organs and crucial areas of national economic sectors with well-trained, authoritative, and politically mature workers and specialists. There is still much to be done, however. For example, the plenum participants said, omissions in economic activity and low production efficiency are often explained away by saying that leaders have a poor grasp of economic management methods, while party committees tolerate their incompetence through a sense of inertia. Clearly, this would explain why over 20 large farms, previously considered pacesetters, have allowed their indicators to deteriorate. A new generation of worth, experienced leaders had not been trained there. But not only there. A number of speeches expressed a quite justified alarm at the fact that the number of loss-making kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the republic is being reduced extremely slowly. In 1982, for example, there were 12 such farms in Rutul'skiy Rayon. Despite substantial assistance received from the state last year 11 farms continued to make a loss. A similar picture can be seen in other areas.

It was suggested that party work with cadres needed to be conducted in a well-planned and profoundly conceived manner. So far, however, study of the activity of a number of party organizations demonstrates the lack of an integrated system. In some places a superficial and bureaucratic approach prevails. There are quite a few well-known cases of unduly rapid promotion to positions of leadership and of the transfer of compromised workers from one post to another.

How are serious errors to be avoided in the future? A.N. Aliyev, first secretary of Buynak'sk CPSU Gorkom, G.N. Pashayev, team leader at the "Akhtyn'skiy" Sovkhoz, N.I. Sivokoz, first secretary of the Makhachkala CPSU Gorkom, Z.D. Magomedov, chairman of the Dagestan Union of Consumer Societies board, and other speakers proposed that the experience of those party organizations which apply a broad degree of publicity in the selection of leaders by supported more boldly. In their opinion, nominations should be discussed at enlarged party committee sessions and open party meetings. The final decisions can only be taken when the opinion of labor collectives is taken into account. It is also important to draw attention to the objectivity of character references. They should reflect not only the strengths but also the weaknesses of people seeking positions of leadership.

"And what about the reports that certain leaders sometimes deliver at party meetings?" asked Z.S. Kolesnichenko, a worker at the "40 let Oktyabrya" Sovkhoz in Tarumovskiy Rayon. "They are purely formal and as a rule are concerned with what the whole collective have achieved or not achieved. Some stereotyped reports show no sign of the personal contribution of the communist leader of his merits and shortcomings."

People do not become leaders overnight, of course. First they must undergo extensive training in economic and public work and are monitored in different responsible assignments and at different levels of office. But it also happens that a future leader's entire "education" sometimes amounts merely to transferring his name from one list to another. A high level of cadre replacement particularly among economic leaders, is an indication of poor work with the reserve, the plenum noted. In the past 2 years 33 percent of kolkhoz chairmen and 44 percent of sovkhoz directors have been replaced, and 58 people have been dismissed for failing to cope with their work.

This happens, as has already been said, because the so-called reserve within a number of party committees exists purely formally, on paper only. And when a post is to be filled people usually search around feverishly and hastily to find an outside candidate without considering those people in the "reserve." What is the point of deceiving ourselves and deluding others? the speakers asked bluntly. And the logical conclusion was that so long as the fundamental principles of cadre selection taking account of their professional and moral qualities are observed, negative phenomena will decrease. And there are quite a few of these. For example, a certain Kh. I. Zadulayev was recommended for the post of chairman of the "Pervomayskiy" Kolkhoz in Khasavyurtovskiy Rayon. What did he do first? The newly appointed chairman began work by zealously looking after his own interests and benefits: he illegally obtained 5 months' pay, gave himself a pay raise, and rapidly set about building himself a house on land allocated for the construction of a kindergarten. It goes without saying that the kolkhoz's concerns were of no interests to the chairman. Surely someone in the raykom had vouched for him?!

Again it was stressed that, when appointing people to responsible positions, we cannot tolerate unprincipledness, graft, protectionism, and the selection of cadres because of family or regional ties. The communists expressed their opinions in a principled fashion: CPSU gorkoms and raykoms must be more exacting toward leaders for all deviations from the norms of communist morality. This can be achieved if primary party organizations' role in cadre training is enhanced and if we persistently implement the CPSU Central Committee's directives that each leading communist must be answerable for misconduct primarily to his own party organization.

