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USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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31 January 1986

USSR REPORT

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

EAST-WEST RELATIONS

Reagan-Gorbachev Geneva Meeting Results Viewed (SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 23 Nov 85; Moscow in English to North America, 9 Dec 85).....	1
Discussion Is 'A Positive Fact', by Mikhail Ozerov 'Not a Political Sideshow', Tomas Kolesnichenko Interview	1 4
U.S., West European 'Ideological Sabotage' Against East (M.P. Mchedlov; VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 8, Aug 85).....	7

SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

CEMA Program for Scientific, Technical Progress to Year 2000 (APN DAILY REVIEW, No 26, 24 Dec 85).....	28
Ryzhkov Stresses Importance of CEMA Scientific, Technical Cooperation (TASS, 17 Dec 85).....	42

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Reports on Soviet-U.S. Trade and Economic Council Meeting (Various sources, various dates).....	44
Trade Obstacles, Prospects Viewed	44
ASTEC Views Trade Expansion Potential, by V. Sukhoy, N. Larionova	44
U.S. Economic Difficulties Discussed	45

Two-Volume Collection on U.S. Foreign Policy Reviewed (Yu. M. Melnikov; NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA, No 5, Sep-Oct 85).....	47
WESTERN EUROPE	
U.S. Said To Pressure Sweden on Trade With East (SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, 17 Dec 85).....	52
Norwegian Trade Minister on Trade With USSR (Asbjorn Haugstvedet Interview; SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, 13 Dec 85).....	53
Soviet-Faroe Islands Fishing Accord Reached (IZVESTIYA, 7 Dec 85).....	56
Book on Disagreements Among FRG's Social Democrats Reviewed (N.A. Vasetskiy; OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V SSSR, SERIYA 1; PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA (REFERATIVNYY ZHURNAL), No 5, Sep-Oct 85).....	57
Briefs USSR-Sweden: Fishing Quota Protocol	61
EASTERN EUROPE	
Report on Gdansk Shipyard Union (Yu. Vasilkov, Yu. Skvortsov; TRUD, 14 Dec 85).....	62
CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC	
Japan's Attempt to Include Own Military in UN Forces Scored (Vsevolod Orchinnikov; APN DAILY REVIEW, 18 Dec 85).....	65
Cooperation With DPRK Praised (V. Moiseyev; EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, No 33, Aug 85).....	67
MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA	
U.S. Senate's Bill on Aid to Afghanistan Criticized (G. Ustinov; IZVESTIYA, 19 Dec 85).....	71
Western Anti-Afghan Propaganda Hit (P. Shershnev; AGITATOR, No 19, Oct 85).....	74
CIA Seen Behind 'Fake' Israeli Emigration Invitations to Soviet Jews (Dm. Guseynov, I. Kamenkovich; BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 29 Oct 85).....	80

Current State of Israeli Nuclear Program Viewed (Igor Belyayev; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 23, 30 Oct 85).....	88
Imperialism, Not Religion, Main Cause of Iran-Iraq War (A. Notin; NAUKA I RELIGIYA, No 8, Aug 85).....	106
Reader's Question on Human Rights in Iran Answered (V. Aleksandrov, A. Ivanov; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 27, 2 Jul 85).....	114
Negative Reaction to Hussein-Arafat Agreement Explained (V. Aleksandrov, A. Ivanov; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 27, 2 Jul 85).....	116
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	
Peace Agreement in Uganda, Tasks Ahead Examined (Igor Tartunin; PRAVDA, 23 Dec 85).....	118

EAST-WEST RELATIONS

REAGAN-GORBACHEV GENEVA MEETING RESULTS VIEWED

Discussion Is 'A Positive Fact'

PM221633 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Nov 85 First Edition p 3

[Dispatch by special correspondent Mikhail Ozerov: "Achieving Changes for the Better"]

[Text] Geneva--The summit meeting has ended. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and R. Reagan have left Geneva. But the international press center is still crowded. Journalists, scholars, and specialists from various countries are discussing the results of the talks and exchanging opinions.

What is being talked about particularly frequently today? Without doubt the statements by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary. They are the focus of attention.

I was present at both events which concluded the meeting--the signing of the joint Soviet-U.S. statement and Mikhail Gorbachev's press conference--and I saw the great impression which the statements by the head of the Soviet delegation made on the gathering. Correspondents are now talking and writing about the profound content of these speeches and their constructive approach and businesslike, considered tone. "Mr Gorbachev has dotted all the i's" is the opinion of a Swiss radio observer, shared by his colleagues who work in this country or who have come specially to cover the talks.

Commenting on the press conference at the Soviet press center in Geneva and the joint Soviet-U.S. statement, people here are noting the USSR's consistent principled position. Our country prepared purposefully and extraordinarily seriously for the Geneva talks, seeking to create a favorable climate for this meeting. In recent months we have made a whole series of important proposals on reducing armaments, have unilaterally halted all nuclear explosions, and confirmed the moratorium on testing antisatellite weapons. The socialist countries' voice in defense of peace, detente, and cooperation and against the arms race and confrontation was heard loudly and resolutely at the conference of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee in Sofia.

It is well known how the U.S. side responded to all this--it continued the arms race, nurturing the hope of shifting it into space as well. In Geneva, including during his one-on-one talks with R. Reagan, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev gave an appropriate assessment of this obstructionist course.

But now the meeting has ended. What are its results? What lessons should be drawn from the 2 days of talks?

Some Western correspondents are now complaining that no disarmament agreement was concluded. Yes, there is no document of this kind. But the Soviet-U.S. statement said unambiguously that "the sides, aware of the special responsibility of the USSR and the United States in preserving peace, state that nuclear war must never be unleashed, there can be no victors in it." The USSR and the United States stressed the importance of preventing any military conflict between them--nuclear or conventional.

The mutual undertaking not to seek to achieve military superiority is also of fundamental importance. M.S. Gorbachev's words at the press conference to the effect that both sides should become accustomed to strategic parity as the natural state of Soviet-U.S. relations were welcomed with great approval in Geneva. And if anything should be discussed, then it is how to reduce the ceiling of this parity through mutual efforts.

These factors generate optimism. As does the fact that the USSR and the United States expressed themselves in favor of the speediest progress in fields where there are points of contact. What do they specifically have in mind? For instance, the appropriate application of the principle of a 50 percent reduction of both Soviet and U.S. nuclear arms. Or the idea of an interim agreement on medium-range missiles in Europe. In addition, the adherence of the USSR and the United States to the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons was confirmed.

As for the U.S. "strategic defense initiative," M.S. Gorbachev expressed himself absolutely definitely with regard to it. The Soviet Union is convinced that neither side should give the "green light" to armaments in space. If this does happen, the dimensions of military rivalry will increase many times over and the danger of a universal catastrophe will be sharply intensified.

This is also understood across the ocean. Thus THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, having analyzed in detail the U.S. plans for the deployment of SDI, concludes that "this extremely costly action will lead not to the consolidation of defense but to the aggravation of international tension." Should U.S. statesmen not heed sane voices in their own country?

As the Swiss BLICK states with satisfaction, "considerable successes were achieved" during the discussion of other issues. It was decided to activate dialogue on different levels. This involves regular meetings

between the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state, an exchange of opinions between experts, and the widening of programs of bilateral trade and economic ties and cultural, educational, scientific, and technical contacts.

On reading fresh issues of the newspapers and meeting with various interlocutors, you become convinced that people here, in Geneva, assess highly the results of the summit meeting and consider it an important step in the right direction. Prominent Soviet scientists--Ye. Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and academician G. Arbatov--said that the talks took place at a time when the international situation had become extremely dangerous. Through the fault of the United States Soviet-American relations had, in point of fact, been frozen. And, of course, the discussion of the priority tasks of the present day by the leaders of the two greatest states is a positive fact. The meeting has helped people to understand more clearly the nature of the disagreements and to rid themselves of certain biased assessments and prejudices, and it has helped each of the sides to explain its positions. And, as a result, to understand each other better. And to understand the most important point--that nuclear war is inadmissible and would prove a catastrophe for the whole planet.

It is significant that the viewpoint of prominent Soviet specialists has something in common with statements in the press, including the Western press. "A world in the grip of fear needed such a measure. The one-on-one meeting has reduced the chance of mutual misunderstanding and, consequently, of unpredictable actions, possibly disastrous for mankind," the LOS ANGELES TIMES writes.

The talks have had a weighty political effect. They galvanized world public interest in today's most important problems: Soviet-American relations and the need to curb the arms race and normalize the international situation. The Swiss BASLER ZEITUNG remarks that "never before has such close press and public attention been riveted on representatives of the two great powers."

Now it is necessary to proceed from words to action. The American President gave an assurance both publicly in Geneva and in his talks with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev that his administration does not seek superiority over the Soviet Union and does not want nuclear war. U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz also spoke of this at the press conference in Geneva after the conclusion of the talks. He repeated R. Reagan's words about "a new start" in American-Soviet relations. At the same time the secretary of state did all he could to defend the "star wars" plan and asserted that the United States "will not yield" here.

Are the U.S. leaders aware of the degree of responsibility that they bear for the destinies of the American people and of all mankind? Do they intend to back up the Geneva accords with practical steps? We would like the next few months to give positive replies to these questions, otherwise the great work done in Geneva might have been in vain...

31 January 1986

As for the Soviet Union, it has firm intentions. Our country will do all in its power to secure a reduction in nuclear arsenals, the strengthening of security, and the creation of a healthy international climate. The USSR regards the Geneva meeting, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev emphasized, "as the start of a dialogue with a view to achieving changes for the better both in Soviet-American relations and in the world in general."

'Not a Political Sideshow'

LD091419 Moscow in English to North America 0001 GMT 9 Dec 85

[Interview with PRAVDA correspondent Tomas Kolesnichenko by unidentified correspondent on the Soviet-U.S. summit in Geneva, date and place not identified--live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Thousands of journalists covered the recent Soviet-American summit in Geneva. Soviet journalists among them noted before the summit that the interest to [as heard] the Soviet delegation and to Soviet people in general was so great that foreign newsmen simply interviewed their Soviet colleagues. People were drawn as if by a magnet to a notice saying PRAVDA at the press centre in Rue de Varenne and Soviet newsmen, to get some work done, had at times to shut themselves off from the office. We have asked a special PRAVDA correspondent, Tomas Kolesnichenko, who covered the summit, to highlight the preparations for the summit and the work of the summit itself.

[Kolesnichenko] Well, I have covered many international events during the 25 years of working for PRAVDA, but this particular summit was a special experience for me. Just as the other 4,000 newsmen in Geneva, I felt I was witnessing a special historic moment. All people pinned great hopes on a change in the international climate. There was a clear idea in the air that the situation is such now that we cannot any longer live in the same way, that we are approaching a fatal line beyond which there can be no United States, no USSR, no humanity in general. That was the main question that all people wanted to be answered. What would the summit be like? Would the American and Soviet leaders simply meet without coming to terms on anything? Would the talks be useless in general or, on the contrary, would they promote Soviet-American relations? Would a new historic timing start in the relations between the two countries and in the whole international situation?

[Correspondent] May one say that even before the summit some results of the talks could be obvious?

[Kolesnichenko] Nothing was clear before the 19th of November. President Reagan arrived in Geneva on the 16th. He wanted to spend a few quiet days discussing the United States position with his advisers. But the quiet was disrupted as a scandal broke out. The press learned about a letter by the United States defense secretary, Caspar Weinberger, and it showed there are rather influential forces in the United States who wanted to ruin the summit in general. The defense secretary beseeched the

President not to budge to the Soviet participants in the talks on any issue that had been agreed on as the subjects for the talks, problems of disarmament, regional problems, and so on. Never before had I seen journalistic passions running so high. Before the arrival of the Soviet delegation, newsmen attacked our room at the press center. That was a test of public opinion, and most of the people we had talked to awaited positive, tangible results from the summit.

[Correspondent] In what way do you believe the summit was important?