Speakers repeatedly expressed the view that stricter punishment should be inflicted on those who casually recommend unsuitable people for leading posts, for whatever reason they do so.

It was also noted quite bluntly and sharply that the republic has not eradicated instances of exaggerated reporting, theft, and the squandering of state

resources. Recently the obkom bureau examined the question of embezzlement on a particularly large scale at the "Put k Kommunizmu" Sovkhoz in Derbentskiy Rayon and the Derbent Canning Combine. A whole group of materially responsible officials engaged in criminal machinations by means of connivance and by exploiting the absence of proper monitoring by the party organizations and certain leaders. Major fraud has also been uncovered in other rayons.

These phenomena are particularly intolerable in law-enforcement organs. The situation with cadres there is by no means what it should be. Last year more than 100 people were expelled from law-enforcement organs in the republic. The situation is now being rectified. The replenishment of the militia with young staffers from the Komsomol has had a beneficial effect on the strengthening of order and discipline and the observance of socialist legality.

Discussion has shown that on the whole the oblast party organization is working more actively to improve the qualitative makeup of leading cadres, to ensure social and national equality in their selection, and to nominate women and young people for leading work. Communists' efforts are now being channeled into achieving significant shifts in the economy and culture and worthily greeting the 27th party congress by skillfully utilizing and deploying cadres.

After the plenum, Magomed Yusupovich Yusupov, first secretary of the party obkom, said:

"The conversation was pointed. A tone of respect and trust, accompanied by principled demandingness, prevailed. If you noticed, only some speakers--following a habit that has still not been eradicated--lost their way in old-fashioned reports on their own activity and the enumeration of achievements. A spirit of exactingness and self-criticism was the determining factor."

On the whole one cannot but agree with the above assessment. However, we note that the plenum also leaves a certain sense of dissatisfaction. The criticism at it was indeed weighty and largely, so to speak, unforeseen. True, the criticism of leading obkom sections was mainly contained in the report. A large number of valuable proposals was submitted, sometimes as discussion topics. All this presupposed a more meaningful exchange of opinions, in the process of which an atmosphere of intense joint question would emerge and collective strategy and tactics would be developed. Unfortunately, certain speeches either did not correspond to the discussion topic or were somehow vague, failing to elicit a response and not being developed further. Obviously, the decisive move toward genuine professionalism and genuine analysis still lies ahead.

CSO: 1800/256

REGIONAL

AZERBAIJAN MINISTRY OF CULTURE SHARPLY CRITICIZED

[Editorial Report] Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian on 16 April 1985, on pages 1 and 2, carries a 2,200 word report on the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee's review of the work of the Ministry of Culture and its role in the communist education of the workers. The report criticized the Ministry of Culture for its serious shortcomings in the quality of performing arts and music. "The ministry's style and methods do not reflect modern needs," stated the report. "There is no strict control over musical theaters, concert organizations, repertoire, quality of performance, composition and programming." The report also faulted the ministry for a lack of discussion in the area of musical compositions and concert programs, and lax discipline in the departments and establishments.

The ministry was criticized for its work with personnel, also. The report stated that the cadres lack direction, and plans for future preparation of personnel. "For many years now, there has been a lack of highly qualified producers, conductors, performing musicians, particularly on wind instruments, singers, dancers and choreographers." The report found the artistic quality of musical performances to be low: there are few new productions, particularly for children, the professional level inadequate, the staging poor. The ministry too infrequently invites distinguished national artists to perform in the republic, the report continued. The Azerbaijan State Philharmonic imeni M. Magomaev, the Yz. Gadzhibekov orchestra, and dance and choral artistic collectives were singled out for criticism.

The artists themselves were criticized in the report for their lack of professionalism. The report cites that 40 percent of Azerbaijan dancers, singers, and musicians lack specialized training and "take liberties with the nation's classical music." In the collectives little is done to forward political education, or the training of Azerbaijan youth. They rarely perform at all-union competitions and festivals.