[Kolesnichenko] When the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States met a new timing began. This timing was not of the total duration of talks--15 hours--but of the periods of private talks between President Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev. That has never happened before at a summit. Our two leaders took everything into their own hands. When on return home President Reagan was asked about his advisers at the talks, he joked he had almost seen nothing of them as he had spent all the time with Mr Gorbachev. Under the protocol, 20 minutes were allotted for the first personal meeting, but it lasted just over 1 hour. The two leaders spent a total of nearly 6 hours in such private talks. I'd say, and I have long been studying President Reagan's biography, that for him the atmosphere was absolutely new, it was a new experience for him, at times an unexpected one. I believe no one before talked to the President in such a way. The talks were largely a revelation for him. What he had heard from the Soviet leader was the truth and nothing but the truth, and the President doesn't always get it from his advisers and from his aides. Problems were posed in an acute way, without any diplomatic tricks, and, judging by the little response we came across, the talks were tense, hard, but also frank and on concrete issues. It was work, not a political sideshow. The main problems came up for discussion. Mikhail Gorbachev drew the President's special attention to the issues of security, of curbing the arms race and to the crux of the problem, how to prevent militarization of space. Our stand is clear. If the arms race spreads to space it will no longer be controllable.

[Correspondent] What was the main achievement at the talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan?

[Kolesnichenko] Well, Mikhail Gorbachev pursued this line of reasoning: We may like or dislike each other but we can no longer live normally on earth without solving the issue of war and peace. This experience of the meeting had a great effect on President Reagan. As it is known, he has a keen intuition and can easily grasp the substance of issues.

[Correspondent] And yet it is felt in the Soviet Union that there was no solution found to the main issue, that of reaching accord on disarmament.

[Kolesnichenko] One can put it this way: If the main issue has not been solved how can one say the summit was a success? Well, the United States President and the entire United States leadership turned out to be not ready yet to solve the main problem of this day and age, but the American

leaders gained first-hand information about what that means. This issue was not simply tackled. A certain progress was reached on it. For the United States President the Soviet Union had looked like an abstract adversary and its leaders had been called people one cannot come to terms with. Before the summit he had said in an interview that there was no word for freedom in the Russian language. A certain positive shift was needed to pass over from such statements to the Soviet-American statement that says clearly that nuclear war is impermissible, that it's necessary to seek ways to coexist peacefully. This is already a political line. Though this is not a treaty it's already a great deal and this means political commitments. Proceeding from all this we have the right to expect that there will be agreements based on a concrete foundation. Appropriate instructions have been issued to the two countries' delegations at talks on concrete questions. That enabled Mikhail Gorbachev to say that after the summit, the world has become a safer place. The infrastructure of the Soviet-American relations, almost all of it destroyed since the beginning of the eighties, is now being restored.

[Correspondent] Is a psychological atmosphere being created?

[Kolesnichenko] Oh, yes, it is. It's this atmosphere that makes it possible to start concrete contacts, to tackle concrete problems. It's important that these steps in the right direction should be continued. Of course, we will judge about the real success of the summit by real actions, but the main result of this summit is that the meeting passed in discussions of the main problem, not of isolated ones that the American side had originally advanced before the summit. We really displayed a desire to work together, to understand one another. For example, the Soviet side raised the issue of security and that was done for the first time. It was stated that the Soviet Union is not interested in a lower level of security for the United States, and that already amounts to considering the problem from beyond the limits of one's own interests. Today the USSR views its own position and that of the United States from the angle of one denominator and that is international security, and I believe that this position has been appreciated in the United States and that the United States, too, is beginning to reconsider some of its approaches to the solution of the problems. And for this reason we journalists had a feeling we were attending the birth of new international relations based on reality, on due account for the interests of all the sides, on reasonable compromise, on a realization that we can no longer live the way we have been living up to now.

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EAST-WEST RELATIONS

U.S., WEST EUROPEAN 'IDEOLOGICAL SABOTAGE' AGAINST EAST

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 8, Aug 85 pp 3-19

[Article by M. P. Mchedlov, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, under rubric "In Anticipation of the 27th CPSU Congress": "The Ideological Struggle on the International Scene and the Political Indoctrination of the Masses"]

[Text] In the spring of 1920, at the 9th party congress, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin expressed an important idea that enriched the experience of the October Revolution and other revolutions. He spoke about the law of revolution, which manifests itself in that, simultaneously with the expansion and deepening of revolutionary reforms, there is an intensification of the resistance put up by the bourgeoisie. "The more victorious we are, the more the capitalist exploiters learn how to unite and change over to the more decisive offensive"¹.

These actions of the class opponent have become more intensive today and they can be observed graphically against a background of the broad extension of the revolutionary process, the further change in the correlation of forces on the world scene in favor of socialism, the consolidation of the historic positions of the new society, the reinforcement of the sociopolitical unity of the classes and segments, nations and nationalities that constitute it, and the development of socialist democracy.

In the course of the conflict among the various socialist systems, the imperialistic circles are using all means -- political, economic, and ideological -- in the attempt to hinder the development of socialism. At the All-Union Conference in Moscow (December 1984) it was justly mentioned that "...capitalism has to maneuver and to disguise itself, it has to resort to wars and terror, falsification and sabotage, in order to restrain the inexorable onslaught of time. It is precisely here that one finds the primary source of the global conflict between the two systems on an increasingly broad front, and the source of the unceasing attempts at social revanchism, the plans for which are being hatched by the ruling circles of imperialism. The tremendous stockpiling of arms and the heating up of militarism, both material and psychological, and the preparation for nuclear war are, in essence, an admission by capitalism of the fact that it has exhausted its historic potential"².

In the struggle against the old reactionary world, our party has been invariably guided by the Leninist principles of the need for the ideological dethroning of capitalism and its apologetic sociopolitical theories, and for the unmasking of the bourgeois way of life. The great leader of the proletariat posed a truly historic task: the overcoming of the ideological resistance of capitalism -- a resistance that was "the most profound and the most powerful"³. That principle has remained in force for the entire period of existence of the opposing sociopolitical systems. Obviously, at various stages the ideological struggle has had its specific peculiarities. Today it is acquiring greater and greater acuity. "There is no need to possess special political vision," it was emphasized at the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "in order to see that imperialism in recent years has intensified its subversive work and has been coordinating his actions against the socialist states"⁴. Imperialism attempts to carry out social revanchism against the countries that have been liberated from colonial oppression, and against the national-liberation movements and the workers in the capitalist countries.

Taking complete consideration of the present-day sociopolitical realities in international life, the CPSU, preparing for its 27th Congress and following Lenin's instructions, requires that the party organizations and ideological institutions increase the effectiveness of the struggle against imperialistic ideology and improve the job of carrying out the political indoctrination of the masses.

The conflict between the communist and bourgeois ideologists reflects the struggle between the two systems -- socialism and capitalism -- and the struggle waged by the working class and all the workers for the elimination of bourgeois oppression and for the social liberation of the individual and the free development of all nations. The antagonism between the opposing classes and systems also influences the irreconcilability of the ideologies that are opposing one another and that express the fundamental interests of those classes. It is precisely for that reason that there can be no compromises in the ideological sphere, unlike, for example, the political practice of interrelations between countries with different social systems. Nurturing illusions relative to the possibility of any weakening of the ferocity in the struggle waged by the ideologists of imperialism against the theory and practice of communism would be closing one's eyes to the objective class interrelations in the countries where capital exploits the labor, tramples the freedom of nations, and suppresses their independence. It would mean the disdaining of the real state of affairs on the planet, which is characterized by the struggle between the two socioeconomic systems.

The achievements of the USSR and the other countries in the socialist community have been a mighty incentive for the social struggle and for increasing the rate of participation of millions and millions of people who are striving for peace, democracy, and social progress. In our day there has been a considerable increase in the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Its colossal effect upon the awareness and feelings of people in various parts of the planet is determined to a decisive degree by the fact that, as a truly scientific ideology, it reveals the essence of the fundamental social problems

of our century, carries with itself humanitarian ideals of social progress, the development of the human individual, and a world without weapons and wars, without exploitation and oppression, and defends the vital interests of the working class and all the workers.

The present-day sharp aggravation of the struggle between the two diametrically opposed political philosophies, an aggravation that has been completely unprecedented during the entire postwar period, has been influenced by the fact that the ideologists of imperialism are attempting to achieve the following interrelated goals. First, by coming up against the real weakening of their positions throughout the world and the narrowing of their influence, imperialism has been forced to retreat in the face of the advance of socialism and the onslaught of the international communist, workers, and national-liberation movements, and, having lost the struggle for the minds and hearts of the people on the planet, is mobilizing all the means that it has at its disposal and, trampling the elementary standards of human communal life and international law, is attempting to turn back that inexorable historic tendency.

Secondly, under conditions of the intensifying crisis in the capitalist system, which crisis has encompassed all spheres of social life -- from the economic to the social-moral -- there has been a sharp increase in the so-called preventive function of bourgeois ideology, which function is directed at providing an apologia for the basic foundations of capitalist society. An analysis of the content of modern bourgeois propaganda shows that that propaganda is doing everything in an attempt to prove the "temporary" nature of the difficulties being experienced by capitalism, is spreading myths concerning the "viability" of a society that is based on private ownership, and is attempting to instill in the workers of the capitalist countries optimistic views concerning the prospects for that historically outdated system.

In order to propagandize this bourgeois apologia, broad use is made of all the mass information media, which extol in every way private ownership and private enterprise, which, the bourgeois propagandists claim, have been called upon to stimulate accelerated social development on "principles of competition" and to guarantee the common welfare of all those participating in production. At the same time everything is done to discredit the theory and practice of the class struggle, and to "prove" that they, under the conditions of bourgeois society, were engendered not by objective reasons, but only by a distorted awareness, by false conceptions. But capitalism itself, as is stated, for example, in a book published in France with the typical title "Capitalism: Well, That's Life!", is the social system that is being sought, the system that is "capable of satisfying absolutely all the needs of man"⁵.

Thirdly, attempting to discredit the humanitarian meaning of Marxism-Leninism, a meaning that has been implemented in socialist society, its real achievements in the field of economics and democracy, education and public health, and national relations, and guaranteeing broad opportunities for the complete and free development of the individual, the bourgeois ideological machine has been tightening up its propaganda flywheel more and more strongly. Imperialism has been directing all the resourcefulness of its vast number of

ideological and propaganda personnel and all the might of its technical means toward convincing people that socialism is undergoing some kind of crisis -- whether economic, or political, or moral-ideological -- and that inflation and nationalism, the increase in crime, and other organic ills of capitalism are universal difficulties and are typical of any countries irrespective of their socioeconomic system.

The ideological attacks are directedly primarily against the sociopolitical foundations of socialism. The anticommunists attempt to inculcate in the consciousness of the broad masses the idea of the inevitability of social and national conflicts under conditions of the socialist system, and the idea of the "incompatibility" of the guiding role of the party and the sovereignty of the people, of socialism and democracy, of collectivism and the development of the individual.

The propaganda machine of the United States and of NATO as a whole has been applying considerable efforts to discredit the present-day general-democratic and national-liberation movements. There has been an increase in the ideological pressure against the antiwar movement, which encompasses representatives of various social segments irrespective of their social status, political philosophy, and race, nationality, or religion. It is well known that the decisive motivating factor that led millions of people into the ranks of peace fighters, despite their different understanding of the international situation and the sources of its present aggravation, is the general striving to save the planet and mankind from a thermonuclear catastrophe. It is no secret that many of those who are speaking out in favor of peace and disarmament have absolutely no sympathies for socialism. However, for the imperialistic ideologists their "blame" consists in the fact that they do not want to be the humble hostages of the Pentagon and militarism.

In the ideological struggle being waged against the USSR and the fraternal countries of socialism, one sees the involvement of almost all the links in the bourgeois state, including the governmental apparatus. In the United States, for example, that struggle is being guided extremely actively by the president and his closest assistants. Numerous institutes and various centers specializing in the struggle against communism are working for it. In the United States alone there are more than 150 of them. In the other imperialistic countries also the ideological struggle against communism has been elevated to the rank of "big policy." The bourgeoisie is putting in motion tremendous material and manpower resources for subversive activity and uses sophisticated technical means and sabotage and psychological methods.

Inundating the reader, radio listener, and TV and movie viewer with a stream of anti-Marxist ideas, imperialism's gigantic propaganda machine attempts to produce definite stereotypes of anticommunist thought and a negative attitude toward socialism. This purposeful "indoctrination" of thoughts and feelings is carried out with tremendous scope and in a methodological manner, beginning in the schoolroom. For example, in the government's secondary schools in most of the United States the course taught include courses on anticommunism, which are supposed to instill in the young people a hatred of communism.