The report criticized the ministry's main party organizations, listing their lack of influence over the arts and musical concerts, their failure to address ideological-political problems, their lack of control over administration, and poor discipline. The Minister of Culture, Z. Bagirov

was charged with the responsibility of correcting these shortcomings. In addition, the republic's radio broadcasts, newspapers, and journals were urged to do a better job of informing the public of the activities at music theaters and the performing arts. They were requested to raise the quality of musical content for TV, radio, and film, and improve artistic and literary criticism.

MOSCOW TV REPORTS EFFECTS OF SEVERE WINTER IN ARMENIA

LD081028 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1430 GMT on 7 April, in the Vremya newscast, carried a 4-minute report on the effects of severe winter conditions in Armenia.

The report opened with an unidentified reporter saying that spring has come and that 96 percent of farm machinery is ready for use. Video then switched to interview with A.N. Shakhverdyan, chairman of the Armenian State Committee for Supplying Agricultural Production Equipment. He was identified by screen caption and was seen standing in front of a line of farm machinery; while he talked, video clips showed a tractor struggling to plough heavily waterlogged earth.

Shakhverdyan explained that the winter had been "exceptionally severe" with as much as 39-42 degrees of frost. He said: "And to be quite frank, we were simply not expecting it. As well as servicing all the agricultural equipment, we had to deal with snowdrifts and avalanches. Although spring has come, the machinery has not yet been able to go into the fields. Mud and slush stop tractors from doing their work. On average throughout the republic spring has come a month late, and whereas in previous years we would already have finished planting a number of crops, we have not even started yet this time. This means we will have to do all the work in a shorter agrotechnical period and to a standard high enough to ensure that there is no need to carry out resowing or repeat work afterwards."

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REGIONAL

CADRE EXCHANGE VITAL TO CURE UZBEK DISCIPLINE SHORTCOMINGS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 19 April 1985 carries on pages 2 and 3 a 2,400-word article by Sh. Ziyamov, doctor of historical sciences, titled "Raising Cadre Work to the Level of the Requirements of Mature Socialism." The author notes that "without detracting from the achievements in the republic following the 16th Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, it must be recognized that the measures taken so far have touched only the highest level of cadres for the most part." Besides covering the attributes of good and bad party managers, Ziyamov dwells on two aspects of republic cadre policy: cadre mobility and inter-republic exchange of cadres. "Cadre exchange among republics is an important direction in personnel policy arising from the internationalist content of the CPSU's policies...Cadre exchange, as noted, is a policy requirement. It says in the party's program that 'the developing scale of communist building demands a constant exchange of personnel among the nationalities. All manifestations of national isolation in training and utilization of workers of various nationalities in the Soviet republics are impermissible.' At the 19th Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee it was observed that the CPSU Central Committee pays considerable attention to, and renders aid in strengthening vital sectors of party, soviet, and state republic construction with qualified cadres. The CPSU Central Committee Apparatus has sent to Uzbekistan a number of party workers, graduates of the Academy of Social Sciences and higher party schools and from party organizations of various oblasts of the country. These are mature party Soviet workers whose presence helps concentrate the best experience of the country's large party organizations. Such help will continue in the future."

The second topic Ziyamov treats at length is cadre mobility in both horizontal and vertical dimensions. "The party, keeping in mind the best interests of each matter, transfers people from lower to higher jobs or from higher to lower jobs in the interest of strengthening certain sectors... Those who think that if a manager is sent to a lower job he won't cope with what has been entrusted to him are wrong. These people have a stereotypical view of a manager according to which the manager must constantly advance along the professional ladder."