The anticommunist stereotypes in the everyday consciousness and emotions of the people who have been caught on the fishing hook of anti-Soviet propaganda are developed and maintained both by the very content of all kinds of slanderous theories and by a definite set of trite verbal cliches ("the communist empire of evil," "Marxist totalitarianism," etc.) which have become firmly established in the everyday life of bourgeois figures and are widely used by the well-ramified propaganda machine.

Imperialism and its henchmen, undertaking massive attacks on real socialism and Marxist-Leninist ideology, by no means reduce them simply to a struggle between ideas. They put in motion an entire system of means that are intended to undermine the socialist world, shake it up, and even suppress it by military means.

In the decree of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee it was emphasized that "the forces of imperialistic reaction, and primarily the ruling upper crust of the United States, hatching delirious plans of world domination, are carrying out an aggressive policy that is pushing mankind toward the brink of nuclear catastrophe. Psychological warfare that is completely unprecedented in its scope and frenzy is being waged against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. Having no aversion to lies and slander, the bourgeois propaganda machine is attempting to besmirch the socialist system and to undermine the sociopolitical and ideological unity of our society"⁶.

With the casual approval of U.S. President R. Reagan a "crusade" has been declared against communism, with the aim of "leaving Marxism-Leninism on the ash heap of history." The present U.S. administration is attempting to have its allies in various regions of the world join in that "crusade." The matter is not limited simply to appeals: the "campaign for democracy" is being actively carried out with the use of subversive activities, low-grade slander, "disinformation," and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, in order to dictate U.S. will to them, to force on them the U.S. system of views, values, and way of life. That threatens the peace throughout the world and the security of nations, and undermines the possibility of mutually advantageous economic and cultural cooperation among countries.

The ideological struggle at the present-day stage has a number of peculiarities that pertain to its forms and content.

The present-day ideological conflict has extended to practically all branches of scientific knowledge and has been including within itself, to an increasingly active extent, questions of methodology.

There has been a constant expansion of such a front on the ideological conflict as the struggle for the consciousness of the nations in the developing countries.

The ideological struggle has been reaching an extremely acute situation in individual countries that are building socialism, especially during the period of their temporary difficulties and crises. This was graphically revealed

in Poland, where imperialism even now is attempting to resuscitate the counterrevolutionary forces.

Furthermore, various countries in the world today are coming into contact, as they never have before, with active "informational imperialism," and primarily that on the part of the United States. "Informational imperialism," relying upon the capabilities of the radio, motion pictures, television, the press, tourism, exhibitions, etc., manifests itself in various forms: in the providing of strictly purposeful and carefully prepared information, the concealment of important information -- putting it more briefly, by the broad dissemination of "disinformation." "Informational imperialism," which arose as a phenomenon aimed primarily against the developing countries, is now being used more and more with respect to other countries as well.

It is important to note that "informational imperialism" provides the opportunity for the bourgeois ideologists periodically to ignite a propaganda furor for some invented reason or with absolutely no reason at all, to bring up pseudoproblems, attempting to disorient world public opinion and deflect it from the acute and real questions of everyday life. They invariably attempt to impose on everyone and everything an abstract understanding of the concepts "freedom," "democracy," "humanitarianism," etc., depriving them of any real meaning. The U.S. information services rigidly prescribe, instead of concepts and terms that objectively reflect the new historic realities, the use of those which correspond to the imperialistic policy of the United States (for example, the use not of "the Soviet nation," but of "the peoples of Russia"; not "GDR [German Democratic Republic]," but "East Germany"; etc.).

The ideological saboteurs use "stolen slogans" and "stolen terminology," that is, they attempt to adapt for their own purposes the age-old, including democratic, traditions of nations, the symbols, names, and concepts that are near and dear to them.

For example, on 20 May 1985 the Reagan administration began to carry out a new ideological diversion against socialist Cuba. On that day an anti-Cuban radio station, Radio Marti, began broadcasting. It was the brainchild of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and the enemies of the Cuban nation who have become entrenched on the territory of the United States. The chief task of the radio station, which was created in the image and likeness of the infamous Radio Liberation and Radio Free Europe, is to disseminate "disinformation" about the policy of the Cuban government, to attempt to cast aspersion on Cuban everyday life, and to incite distrust and dissatisfaction among the Cubans. It is noteworthy that the radio station has been blasphemously given the name of Cuba's national hero -- Jose Marti, who fought against foreign dominance, for the country's freedom and independence. Essentially speaking, this is speculation with a name that is holy for the Cuban nation.

The ideological diversions in those countries of Asia and Africa where there is a large number of Moslem believers are carried out by making references to Islam, in the name of the "defense of Moslem traditions." It is typical that the antipopulist counterrevolutionary groupings that are waging a fierce and bloody struggle against democratic Afghanistan are invariably use, absolutely everywhere, the qualifier "Islamic."

Something that is typical of present-day anticommunism is the development of the process of unification of the bourgeois ideologists and revanchists of various shadings on a platform of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism. The ideas of the bourgeois and revanchistic figures frequently are so similar that it is difficult to distinguish them from one another. For example, the myths created by the bourgeois ideologists concerning the "Soviet military threat," the "violation of human rights in the socialist countries," and "the participation of the USSR in international terrorism" were snatched up by revanchists of various shadings. Trotskyite ideas concerning the alleged bureaucratic regeneration of the socialist countries are being used extremely broadly both by rightist revanchists and by bourgeois anti-Soviets.

In addition to a noticeable tendency toward the integration of anti-Marxist ideology, one observes in anticommunism the existence of definite currents. For example, one cannot fail to see that in the approach to a number of vitally important questions of international policy there exist differences, and at times rather serious ones, between such currents as conservatism, liberalism, and radicalism. There also arise new and as a rule eclectic directions that absorb individual elements of various ideological-political currents.

At the present time, when representatives of the conservative direction, and primarily its right wing, which is closely allied with neofascism and racism, are militantly and crudely propagandizing the ideas of frantic anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, the liberals frequently, in one form or another, are disassociating themselves from them, preferring to continue to struggle against Marxism-Leninism more frequently within the confines of what is outwardly respectable scientific polemics. Obviously, this position, which is a kind of tribute to the increased authority of Marxism-Leninism, does not mean their rejection of anticommunist views. A method that has become considerably widespread among them is the method of "objective" comparison, or, rather, the opposition of real socialism to the ideas of the founders of scientific communism. Its creators, who frequently don the toga of the defenders of genuine Marxism, and even emphasizing the justness of a number of its principles, assert that socialism in the USSR and other socialist countries is constructed not in accordance with Marx. They pose as being sympathetic to the population of the socialist countries, speak about the need to "improve" the socialist system, and to "correct" its shortcomings, and yet they insinuate the basic postulates of anticommunism. This tendency could be discerned with particular clarity during the period when the entire world was broadly celebrating two memorable dates -- the 165th anniversary of the birth and the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx.

In a number of publications prepared in connection with those events in the bourgeois countries by the "Marxologists" of the most varied coloration, including a collection that was published in the FRG [German Federal Republic -- West Germany] under the expressive title "Marx Today: Pro and Contra," in which the anti-Marxists of many Western European countries make statements, one and the same thesis is repeated: the basic principles of Marxism are not confirmed by historical practice⁷. True, for this purpose it is necessary for

them to distort both the historical practice itself, and the basic Marxist ideas.

Unlike the representatives of the conservative trend, many liberal figures attempt, in the area of international relations, to evaluate realistically the existing state of affairs, and make statements from pacifistic positions, in favor of international detente and the prevention of a thermonuclear war.

When speaking about various tendencies -- crude and sophisticated, frantic and liberal -- in modern anti-Marxism, it is important to emphasize that in the 1980's what moved onto the front line of the struggle against real socialism and Marxist-Leninist theory was neoconservatism. In a number of imperialistic countries, and primarily in the United States, the ruling circles of which are guided by the ideology of conservatism, there is constant propagandizing of unconcealed militant hatred of revolutionary theory and practice, hatred of social progress, and of the democratic, and especially the socialist, reforms in social life.

This antidemocratic and anticommunist direction is a retaliatory reaction by the most frantic circles in the imperialistic bourgeoisie to the successes achieved by real socialism, the communist movement, and the national-liberation struggle, to the democratic movements within the capitalist countries, and to the international detente that occurred in the 1970's.

Making wide use of sanctimonious moralizing and rhetoric, and demagogic slogans concerning the defense of the "free world" (that is, imperialism), the conservative circles are carrying out an unrestrained arms race, conducting an offensive against the rights of the workers, and organizing international robbery. Cynically trampling the norms that are generally recognized in modern international relations, they declare to be moral everything that they consider to be beneficial for themselves, up to and including the overthrowing of legal governments, a policy of state terrorism, and the waging of undeclared wars. It is precisely here that one finds today the chief reason for the aggravation of the situation in the centers of tension that already exist and that are newly developing in the Near and Middle East, in the south of Africa, in Central America, and in other regions.

The true face of the ultrarightist circles in the United States, which are so loudly in favor of the protection of morality and humanitarianism, is graphically revealed, for example, by the "special manual" that was prepared in 1983 by the CIA for the anti-Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary bands. This secret document is yet another proof that the U. S. government is carrying out a policy of state terrorism, which policy is invariably concealed by sanctimonious rhetoric. The "manuals" contain recommendations which are by no means moral ones for the Nicaraguan "contras." It is recommended to them, in particular, that they "destroy military and industrial objectives in Nicaragua, organize street riots and demonstrations, blackmail state and party leaders," and even take steps to "neutralize political opponents," or, in other words, to kill them.

The propaganda theses of the U.S. reactionary figures are copied by the rightist circles of other imperialistic countries. They invariably

substantiate their militant antidemocratism and anticommunism by the need to defend the achievements of civilization, and the "democratic values" of the Western world. Something that is typical in this regard is an interview that was given to the Parisian FIGARO MAGASIN in the summer of 1984 by the leader of the French neo-Nazi organization, the "National Front," Le Pen. He substantiated his political credo (the abrogation of the Yalta and Helsinki agreements, the "liberation" of the peoples of Eastern Europe, etc.) by stating that its "civilization -- a great and beautiful one" is threatened by...the "Asian nations."

The present-day ideological struggle cannot be understood without a consideration of the circumstance that bourgeois social studies are being mobilized to serve the capitalism that has had its day. Obviously, the relationship between bourgeois science and politics was and continues to be constant, but its degree and forms are different and depend upon the social and political needs of the predominant imperialistic circles. In recent years there has been a particular intensification of the uncerecermonious and tendentious politicalization of bourgeois social science, which has been expressed in the encouragement of those representatives of it who, waiving the interests of science, subordinate it to the selfish goals of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Herein lies the specifics of the present-day production of ideas and concepts that enter the sphere of propaganda from bourgeois social studies.

Bourgeois social thinking as a whole has a self-interestedness in the reinforcement of the existing capitalist relations and strives least of all to reveal the objective natural laws underlying the historic process. As long ago as the past century Marx remarked that the fatal hour had struck for free research by bourgeois scientists in the social sciences. "From now on," he wrote in the foreword to the second edition of "Das Kapital," "it is no longer a matter of whether a particular theorem is correct or incorrect, but whether it is useful or harmful for capital, whether it is convenient or inconvenient, whether it agrees or disagrees with police considerations. Unselfish research yields its place to skirmishes between hired hacks, and a disinterested scientific search is replaced by preconceived, obsequious apologetics"⁸. In our day the representatives of bourgeois social studies to a greater and greater degree ignore the scientific methods of research, and this makes impossible any objective understanding of the social processes. The changeover of many representatives of bourgeois social studies to the positions of frank apologetics of capitalism, the falsification of the essence of the worldwide revolutionary process, and slander against real socialism has predetermined their conversion into an obedient tool of anticommunist propaganda. Moreover, it is precisely in the laboratories of the so-called intellectual anti-Marxism that the typical anticommunist arguments and cliches are worked out, and then they are disseminated everywhere in popular form by the many-mouthed, many-channeled system of bourgeois mass information media. As a result one can observe today the close alliance among the bourgeois state apparatus, the organizations of big capital, the mass information media, and various "research" institutions. The meticulous execution of the social mandate of state-monopoly capitalism on the part of the imperialistically-minded representatives of social studies confirms their active participation in ideological subversion at various levels.

Anti-Marxism and anticommunism have become, in our time, total in the additional sense that it is probably difficult to name any substantial question in the theory and practice of scientific communism that has not been subjected to a tendentious treatment, and frequently to absolutely elementary falsification. Nevertheless there is complete justification for stating the following "natural law": bourgeois social sciences and propaganda are attempting first of all to discredit the most considerable ideological and sociopolitical achievements of scientific communism. This can be discerned in a number of the key areas of bourgeois propaganda.

For example, the triumphant march of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism across all the continents, and the colossal successes achieved by real socialism, which relies upon the theoretical basis of scientific communism, have evoked a frenzied attempt by anticommunism to shake loose the organic unity of Marxist-Leninist theory. For that purpose the single Marxist-Leninist teaching is subdivided into what are alleged to be incompatible and mutually contradictory conceptions, and thus its integrity and its succession of development are denied. Simultaneously ideas are insinuated concerning the "pluralism" of scientific socialism, and the rightness of the existence of its various alternatives, which are sometimes mutually exclusive. Leninism, which creatively develops the teaching of the founders of scientific communism and which constantly develops on its own base, is rejected as being allegedly one of the "regional currents in social thought," a current that has roots going deeply into non-Marxist, completely Russian, tradition, as applicable only under definite conditions to the remaining countries, and even that is at individual historical stages. The errors that have been made by the communists in certain countries during various periods are thus viewed not as deviations from Leninism, but as testimony to the alleged fallaciousness and limitation of Leninist teaching, which allegedly is no long capable of providing adequate answers to the very complicated questions of modern life.

The noted standardization of the ideological diversions that the class opponent has been carrying out at the present stage against Marxism-Leninism attests by no means to the easing up of the struggle in that sector. On the contrary, it is important invariably to reveal specifically what problems our ideological opponents are speculating on, and to provide a skillful and simultaneously time-responsive analysis of those problems from positions of Marxism-Leninism. It is precisely this kind of objective analysis that will make it possible successfully to reveal the social demagoguery of the bourgeois theoreticians, which is intended for the mass consumer. Obviously, all this presupposes the prompt scientific interpretation of real problems that are re-appearing.

The tactics used by the bourgeois ideologists in concentrating their attacks wherever scientific communism is demonstrating its historic rightness in the most visible manner can easily be discerned in other areas. The growth of the worldwide communist movement in the capitalist countries has caused among the anticommunists, including many diploma-carrying bourgeois social scientists, frenzied attacks on its principles and its unity. They broadly propagandize various concepts of the type of "Eurocommunism," which actually are a deviation from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and they oppose proletarian

internationalism with nationalistic slogans, and oppose the international unity of the countries in the socialist community with the idea of "national communism," which denies the general natural laws underlying the socialist revolution and the building of socialism.

As is well known, the peace-loving foreign policy of the countries in the socialist community exerts a tremendous effect upon the minds of a considerable part of the population of the earth, evoking in them sympathies toward socialism. However, the constructive initiatives and realistic proposals of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries which have been directed at bridling the arms race and preventing a nuclear war that is capable of destroying every living thing on the planet, directed at the use of outer space only for peaceful purposes, and at the welfare of mankind, and at the exclusion of the policy and practice of state terrorism as a method of conducting affairs with other countries and nations, have invariably come up against the resistance of the aggressive NATO bloc that is headed by the United States. Those whose interests contradict the ideas of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and the ideas of democracy and social progress are conducting an absurd policy of "peace from a position of strength," and are striving for military superiority over the USSR, hoping that the might of nuclear weapons can be used to stop the forward advance of history. And so the leaders of neoconservatism come forward in support of the imperialistic politicians. Ideologically substantiating the adventuristic actions of the aggressive ruling circles of the imperialistic countries, they undertake massive attacks on Soviet foreign policy, and attempt to discredit it by expatiating about the "expansion of socialism," and expand the struggle against the rebirth of international detente, declaring it to be a "one-way street" that is allegedly advantageous only for the USSR.

Such improper activity is explained by the fact that, for the opponents of the lessening of international tension, and especially the bosses of the military-industrial complex, the victory of the positive, constructive ideas of detente would mean a sharp reduction of their profits. It is only for the sake of that, not to mention anything else, that anticommunism needs the "substantiation" of the rejection of detente. For that purpose the myth has been circulated concerning the "Soviet military threat," which -- as in the past -- is being actively used as a scarecrow for the uninformed man in the street. The effect of militant neoconservative ideology upon public opinion should not be underestimated. Special research devoted to U.S. foreign policy in the 1980's has shown that the militant psychosis and the reliance upon military strength which were especially cultivated during the second half of the 1970's helped to bring the Reagan administration into power⁹.

The same tactics of using speculative ideological structures to discredit the very important achievements of socialism can be observed in the sphere of sociopolitical life. The development and deepening of democracy in the socialist countries, the involvement of the vast masses of the population in the administration of the affairs of society and government, and the deep revelation of the humanitarian potentials of the new society have evoked massive attacks by anticommunism on the political system of socialism. An analysis of both the spoken and written statements of the apologists of capitalism makes it possible to reveal the customary "logic" of their

structure, the mechanism of the standard bourgeois falsifications that are intended for the mass listener and reader. Socialism, which frees people from oppression, exploitation, and discrimination, and which creates the conditions for their free development, is accused by the ideologists of imperialism as suppressing and infringing upon the rights and dignities of the individual. But the persons who are depicted as the champions of freedom, democracy, and humanitarianism are the ruling figures in the historically doomed bourgeois system, a system that gives rise to militarism and criminal wars, fascism and colonialism. The bloody suppressors of democracy in Grenada and Chile, the rightist imperialistic circles that are literally terrorizing the nations of Nicaragua and El Salvador and waging "psychological warfare" against Cuba and Afghanistan, the Israel executioners of the Palestinian nation, the suppressors of the freedom of Ulster, the racists in Alabama and South Africa who are crudely trampling the independence of nations and the elementary standards of democracy, are the ones who shout most loudly about the "love of man," about the "respect" for and "defense" of the rights of man, and the rights of nations. Those who carried out repressions against striking miners and who have been persecuting peace fighters in England, and those who have been setting up massive law courts against members of progressive organizations in the German Federal Republic [West Germany], depriving people of their civil rights on the basis of the notorious "ban on occupations," are attempting to consign to oblivion the fact that the creation of a truly free and humanitarian society is possible only by means of a class struggle and the freeing of people from the oppression of capitalism, by means of the establishment and development of socialism.

A similar situation is observed in the bourgeois propaganda with regard to the national question. The flourishing and rapprochement of the nations in the USSR, the reinforcement of the friendship among the nations of the countries of the socialist community are also invariably interpreted in a false light by the bourgeois ideologists. In particular, the antagonisms between nationalities which are typical of capitalism are declared to be a "natural" phenomenon that is inherent in mankind in general, and thus also inherent in socialism. The Soviet nation -- a new social and international commonality of more than a hundred nations and nationalities -- is depicted as a "single" Russified nation, and the natural attraction of the non-Russian nationalities to the mastery of the Russian language -- the language of communication among the nationalities -- is depicted as "forced" Russification.

Those are only a few of the standard propaganda methods used by bourgeois ideology, which are stubbornly and persistently forced on people. Graphic testimony to this is provided by the importunate campaign that was unleashed a certain while ago by the U.S. administration -- the campaign of struggling for the protection of human rights in the socialist countries. That campaign was snatched up by all the reactionary forces throughout the world, which seemingly arose as though on command and, using standard methods, began without any proof but in stentorian tones to defame the principles of socialist democracy, simultaneously idealizing the procedures prevailing in the capitalist countries.

The same method was used to realize another "idea" that was developed at the "intellectual" centers of modern imperialism -- the "struggle against

terrorism." The thought processes of the bourgeois apologists are rather clumsy: national-liberation, revolutionary-democratic movements directed against dictatorial and other antipopulist regimes are represented by them as manifestations of terrorism. Inasmuch as those movements are viewed by Marxism-Leninism as progressive, historically inevitable phenomena and are supported by the countries in the socialist community, it is not difficult to "detect" the source of terrorism. And so, with a single stroke the apologists of imperialism "settle the score" both with the national-liberation movement and with the fundamental position of the countries in the socialist community.

This same "argumentation" is used to justify the interference of the United States in the affairs of the developing countries with the purpose of implanting there by any means, up to and including the application of armed force, a system that is suitable for Washington. Examples are the intervention in Lebanon and Grenada.

Thus, one can conclude: bourgeois propaganda, relying upon the corresponding "search" being conducted by the bourgeois social scientists, uses the big lie in its activity. This is not a new tactic for imperialism. We might recall that at one time it was also used by the infamous Goebbels propaganda machine. And this is yet another proof of the ideological-theoretical impotence of bourgeois ideology, which is incapable of developing any new ideas of any appreciable scope that could evoke the interests of the masses.

In all instances the central target of the anticommunist propaganda that is intended for the USSR and the other socialist countries is the man of the new society, and his political convictions. The new type of individual that has formed, an individual that is deeply devoted to Marxist-Leninist ideals and to the socialist system, and that acts aggressively in the name of communism, causes unrest most of all among the ideologists of imperialism, who are well aware that, against the firm communist convictions of the Soviet man, any of their machinations are in vain and are doomed to failure. The need to build up the efforts in the ideological struggle is being discussed by the governments and parliaments of the imperialistic countries. For example, in December 1982, in the course of a session of the International Relations Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, the hope was expressed that the "buildup of the ideological counteroffensive against the Reds" would provide "the best hope in the struggle against communism." "A very important requirement at such time is that the United States acts in the most serious manner in the struggle for the souls of people in every country of the world, including the USSR..."¹⁰.

The present increase in the efforts carried out by the bourgeois ideologists is one of the reasons for the special importance of the class tempering of the workers and the political indoctrination of Soviet citizens, and for the uncompromising struggle against any manifestations of antisocialist principles and views.

At the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee the need for the substantial acceleration of the socioeconomic development of Soviet society was raised as a chief task for our time. That need is dictated both by the domestic conditions and by the international situation¹¹. A pledge of the

successful realization of this complicated problem is the vital creativity of the nation and every working person, its labor and political participation, which is aimed at the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. The ideological factors have been called upon to play an important role here.

Recent party documents have advanced tasks of intensifying the political indoctrination of the masses, the importance of which indoctrination has been growing at an unprecedented rate in the modern era of colossal social shifts the acceleration of the historical process, accompanied by an intensified ideological struggle.

The party directs its members' attention to the fact that one cannot be neutral in the face of the increasingly stronger attacks upon the consciousness and psychology of Soviet citizens. Political indoctrination is a problem of the complete arming of the broad masses with scientific theory and with communist conviction; it has been called upon to strengthen the unit of party and nation, to increase the political participation of the workers, and to develop their creative energy.

Political indoctrination is a complicated process which presupposes both the consistent mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory and the well-argued dethroning of all forms of bourgeois ideology, the demonstration of the misanthropic essence of imperialism, the inability of bourgeois society to eliminate the social cancers, national and racial injustice, and its other organic flaws, as well as presupposing active participation in socialist construction. The increase in the effectiveness of ideological-indoctrinational work would be inconceivable without the generalization and broad use of the experience of the party organizations, without reliance upon scientific recommendations. Practical life shows us that successes in communist indoctrination occur wherever the principles of indoctrination are realized rigorously and in full measure, wherever use is made of the entire complex of means and methods that have been developed by the party, verified in its many years of practice, and generalized in documents. Obviously, their active, creative use today is impossible without the consideration of the considerably higher level of education of Soviet citizens and their demands.

Under the present-day conditions the party has advanced the task of improving the content of the mass political-indoctrinational work in order -- by eradicating pontification, high-sounding words, and formalism, and the gap between word and deed -- to give it greater practical directedness. The higher goal consists in achieving a state in which every individual has a thorough understanding of the party's policy, knows how to apply in the practical situation the knowledge that has been acquired, and has a clear idea of his civic duty, and has actually fulfilled that duty, in conformity with the requirements of the present-day stage in the development of society.

"Ideological-political indoctrination in all its forms," it was emphasized at the April 1985 Plenum of the Central Committee, "must be coordinated to the maximum extent with the chief task of our day -- the acceleration of our country's socioeconomic development. This cannot be achieved without taking into complete consideration the total set of conditions pertaining to domestic life and the specifics of the international situation"¹².