CSO: 1830/524

REGIONAL

ALCOHOLISM SAID TO BE ON INCREASE IN ARMENIA

[Editorial Report] Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 10 April 1985 carries on page 2 a 900-word article by V. Aloyan entitled "The Last Drop." Aloyan mentions an incident in which a man collapsed on the street and the passersby stepped around him without taking notice, assuming that he was drunk. An hour later an ambulance was finally called and the man was found to have died of a heart attack. Aloyan sees this as an alarming sign of increased alcoholism, since "ten years ago...at least every other person would have stopped...Because they would have been sure that something was wrong with the man, not that he was drunk." Previous generations have limited their drinking to bottles of wine in the home, whereas "now alcohol is with us all the time and everywhere" and the alcohol of choice is now vodka. He asserts that although "everyone now knows why children suffer from feeble-mindedness...they continue to drink. It is the same as with cigarette smoking. Although it is written on every package that smoking is harmful to the health, the number of smokers is not decreasing due to this." Aloyan recalls the conclusion of the January (1985) Armenian CP Central Committee plenum that "complacency in the struggle against alcoholism" is present in the republic and concurs with this conclusion: "The majority [of people], as in the past, consider that we do not have a problem. There are no drunks lying in the street and so there are no sobering stations, and if there are no sobering stations, that means that there is no problem." He warns that there is no basis for such a conclusion: "The facts are otherwise. From year to year the use of alcohol in Armenia is growing, more and more families are being broken up due to alcoholism..." He called for an intensive anti-alcohol propaganda campaign and concludes with a warning that "complacency in this question is tantamount to sitting on a time-bomb--one can still prevent an explosion, but if time is allowed to go by a catastrophe cannot be avoided."

CSO: 1800/267

REGIONAL

LENINGRAD OBKOM EVALUATES ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

[Editorial Report] Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 April 1985 carries on page 1 a LenTASS report on a meeting of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom. K.I. Lebedskiy and L.A. Koykolaynen, chairmen of the planning commissions of the Leningrad city and oblast soviets of people's deputies spoke on economic progress in the region during the first quarter of 1985. They report a 4.2 percent rise in commodity production over the same period last year. However, the obkom went on to criticize a number of rayon first secretaries, ispolkom chairmen, and trade officials for falling short of expectations. Criticism was also leveled at light industry and the construction, cellulose and paper, and chemical industries. These problems were attributed to significant shortcomings in the work of the Leningrad Main Territorial Administration of Gosplan, headed by V.N. Yegorov. The obkom resolved to "take the most stern administrative and party measures" against careless and irresponsible workers.

The same issue of LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA carries a Len TASS report entitled "More Possibilities for Territorial-Sectorial Technological Specialization" covering a meeting of the presidium of the Leningrad Obkom's Soviet of Economic and Social Development and Acceleration of Scientific Technical Progress. The meeting was conducted by obkom first secretary L.N. Zaykov. Examined were drafts for a new program to develop territorial specialization in the machine building industry. The program would be incorporated into the "Intensification 90" program.

CSO: 1800/258

REGIONAL

BRIEFS

DEMIRCHYAN AT AKTIV MEETING--A meeting of the republican party aktiv took place in Yerevan today. Its participants discussed the tasks of republican party organizations in the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee's and USSR Council of Ministers' decision envisaging a program for the further development of the city economy of the Armenian capital in 1986-90. The report by Comrade Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the speeches noted that the measures outlined open broad prospects for increasing the volume of housing and municipal construction, for extending the network of schools and pre-school establishments, of health care and trade facilities, and the sphere of services in the capital of the republic. The need for a broad use of production reserves was pointed out. Measures were outlined for the successful fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers' decision. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Apr 85]

MINISTER IN MOLDAVIA--USSR Minister of Construction G.A. Karavayev spent two days in the republic. He visited the most important new building sites of the republic, the Moldavian Metallurgical and Rezin'skiy Cement Factories. Meetings were held to discuss speeding up the completion of construction of these buildings. Comrade Karavayev visited the republic of Ministry of Construction. S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Communist Party of Moldavia, and I.G. Ustiyan, chairman of the Council of Ministers, accompanied G.A. Karavayev to the Moldavian Metallurgical and Rezin'skiy Cement Factories. [ATEM Report "The Minister's Stay"] [Text] [Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 4 Apr 85 p 1]

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CSO: 1800/263

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