High modern requirements such as this can be realized by means of the unity of ideological-political, labor, and moral indoctrination, striving at such time for a systematic approach in the indoctrinational process. Sudden spurts and hurry-up campaigns are counterindicated in the serious and arduous job of providing the political indoctrination of the new man. Positive results are achieved wherever provision is made for a comprehensive approach in organizing and conducting political-indoctrinational work among our country's population. Unfortunately, one sometimes encounters the erroneous idea to the effect that, by virtue of the specifics of political indoctrination, it must be the domain of specially appointed persons. Of course, as in any other branch of social activity, the ideological-political indoctrination of the masses presupposes that a person has mastered special knowledge -- political, pedagogical, psychological, etc. But it is also true that the indoctrinational process is influenced by the entire environment, by all the components of the microclimate in which people live and work. The efficient organization of production; the guaranteeing of its precise rhythm; the correct combination of material and psychological incentives; a healthy situation in the labor collective that contributes to increasing the discipline and the responsibility borne by every individual for the job assigned to him; the prompt elimination of any negative phenomena and actions that contradict the principles and spirit of socialism; the struggle against any types of nonlabor income; the consistent carrying out of the principle that everyone is equal under the law and under the norms of our morality; publicity and the broad participation of the masses in the resolution of the vitally important questions of labor activity, everyday life, and the administration of the affairs of society and the state, and in the organization of control -- all these things contribute to the formation of people who are devoted to our way of life. In the decree of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee it was emphasized, with complete justification, that the formation of the awareness of Communists and all the other members of our socialist society is a task not only for the ideological workers. It is a job for the entire party.

The CPSU Central Committee, in a number of documents that were recently enacted, has directed attention to the need for making complete use of the political-indoctrinational role of the labor collectives. It is obvious that in the everyday life of the labor collective one sees the practical embodiment of that very important principle of socialist democracy -- the participation of the workers in the administration of social and production affairs. It is precisely here, by using the knowledge and authority of the collective and the senior comrades, the advanced traditions of the Soviet working class, and the experience of the creative work performed by production innovators, that one can more effectively indoctrinate a communist attitude toward labor, and can strive to develop in each individual a high level of labor and political participation, and to form their convictions as conscientious fighters for communism. Special responsibility in the ideological-political indoctrination is borne by the managerial workers who, by their example, their creative

attitude toward the job at hand, and their high moral authority, can and must promote the political indoctrination of the members of the collective.

At the present time it is no longer sufficient, as was noted at the April 1985 Plenum of the Central Committee, to have the simple willingness to execute orders, although even that is sometimes not always sufficiently present. There has been a greater and greater increase in the importance of such on-the-job qualities as competency, a sense of the new, initiative, the ability not to lose sight of the political meaning of one's activity. The party reminds us once again that the chief gauge of the ideological integrity and competency of cadres is not assertions and promises, but, rather, real accomplishments, practical results, responsibility and adherence to principles, attention shown to people, and personal modesty.

Under the present-day conditions of the aggravation of the international situation, the aggressive forces of imperialism, waging frenzied attacks on socialism, are counting on the political naivete of young people. It is not by accident that most of the regular features of Voice of America in Russian are aimed at young people. Much time is also devoted to the problems of youth by other hostile propaganda centers. All this also necessitates the increasing of the demands on the ideological-political indoctrination of youth, and on the formation of its Marxist-Leninist political philosophy, pride in one's country, the striving to contribute one's labor to aid in its flourishing, and feelings of responsibility, organizational spirit, and discipline.

In the Basic Directions in the Reform of the General Educational and Vocational School System it is stated that "in the growth of the ideological spirit and the educational and vocational training of the new generations of Soviet citizens the party sees an important prerequisite for the deepening of socialist democracy, the increasingly broad and effective participation of the masses in the administration of production and of state and social affairs"¹³. The party is constantly concerned about the upcoming generation, the shoulders of which, within the next few decades, will bear the responsibility for the fates of society.

The formation of the political convictions of young people has its own specific nature. Young people, reacting actively to new phenomena in social practice, want to carry out their independent analysis of the large social and political problems. Taking the attitude of a mentor or protector toward the upcoming generation can cause outbursts of a definite kind of negativism.

Scientists who are studying the problems of social psychology have recently been devoting a large amount of attention, completely reasonably, to the organic correlation of the vocational knowledge, general cultural level, and political views of young people. And the situation here cannot be limited simply to ascertaining the peculiarities of the age psychology of the young people (observations, for example, indicate that young people gravitate toward active forms of political training: question and answer nights, debates, etc.); it is necessary to research the ways to form social psychology, the most desirable forms of issuing information, methods of exerting sociopsychological influence, etc. It is also important, as was indicated at

the June 1983 Plenum of the Central Committee, to devote "constant attention to all social groups and age categories of youth -- worker and kolkhoz, student and army -- and to take their peculiarities into complete consideration"¹⁴. The supplementing of the life of the Komsomol organizations with real social content, the eradication of manifestations of excessive organization or ostentatiousness, the bold involvement of young people into social and political activity, the fulfillment of responsible assignments held them more quickly and more consciously to determine their place in socialist construction and to become a purposeful and active participant in it. Raising young people who are ready for labor and defense, imbuing in them a spirit of love for their beloved army and faithfulness to their military duty, constitute, as has been emphasized in party documents, our universal concern.

For the political enlightenment of the masses and the increase in the effectiveness of the offensive against bourgeois ideology, it is difficult to overestimate the importance of the active propagandizing of communist ideals, or the ability convincingly, understandably, and clearly to bring to hundreds of millions of people the truth about socialist society, about its colossal social potentials, its humanitarian nature, and its truly democratic meaning. Despite the class-transcending understanding of democracy that is being forced on us, socialist democracy precludes its abstract treatment. It has been and continues to be, as was re-emphasized at the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, an instrument for the development of the economy, the increase in a person's rate of activity, and the communist indoctrination of the masses.

The sources of the ideological conviction and high political awareness of Soviet citizens are the historic rightness of our cause, the revolutionary-transformational nature of Marxist-Leninist theory, and the advantages of the socialist system. In M. S. Gorbachev's report, "Immortal Exploit of the Soviet Nation," which was devoted to the fortieth anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War, he gave an extremely broad presentation of the basic features of Soviet society today. It was precisely socialism that gave birth to the new man, the capable worker, and fully equal citizen, who has been rid of social pessimism and lack of conviction about tomorrow, a person who has been indoctrinated in the spirit of socialist collectivism, a person aware of his place and his active role in society, in the collective, in the system of socialist self-government. It is precisely socialism that has been consistently raising the standard of living of the nation, creating a fundamentally new way of life, a way of life that has embodied the best ideals of mankind and that develops in people feelings of their human dignity, social duty, and comradely mutual aid. It was precisely the socialist system that has eliminated the class antagonism and the exploitation of man by man, and has confirmed the unity of all classes and social groups of society, the goal of which is the increasingly complete satisfaction of the workers' material and cultural needs. It was precisely socialism that has resurrected the nations that were suppressed by capitalism, and has been overcoming nationalistic prejudices, guaranteeing the truly equal rights and the complete development of all nations and nationalities, and consolidating them on the basis of the indissoluble friendship and cooperation in the joint struggle for advanced social ideals. Finally, it has been precisely the peace-loving Leninist foreign-policy course and the peace initiatives of the Soviet state

which have been invariably directed toward the bridling of the warmongers and the arms race, and toward achieving a fundamental improvement in international relations. The preservation of peace on earth is a key problem in the foreign policy of the countries in the socialist community¹⁵.

Obviously, the propagandizing of the great successes and humanitarian potentials of socialism also presupposes the revealing of the ways to overcome the difficulties arising in everyday life. It is important to make completely clear to the broad masses that socialism is being built not in airless space, that we have to overcome the fiercest counteraction by the external reactionary forces, and have to overcome the weight of the many centuries of survivals, prejudices, and conservative and antisocial habits. Sometimes, in the complicated job of creating a new society, miscalculations and errors occur. In a word, for various reasons, it is not possible to complete everything in the desired forms, within the proposed deadlines, or with the expected results. However, none of this can lessen the importance of the socially justified achievements of the new society. The party feels that a very important task today is to put up a solid road block to any deviations from socialist principles, to any kind of negative phenomena, cutting off all sources of nonlabor income, with the simultaneous increasing of the role played by material and psychological incentives. This contributes to the more effective resolution of important socioeconomic, political, and ideological-indoctrinational tasks, to the profound self-interestedness of millions of workers in the attainment of the goals that have been set, and to the further increasing of their consciousness and organizational spirit.

A factor of great importance for the complete carrying out of the principle of social justice is the improvement of the work dealing with people's critical comments and suggestions, which are expressed at meetings and in letters and statements that are sent to official agencies. Their objective discussion, the taking of effective steps to eradicate the shortcomings, and the regular informing of the workers concerning the steps that have been taken, constitute the pledge of the increase in people's social confidence and optimism.

The regular and aggressive revelation of the theses of bourgeois propaganda, the correct and prompt explanation, from positions of Communist Party principle, of the questions that vitally touch the minds and hearts of our contemporaries are the necessary conditions for the effectiveness of the struggle against anti-Marxist ideology, and for raising the level of the political awareness of the masses. Because a political aware person invariably compares his acts and behavior with the fundamental interests of the nation, with the tasks of socialist and communist construction, evaluates from class positions the social phenomena and processes, and with profound optimism and an inner political charge overcomes any difficulties and provides a decisive rebuff to all kinds of ideological subversion by the class opponent and to opportunistic and revanchistic attacks upon real socialism.

The indoctrination of political vigilance, high civic duty, socialist patriotism, and the pride that the workers of our country have for its socialist system, its historic advantages, and its obvious social and scientific-technical achievements must be organically combined with irreconcilability to any miscalculations or shortcomings, to any acts that are

alien to the norms of socialist communal life or Soviet legality. It is necessary to take into consideration the fact that, in addition to the material losses incurred by our society as a result of the violation of public order, these phenomena cause ideological harm and are detrimental to the norms and traditions of the socialist way of life.

In the active, aggressive propagandizing of our views, time-responsiveness and the promptness of statements are also of no small importance. In the age of the scientific-technical revolution and the development of the technical means of mass propaganda, the prompt and complete unmasking of any of the tactical tricks of bourgeois propaganda, the scientifically substantiated explanation of the questions that are of interest to people are all the more necessary in that any delay creates the possibility that false interpretations of them will be disseminated.

It would be incorrect to assume that in our society everything is being properly used to increase the effectiveness of the political indoctrination of the masses under present-day conditions. In this area there still exists quite a bit of work -- work in various spheres. We have in mind not only the improvement of the activity of the mass information media, the scientific and enlightenment institutions, and the creative unions of literary and artistic workers. Unfortunately, there are still instances when time-tested means of political indoctrination are consigned to oblivion. That has been the fate of a form that used to be popular -- political satire on the performing stage, which used to be distinguished by a high level of acuity, time-responsiveness, and its influence upon the minds of a broad audience.

I would also like to emphasize especially the importance in the political indoctrination of people that is attached to publicity in the struggle against negative phenomena and various kinds of shortcomings. The opinion to the effect that this kind of publicity is undesirable inasmuch as it can be used by our ideological opponent would seem to be unsubstantiated. The crux of the problem lies elsewhere. It is important for the criticism of the shady sides of our everyday life to be constructive, to be built upon a serious analysis of the reasons for their existence, so that one can propose well-substantiated steps necessary to eradicate them and so that the audience will be informed about the rate and results of the elimination of the shortcomings and about the factors that have been restraining their elimination.

The basic task of the political indoctrination of the masses is to promote the formation of a person in whom devotion to socialism is converted into a deeply aware conviction, in which it concentrates his energy, and inspires him to make a real labor contribution to the creation of the new society. Therefore, under the present-day conditions, the entire multifaceted political-indoctrinational work of the party organizations has been called upon -- while providing a well-argued dethroning of bourgeois propaganda, explaining socialist ideals, and convincing the masses on the basis of their own practical experience of the correctness of the party policy -- to strive for the aggressive and purposeful activity of the workers in implementing the strategy that has been developed by the CPSU for improving all aspects of the life of our society, a strategy that is dictated by the new conditions of socialist construction: the changeover of the national economy to a system of

intensive development; and the need for the energetic and broad extension of scientific-technical progress and the acceleration of our Motherland's socioeconomic development. The resolution of these tasks presupposes the buildup of efforts in the sphere of ideological-indoctrinational work so that the revolutionary ideology and morality of the working class, its collectivistic psychology, its interests and views determine the spiritual outlook of all the Soviet citizens -- the pledge of their aware and active refusal to accept any of the sophisticated theses of imperialistic propaganda.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 40, p 244.
2. "Sovershenstvovaniye razvitogo sotsializma i ideologicheskaya rabota partii v svete resheniy iyunskogo (1983) Plenuma TsK KPSS. Materialy Vsesoyuznoy nauchno-prakticheskoy konferentsii. Moskva, 10--11 dekabrya 1984 g." [The Improvement of Developed Socialism and the Party's Ideological Work in the Light of the Decisions of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee: Materials of the All-Union Conference of Scientific Practice. Moscow, 10-11 December 1984], Moscow, 1985, p 35.
3. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 41, p 406.
4. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS, 23 aprelya 1985 goda" [Materials of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 23 April 1985], Moscow, 1985, p 24.
5. Bruckberger, R. E., "Le capitalisme: mais c'est la vie!", Paris, 1983, p 27.
6. "Plenum Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS, 14--15 iyunya 1983 goda [Stenograficheskiy otchet" [Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 14-15 June 1983], Moscow, 1983, p 189.
7. See, for example, the introduction and sections devoted to real socialism in the collection "Marx heute. Pro und contra," Hamburg, 1983.
8. Marks [Marx], K. and Engels, F., "Soch." [Works], Vol 23, p 17.
9. See: Oye, K. A., Lieber, R. Y., Rothchild, D., "Eagle Defiant," Boston-Toronto, 1983.
10. "United States-Soviet Relations, 1982," Washington, 1983, p 38.
11. See: "Materialy Plenuma Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS, 23 aprelya 1985 goda", p 8.
12. Ibid., p 21.
13. "O reforme obshcheobrazovatelnoy i professionalnoy shkoly" [The Reform of the General-Educational and Vocational School System], Moscow, 1984, p 40.

14. "Plenum Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS, 14-15 iyunya 1983 goda. Stenograficheskiy otchet", p 199.

15. See: "Sorokaletiyе Pobedy sovetskogo naroda v Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyne. Dokumenty i materialy" [Fortieth Anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet Nation in the Great Patriotic War: Documents and Materials], Moscow, 1985, pp 18-20.

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SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CMEA AFFAIRS

CMEA PROGRAM FOR SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL PROGRESS TO YEAR 2000

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[Text] The Comprehensive Programme of the Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA member-countries until the year 2000 has been drawn up in pursuance of the decisions of the CMEA Economic Summit of 1984 and the 38th (Special) CMEA Session, and adopted by the 41st (Special) CMEA Session.

Section I

Purposes, Priorities, Principles

1. Under the leadership of their Communist and Workers' Parties, the peoples of the CMEA member-countries, have made great strides in building socialism and Communism and in advancing their economies, science and technology by their dedicated constructive labour effort, by each country mustering up its resources, and extending and expanding all-round mutual cooperation and socialist economic integration. They have reached a new, higher stage of their development and cooperation in every area of public life.

The CMEA member-countries consider that to intensify production by promoting faster scientific and technical progress is basic to resolving the tasks before them, which can be done, however, only in the context of peace. They are for the gains of the modern scientific and technological revolution to be put at the service of peace.

Proceeding from the foregoing, the CMEA member-countries have agreed on concerted action to promote the development and exploitation of fundamentally new types of machinery and technology through a concentrated effort and organisation of close integrated cooperation with the CMEA framework in five major directions:

- computerisation of their national economies;
- comprehensive automation;
- nuclear power;
- new types of material and technologies of their production and processing;
- biotechnology.

These directions, lying as they do at the bedrock of modern revolutionary advance in science, technology and production, provide the groundwork for the CMEA member-countries to build on in making and implementing their concerted scientific and technological policies in areas of mutual interest, relating to economic development and cooperation, and for the countries that would want to do so--also their common scientific and technological policies.

To seal this accord and arrange for joint activities to enforce it, Comprehensive Programme of the Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Member-Countries to the Year 2000 (hereinafter referred to as Programme) has been drawn up on the basis of national programmes.

2. By launching this Programme, the CMEA member-countries are setting themselves a truly revolutionary objective of attaining the highest-ever level of achievement in science, technology and production in the major directions of scientific and technological progress. The realisation of this objective will lead to the CMEA member-countries' at least doubling the productivity of social labour, generally, by the year 2000, and greatly reducing the rate of consumption of energy and raw materials per unit of national revenues. In consequence, the positions of socialism in its peaceful competition with capitalism will be materially strengthened.

While marshalling their resources to the utmost, the CMEA member-countries will go on developing and using their industrial, scientific and technological potential on the basis of mutual cooperation with an ever growing measure of coordination. The Socialist relations of production in the CMEA member-countries, based on the public ownership of the means of production, economic planning in the interest of working people, and on the principles of friendship and mutual assistance, objectively give full scope for the acceleration of scientific and technological progress. The human factor, the decisive factor of all change, will be made substantially more active. The actual fusion of the advantages of socialism with the advances of the modern scientific and technological revolution is creating the conditions for everyone's greater fulfillment, for better material and mental production and for the continued improvement of the socialist way of life.

Under Socialism, unlike capitalism, the wide-scale phasing in of new generations of high-performance machinery and technology does not bring in its train any exploitation of man by man, or competition, or unemployment, or skill downgrading, or privation for working masses, or social and ethnic inequality.

3. By organising cooperation in the major areas of the development of science, machinery and technology, the CMEA member-countries are striving, first and foremost, to resolve the problems of accelerating social and economic progress, raising the well-being and the quality of life of their citizens, and, notably, essentially improving the working and living conditions, promoting cultural progress, education and health services, and fuller supply of the public demand.

4. The revolutionary development of science and technology in the countries of the socialist community will contribute towards accelerating the steady

levelling of their economic development standards, enhancing the efficiency of scientific, technological and economic assistance from the European CMEA countries to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Cuba and the Mongolian People's Republic.

5. The present Programme ultimately responds to the basic interests of all humanity because it means expanding the areas of wide-ranging and mutually beneficial cooperation with socialist countries outside the CMEA, with developing countries and other nations of the world.

The CMEA member-countries consider it necessary to keep on consistently promoting scientific and technological cooperation with all other socialist countries outside the CMEA.

They will continue to lend scientific and technological assistance to the developing nations in advancing their national economies and consolidating their economic independence.

The CMEA member-countries are prepared to coordinate their activities, on equal terms and on a mutually acceptable basis, in carrying out the present Programme, with other countries that may be interested, notably within the framework of the programmes they adopt for international scientific and technological cooperation, which are humane, committed to peace and consistent with the purposes of the United Nations organisation.

They are convinced that international scientific and technological cooperation must be made global, and they reaffirm their readiness to make a substantive contribution towards working out and implementing a common global programme in this field.

6. Parallel with implementing the programme and thereby bolstering their scientific and technical potential, economic security and technical and economic independence, the CMEA member-states intend to take an active part in the global division of labour and scientific and technical cooperation, too. They resolutely reject the policy of bans and discrimination in the field of science and technology, which is pursued by the imperialist circles in the United States of America and in some other capitalist countries. Such a policy causes damage to international economic relations in general and contradicts the nature of scientific and technical progress which has developed a global scope.

The CMEA member-states resolutely campaign for the normalization of international relations in the field of economics, science and technology, for the removal of any artificial barriers and restrictions, for confidence-building measures in international economic relations, for the elimination of all forms and variants of economic aggression, notably in the field of technology, for the restructuring of the whole system of international economic, scientific and technical relations on a just and democratic basis, for the establishment of a new international economic order and for the eradication of underdevelopment as a poignang global problem.

7. The programme pursues humane, peaceful goals and is not aimed against the interests of any nation or state.

Today, more than ever before, advances of science, engineering and technology need public regulation and control. The CMEA member-states emphasize the point that the arms race, and especially the nuclear arms race, militarization of space and the attempts to exploit for military purposes the latest breakthroughs in physics, chemistry and biology have particularly dire and unpredictable consequences for the mankind on the whole and every individual and can lead to the annihilation of the civilization and even of life itself on the planet.

That is why the CMEA member-states strongly campaign for the prevention of an arms race in space and for its termination on the Earth, for disarmament and for the broadest possible international cooperation for the sake of exclusively peaceful use of the revolutionary advances in science, engineering and technology.

The CMEA member-states find it necessary that the accomplishments of the modern scientific and technical revolution should be used faster and more effectively for the benefit of all nations and help root out such ugly phenomena still persisting in today's world as famine, diseases, poverty and illiteracy.

8. The Programme will be implemented on the basis of the principles sealed in the CMEA Charter, in the Comprehensive Programme for Further Extension and Improvement of Co-operation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration, in the documents of the CMEA economic summit, and also in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation.

9. The Programme which constitutes a system of inter-related agreements and treaties will be a foundation for scientific and technical cooperation within the framework of CMEA and one of the key organizing factors in continued intensification and advancement of cooperation and socialist economic integration. It will promote wide-spread development of specialization and cooperation in the field of science, technology and production and will speed up the growth of foreign trade.

10. The CMEA member-states will give due account in their relevant documents to their commitments concerning the implementation of the Programme and will include these commitments in their socio-economic development plans. In implementing the Programme, they will proceed from the national interests and from the common interests of the world socialist system, and from the tasks of safeguarding peace and international security.

Section II

Advanced Tasks of Scientific and Technical Progress

The Programme which has a comprehensive character outlines specific joint ways of concentrating the efforts and resources of the CMEA member-states on the crucial sectors whose accelerated development is a decisive factor in the intensification of the entire economy, in the attainment of maximum results along the whole front of scientific and technical progress, and in the transition to the new, 21st-century technological era.

Acceleration of scientific and technical progress of the CMEA member-states will be primarily based on fast development of the five priority directions in the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. Now, within all these priority directions, there are specific advanced tasks of scientific and technical progress whose accomplishment is, in fact, the main objective of the Programme.

These advanced tasks are set on the basis of generalization of both CMEA's own and international experience, as well as on the basis of the results of joint scientific and technical forecasting. In view of the fast and often unexpected character of the development of modern science, engineering and technology, the parameters projected now may be specified in the course of the accomplishment of the Programme.

The projected goals of scientific and technical progress will be attained by the CMEA member-states mostly through their own coordinated efforts. For this they have and can create all the necessary preconditions, using outstanding advances of fundamental science--given the generally high standard of its development, existing samples of many types of modern equipment and technology and ample experience both in the development of unique appliance and in the mass production of high-technology items on the basis of a common technological policy. Within a short period, the CMEA states have set up and developed the production of modern computer facilities, including an integrated system of computers and elements for them, the entire range of equipment for atomic power stations and space technology for the joint use of space for peaceful purposes. Today, the CMEA countries are capable of tackling tasks of any complexity in all the priority directions of scientific and technical progress.

To ensure a theoretical back-up in all these directions special measures will be taken to promote and intensify cooperation in the field of fundamental research.

1. Electronization of the National Economy

The principal task of cooperation among the fraternal states in this particular field is extensive supply of all spheres of production and public life with the more advanced electronic and computer systems which are of paramount importance of dramatic progress in labour productivity, in resources, energy and materials saving, in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress

in the national economy, in drastic reduction of the terms of scientific investigations and in the fundamental restructuring of the non-productive sphere.

The primary tasks in the attainment of this goal include the development of:

--new-generation super-computers with an operating speed of more than ten billion operations per second and with the use of the principles of artificial intellect and of the advanced methods of man's communication with the computer in tackling particularly complicated scientific tasks, in running the economy and in creating data banks;

--mass-use computer systems and advanced-software personal computers for extensive use in the sectors of the national economy and in research and design organizations, for the computerization of education and for domestic application;

--a unified system of digital information transmission ensuring a dramatic rise in the transmissive capacity and reliability of communication systems and unification of the technical means in use;

--high-speed fibre-optical communication facilities to be used in the national systems of the CMEA member-states;

--new-generation satellite communication and telecasting systems ensuring long-range transmission of radio broadcasts and television programmes, as well as high-quality digital television and stereophonic radio broadcasting, and digital video- and sound recording systems;

--a wide range of instruments, sensors and meters on the basis of the latest advances in microelectronics for non-destructive testing of machine parts and construction elements, for the measurement of the composition and structure of matter and materials, for automated environmental control and for the accelerated conduct of research and investigations helping step up production efficiency and product quality and reliability.

--a unified and integrated system of electronic parts and items--first of all, of new-generation large, super-fast, highly-miniaturized and reliable integrated circuits based on the use of new materials and new physical principles--and of specialized technological equipment for their production.

It is expected that materialization of the Programme will help secure a considerable rise in the average annual rates of growth of the national income and a labour productivity in all spheres, including industry, construction, agriculture, transport, health service, education, trade and services and a 33 to 50 percent drop in the rates of materials and energy consumption per unit of output. The development of communication equipment and computer technology will secure considerable savings of capital investments in production, and a reduction in production costs and in the number of managerial personnel.

In the field of research and design work the use of computer data systems will help cut two to three times the terms of the development and realization of research programmes and engineering and technical projects with a simultaneous rise in the quality and a considerable reduction in the costs of their accomplishment.

This will also boost the efficiency of educational processes, of personnel training and retraining, and of medical and utility services. Electronic equipment will find broad application in production and everyday life, will relieve a considerable share of the population of manual and other non-creative work, and will improve social conditions for the working masses in the CMEA countries.

2. Comprehensive Automation

The prime aim of cooperation of the CMEA member-countries in this field lies in the large-scale comprehensive automation of the sectors of the national economy, including the development and introduction of flexible automated production units, rotor-conveyer lines, industrial robots, automated equipment with built-in control systems, precision equipment, high-precision measuring equipment, automated means of control over manufacturing methods and production equipment (precision equipment in particular), ensurance of their proper reliability, and extensive use of integrated systems.

To attain this aim, the task is being set of developing first of all:

--quickly readjustable and flexible production systems for different purposes, as well as fully automated departments and plants;

--systems for automated designing and technological preparation of production, automation and acceleration of research and experiments, automated systems of control over production and manufacturing methods, and integrated control systems;

--industrial robots and manipulators for the sectors of the national economy, including robots and manipulators with artificial eyesight, which apprehend vocal commands and are programmed and quickly adjustable to changing working conditions;

--automated production processes for manufacturing superhigh-precision equipment and instruments;

--unified accessories: mechanical, hydraulic, pneumatic, electrical-engineering, electronic and other components; a number of top-standard control and diagnosing devices for automated machines and production equipment; active-control means; durable instruments and rigging, and systems of quality control;

--unified rows of technological means of automation of lifting-and-conveying, cargo handling and conveying-and-storing work, waste-utilization means, and sensors to be used for various purposes in industrial robots and flexible production modules.

By fulfilling the Programme it is planned to reduce the expenditures on designing and manufacturing products by approximately 1.5 times, to ensure wide interchangeability of the units and modules manufactured in the CMEA member-countries, and to halve the labour inputs involved in their production; to boost labour productivity in the field of lifting-and-conveying, cargo handling and conveying-and-storing work by at least 4 times.

The development and large-scale use of the systems for automated designing and control of manufacturing methods and production will make it possible to improve the quality of planning, accounting, control and organisation of production and to reduce the duration of its technological preparation by 1.5-2 times.

The development of flexible automated production systems and their wide introduction in the national economies of the CMEA member-countries will considerably improve production efficiency and make it possible to reduce the time and expenditures involved in the mastering of new types of products by 1.5-2 times, to boost labour productivity by 2-5 times and to bring shift-utilisation ratio of equipment to 2.8, to cut the numerical strength of the attending personnel, and to create conditions for creative and attractive labour.

The attainment of these and some other objectives of the priority field "Comprehensive Automation" will have deep influence on all spheres of society's life and activity, will result in a cardinal rise of labour productivity in the basic sectors of the national economy, first of all in machine-building, and of the reliability, quality and competitiveness of the products manufactured, and in an increase in capital productivity, will drastically reduce manual and low-skilled labour, and will substantially improve the general technological standards and efficiency of production.

3. Accelerated Development of Atomic Power Industry

The prime aim of the fraternal countries' cooperation in this field lies in the profound qualitative restructuring of the power industries of the CMEA member-countries, in the improvement of the efficiency and dependability of electricity supply, in the reduction of the use of organic fuel, in better heat supply for towns, in protection of the environment and in rational use of energy.

To ensure the attainment of this aim, the task is set to ensure through joint effort:

--refinement and further construction of atomic power plants with the VVER-440 and VVER-1000 water-moderated reactors with enhanced technological and economic efficiency, a high degree of standardisation and unification of equipment and qualitatively new highly-dependable systems for control and automation of manufacturing methods;

--better utilization of natural gas and development of new effective methods and means of treatment, transportation and burial of radioactive waste and of

safe disposal of the atomic power-generating installations whose service time is over;

--development of atomic thermal power plants for communal and industrial heat and electricity supply with the conveyance of heat over long distances;

--development of equipment for fast-neutron reactors reproducing nuclear fuel in the process of their operation, as well as multipurpose high-temperature nuclear power-production installations, and conducting of research to create the scientific basis for a new source of energy-controlled thermonuclear fusion.

The implementation of the Programme will resolve to a considerable extent the problem of building up the power-generating potential of the CMEA member-countries, reduce the capital investments in the fuel-producing industries, free up sizeable amounts of organic fuels, which are in short supply, for satisfying other needs, expand the resource base of the nuclear power industry, create the foundation for organising new, large-tonnage production units, improve the fuel-efficiency, reliability and safety of atomic power plants, and prepare important prerequisites for the creation of a virtually inexhaustible source of energy on the basis of controlled thermonuclear reaction.

4. New Materials and Technologies

The chief goal of cooperation between CMEA member-states in this field is to promote the use in the national economy, and in industry above all, of new materials which, as distinguished from conventional ones, have some valuable properties by being corrosion-, radiation-, heat- and wear-resistant, etc., and also to develop industrial technologies for their production and treatment and thereby accelerate the progress of key engineering branches and sectors of the national economy, making the CMEA products more competitive in the world market.

It has been admitted that, while efficiently using primary and secondary raw materials, major efforts in this field must be focussed on developing and promoting new technologies and upgrading the existing ones so as to turn out products which require a minimum of energy, raw and other materials and special technological equipment, thereby ensuring solutions to the following priority tasks:

--to launch the production of a variety of new, high-strength, corrosion- and heat-resistant composite and ceramic materials to be used on a large scale in electrical engineering and electronics, metallurgy, chemistry and medicine;

--to develop a ceramic internal combustion engine for automobiles and a ceramic gas turbine;

--to develop and promote the use of new plastics in many fields so as to replace some scarce minerals, ferrous and nonferrous metals and alloys, and drastically improve the operational characteristics, quality and service life of machinery and equipment;

--to develop, by using the methods employed in powder metallurgy, new wear-resistant and other materials based on ferrous and nonferrous metals, as well as refractory compounds;

--to develop amorphous and microcrystalline materials with a rare combination of mechanical, electrotechnical, corrosion-resistant and other properties;

--to develop new semiconductors for microelectronics, as well as high-purity metals and compounds with special physical properties;

--to upgrade the technologies for continuous steel pouring, develop the technologies for extra-furnace steel treatment to make metals with improved properties and those of superhigh quality, and improve casting technologies;

--to develop a variety of industrial lasers to be used for cutting, welding, marking out, heat treatment and laying out;

--to promote the use of plasma-based, vacuum and detonating technologies for applying high-strength, wear-resistant and corrosion-resistant coatings;

--to develop technologies involving the use of high pressure, vacuum and impulse effects, as well as the energy of explosions, to synthesize new, superhigh-strength materials, gas and hydrostatic extrusion of parts and shapes, and to mould and calibrate outsized, intricately-shaped parts.

The translation of the Programme into reality will be expected to help upgrade the technical and technological level of the engineering, metallurgical, radio electronic, electrical engineering and chemical industries, as well as other key sectors of the national economy; drastically increase the reliability and durability of machinery and equipment; make them less material-, energy- and labour-intensive; cut production costs; provide substitutes for and use rationally for other needs such precious materials as platinum, cobalt, nickel, chrome, molybdenum, tungsten, niobium, etc.; ensure a considerable economy of ferrous and nonferrous metals, energy, manpower and other resources; create a solid foundation for developing new-generation technologies.

5. Quicker Development of Biotechnology

The chief goal of cooperation between CMEA member-states in this field is to prevent and effectively treat serious diseases, boost food production, improve raw materials supplies for the national economy, develop new renewable energy resources, further the development of wasteless technologies and reduce the damage done to the environment.

This goal shall be attained due to a quick promotion of the results obtained in the field of biotechnology through cooperation between the fraternal countries, in healthcare, in the branches of the agro-industrial complex and industry, through furthering fundamental research in all biological and other natural sciences involving the studies of physical and chemical laws of life, and also through creating and organizing the production of the requisite technological equipment.

The priority tasks include the development and promotion in the national economy of

--new biologically active substances and drugs to be used in medicine (interferon, insulin, growth hormones, monoclonic antibodies, etc.), allowing the healthcare industry to guarantee an early diagnosis and treatment of serious diseases, including cardio-vascular, cancerous, hereditary, infectious ones and those triggered by viruses;

--microbiological pesticides and herbicides, bacterial fertilizers and plant growth regulators; new highly productive and bad-weather-resistant crop varieties and hybrids developed with the help of the methods employed in the genetic and cell engineering;

--valuable fodder additives and biologically active substances (fodder protein, amino acids, enzymes, vitamins, veterinary drugs, etc.) to raise livestock productivity; new biotechnology methods for effective preventive treatment, diagnosis and therapy of basic diseases from which domestic animals suffer;

--new biotech methods to make economically feasible products to be used in the food, chemical, microbiological and other industries;

--biotech methods for deep and effective processing of agricultural, industrial and communal wastes; for using sewage waters and gas exhaust to produce biogas and high-quality fertilizer.

The Programme will be expected to help use renewable biological resources more thriftily, raise the living standards and improve the health of people, provide more food and drugs for the population, and, by employing energy-saving and wasteless technologies, make the environment healthier and drastically improve healthcare and medical, agricultural and veterinary sciences.

Section III

Ways and Means

1. The member countries of CMEA consider joint consistent implementation of the Programme a major economic and political task.

They recognise the need to carry out social and economic planning on the basis of the achievements of scientific and technological progress, which requires further improvement in co-ordination of the economic development plans and other forms of co-operation in the field of planning and closer interaction in production, scientific research and technology.

2. The member countries of CMEA decided to translate, without delay, the priority directions of the Programme into concrete agreements and treaties embracing in a comprehensive way all the stages of the "science-technology-production-marketing" cycle and review for this purpose, if necessary, existing agreements. The obligations assumed by the sides will be taken into

account in co-ordinating the economic development plans of the CMEA member countries and also in the economic and social development plans of each country.

In drafting and reviewing co-operation agreements, including agreements on specialisation and co-operation in production, account will be taken of priority programmes and also effective use of existing production capacities and the scientific and technological potential of the CMEA member countries. The countries agreed to conduct a broad mutual exchange of information on research results and existing technologies with a view to their speedy application by all CMEA countries concerned.

3. The member countries of CMEA agreed that the obligations they assumed in carrying out the Programme for the next five-year period will be included in their plans for 1986-1990. Amendments and additions will be regularly made in the Programme on the basis of the member-countries' proposals, taking into account social, economic, scientific and technological progress made, new achievements in the world's science, engineering and production and also the immediate objectives of co-operation between the CMEA member countries. The Programme will be elaborated and modernised with timely account taken of the agreed measures on co-operation in the course of co-ordinating economic development plans and in the state five-year plans of the member countries.

4. The member countries of CMEA will pay special attention to the need to provide the necessary material and financial resources for the co-operation measures envisaged in the Programme.

In carrying out the Programme, the member countries of CMEA will actively use the advantages of mutual co-operation and socialist economic integration through further development and deepening of specialisation and co-operation in the field of science, engineering and production and fuller and more effective use of scientific and technological achievements of individual countries and also will ensure favourable conditions for broad development, on the basis of agreements, of direct ties between organisations and enterprises.

5. The tackling of priority problems will be organised by head co-ordinator-organisations which will be responsible for a high technical level and quality, for the fulfillment of projects on schedule and also for the drafting of agreements, treaties and other proposals on co-operation to be submitted for consideration by the participating sides in an established order.

The member countries of CMEA will promote direct relations between enterprises, amalgamations and technological research organisations of the member countries on the basis of the provisions laid down in specific bilateral and multilateral agreements and treaties. This is an effective method of promoting co-operation for the implementation of the Programme.

For the purpose of working out joint solutions to major problems, the countries involved will, if necessary, set up joint technological research and production amalgamations, international engineering and technological centres for the

development and production of new technology, know-how and materials, centres for teaching, training and re-training of personnel and also other joint enterprises and international research and engineering teams and laboratories.

6. The agreed co-operation measures in carrying out the Programme will be financed through the use of national funds, credits of the International Investment Bank and the International Bank for Economic Co-operation and also joint funds created by the countries concerned to finance major individual projects which will be envisaged in agreements and treaties.

7. The member countries of CMEA, which do not participate in projects envisaged in the Programme, have a right to receive the results of research and development on conditions agreed upon with the performer-countries.

8. It is deemed necessary to pay more attention to the provision of personnel for the implementation of the Programme. For this purpose, the countries concerned will work out and put into practice agreed measures to promote co-operation in training and re-training personnel.

9. The member countries of CMEA will carry out joint measures to work out technical and metrological norms for the priority areas of the Programme, including the working out of necessary CMEA standards, rules, methods and measurement techniques corresponding to the world's highest level.

10. Each member country of CMEA can any time express its interest in participating in any individual co-operation project envisaged in the Programme, on conditions agreed upon with the participating countries.

11. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance will regularly consider major problems of economic, scientific and technological co-operation related to the realisation of the Programme and determine the main trends of its further development.

Done in Moscow on December 18, 1985. The heads of the delegations of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance:

Grisha Filipov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria;

Gyorgy Lazar, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic;

To Huu, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam;

Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic;

Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Vice-President of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba;

Dumaagiyn Sodnom, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic;

Zbigniew Messner, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic;

Constantin Dascalescu, Prime Minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania;

Nikolai Ryzhkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

Lubomir Strougal, Chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

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CSO: 1812/60

SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

RYZHKOV STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF CEMA SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL COOPERATION

LD171547 Moscow TASS in English 1529 GMT 17 Dec 85

[Text] Moscow, December 17 TASS--The comprehensive program of scientific and technical progress of the CEMA countries through the year 2000 must become the basis of concerted actions of states of the socialist community for the creation and use of principledly new equipment and technologies in the national economy. The topicality of this political decision is particularly apparent now, said member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov. He addressed today the 41st special sitting of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which opened here at the level of heads of government.

"The principled peculiarity of the present period is that most of our countries have practically exhausted the possibilities for extensive growth, and wherever they still exist, they should be used more effectively with the biggest possible returns," the head of the Soviet delegation stated. "Thus, life itself puts to countries of the socialist community the common task of radical intensification of social production".

The main road of its solution is the use of achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed.

Nikolay Ryzhkov said that swift rates of the development of the market of the exchange of technologies are a characteristic feature of the new stage of the scientific and technical revolution. The market of technologies increased by nearly four-fold in the past ten years, the return of the trade in licenses surpasses 28 billion dollars.

Imperialism's main "centres of power"--the United States, Western Europe, Japan, attach much importance to this. Taking into account the scopes and complexity of the necessary transformations they made a recourse to forms unusual for capitalism, those that are actually borrowed from socialism--to the drawing up of state and interstate programs of scientific and technical development.

The speaker went on to say that implementing its programs, the United States and some of its allies, by resorting to embargoes, bans and

all sort of restrictions such as the COCOM lists, are waging a technological warfare on the world of socialism. Their ultimate aim is to bar the access to up-to-date technologies to socialist countries, to hamper their economic development, to disrupt the military-strategic parity.

The present-day political situation requires the pooling of the efforts of countries of the socialist community for effective use of possibilities opened by the scientific and technical revolution on the basis of advantages inherent in the socialist system.

Nikolay Ryzhkov informed the session about work in the USSR in the sphere of biotechnology. He noted, specifically, that the production of some 250 types of principledly new products is to be started in the 12th five-year plan period on the basis of biotechnology.

Touching upon the USSR contribution to the drawing up of the comprehensive program, Nikolay Ryzhkov noted that organizations of the principledly new type, intersectoral scientific and technical complexes, are now being created in the Soviet Union on a decision of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee. Almost all these organizations become the leading ones for the comprehensive program of the CEMA.

Entire humanity is comparing and will be comparing the results of the scientific and technical revolution in socialist and in capitalist countries, Nikolay Ryzhkov said in conclusion. Humanity is aware already now that we adopt the program of peaceful construction for the sake of man. And we are not striving to create a sort of privileged club of states having the monopoly on the latest scientific and technical achievements.

As to the Soviet Union, it has been and remains firmly and consistently in favor of pooling the efforts of different countries for utilizing the revolutionary breakthroughs in science and technology in the interests of peace and progress of humanity, to the benefit of all peoples.

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CSO: 1812/59

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

REPORTS ON SOVIET-U.S. TRADE AND ECONOMIC COUNCIL MEETING

Trade Obstacles, Prospects Viewed

LD100423 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 9 Dec 85

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Vitaliy Sobolev]

[Text] As we all know, the Soviet-U.S. Trade and Economic Council is currently meeting in Moscow. More than 400 American industrialists are taking part in it. THE SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE considers the session to be the most important meeting on economic issues between the two countries since 1979 and voices a certain optimism regarding prospects for the development of mutual trade. At the same time, U.S. newspapers point to obstacles raised by Washington that impede the expansion of bilateral economic relations: export restrictions and imposition of the highest-norm import duties on Soviet goods.

In U.S. ruling circles there are those who argue that these relations should be made even more difficult. For example, Senator Roth has submitted a bill to Congress on registering trade representatives and organizations of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries at the U.S. Justice Department as agents of foreign powers.

But there are also prominent Americans who favor the development of contacts between our countries. Many American businessmen, writes THE SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, believe that the potential exists for a significant development of trade with the Soviet Union. Kendall, the chairman of Pepsico, Incorporated, even predicts a new era in this trade.

ASTEC Views Trade Expansion Potential

PM111438 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Dec 85 First Edition p 4

[Report by V. Sukhoy, N. Larionova: "Removing Obstacles"]

[Text] "Business Summit"--this is how U.S. businessmen have dubbed the aircraft on which a large section of the U.S. delegation arrived in Moscow for the ninth session of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council [ASTEC]. And indeed, the atmosphere at the council's current

session is businesslike and constructive. According to many of the session's participants--representatives of both the Soviet and the U.S. side who have attended many meetings under the auspices of ASTEC in the past--the ninth session is distinguished by particular frankness, goodwill, and a manifest desire on both sides to overcome the standstill in economic relations between the USSR and the United States. The creation of this atmosphere has been facilitated by the Geneva summit, which laid the groundwork for the quest for mutually acceptable solutions including, among others, in the sphere of trade and economic relations.

Today's plenary session was addressed by the honorary directors of ASTEC--B.I. Aristov, USSR minister of foreign trade, and M. Baldrige, U.S. secretary of commerce--who read out greetings from U.S. President R. Reagan to the participants in the ASTEC session in Moscow.

The Soviet minister of foreign trade noted in his speech that the USSR favors broad trade with the United States and has always welcomed any steps by the U.S. side to this end. However, while trade is being used for unseemly political aims it is unrealistic to think that it can be substantially expanded. It is essential to embark on removing the obstacles along this path.

U.S. companies lose a great deal through all kinds of "sanctions" and restrictions introduced by our government, Dr Michael E. Lee, president of the MLC Corporation, said. The Soviet Union represents a vast market, it is a country very rich in minerals. It is necessary to utilize our economic potentials for the benefit of both our peoples. It is essential to ensure that the Soviet and American peoples live in peace and friendship.

It is beyond question that an expansion of business ties between the two countries can play a positive role in improving Soviet-American relations in general. Judging by the utterances of the session's U.S. participants, opportunities for such an expansion exist.

U.S. Economic Difficulties Discussed

LD252118 [Editorial Report] Moscow, 25 December, TASS--TASS political observer Ivan Ablamov writes:

The new year holidays in the U.S. are keynoted by the growing economic difficulties, despite all the attempts of Washington to prove the opposite. Contrary to the "forecasts" of the policy-makers in the present U.S. Administration, no long-term enlivening took place in U.S. economy. The pumping of enormous resources, scientific and technological personnel, the more skilled manpower and scarce raw materials to the arms buildup has cost dear to the country. Although arms manufacturing was flourishing, a blow was dealt at the civilian sectors of the economy. As a result of it, according to a report of the Secretariat of the European Economic Commission, in 1985 the economic development rate was dramatically reduced both in the U.S. and in other capitalist countries.

Instead of 4-5 percent expected by the government, the economic growth exceeded a little 2 percent. The growth was accounted for mostly by the services sector and not by material production which evokes concern in the U.S. business circles.

Structural crisis was preserved in a number of U.S. leading industries, specifically in metallurgy which is working at only 60 percent of its capacity, in textile and shoe-making industries. The crisis has swept even the production of computers which is an advanced-technology sector. According to the press, the U.S. business circles express pessimism and insecurity when assessing the prospects of the U.S. economic development and even do not exclude a possibility of another recession in 1986, in spite of all the efforts of the administration aimed at avoiding it because of the by-elections to the U.S. Congress.

These forecasts are based on the dramatic reduction by the end of the year of housing construction which is a basis for the development of a whole number of industries, on the reduction of long-term orders of companies and on the reduction of their investments in new equipment.

One could add to it that under the impact of the overstated exchange rate of the U.S. dollar, the worsening of the quality characteristics of American goods in comparison with those of their competitors and the reduction of the competitiveness of American goods, the U.S. deficit of trade balance is approaching \$150 billion this year, which in its turn negatively affects U.S. industry and agriculture.

The unprecedented arms race, ample tax privileges to the corporations, the reduction of tax revenues because of the low economic growth indices have resulted in truly enormous budget deficits on an annual level exceeding \$200 billion and the public debt standing at about \$2 trillion whose payment consumes investment funds and is fraught with the threat of another economic decline in the U.S. foreign debt is growing rapidly. Its payment also consumes investment funds. In panic the law was adopted that provided for the reduction and liquidation of the budget deficit in the course of 5 years, mostly at the expense of social cuts. However, even American experts believe that this plan is illusory, taking into account the fact that the U.S. Administration is not at all going to reduce the planned enormous military expenditures, including those on the "star wars" program.

Washington presents things in such a way as though the spending of one trillion dollars on the program is a sort of a panacea for U.S. economy for years to come. However, since its coming to office, the present administration has already spent about one trillion dollars on the arms race, and the disastrous consequences of it are obvious.

The U.S. ruling circles are searching for ways to overcome economic difficulties at the expense of the working people. According to official statistics, there are 8 million unemployed in the country (organized labour maintains that the figure is 13 million). Thirty-three million people live below the official poverty line. For those Americans this new year will hardly be a happy one. According to the French journal LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, the U.S. generates poverty on a mass scale.

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

TWO-VOLUME COLLECTION ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY REVIEWED

Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 85 pp 188-191

[Review by Yu. M. Melnikov of book "Sovremennaya Vneshnyaya Politika SShA" [Present U.S. Foreign Policy], Moscow, "Nauka" Publishing House, 1984, Vol 1, 464 pages; Vol 2, 480 pages]

[Text] The fundamental collective labor "Sovremennaya Vneshnyaya Politika SShA" in two volumes is a comprehensive generalizing investigation of one of the most urgent scientific and political subjects.¹

The authors set for themselves the task of studying the main sources, moving forces, nature, goals, characteristics, traditions, strategy, tactics, methods and regional aspects of the foreign political course of the leading imperialist power of our times and, as it seems to us, coped with this task. They concentrated their principal attention on the decisive aspects of the "anatomy," formation and implementation of U.S. foreign policy at the present stage.

"The book's main subject," it is stressed in the introduction written by academician G. A. Arbatov, "is an analysis of the ever intensifying contradiction between the imperial great-power ambitions rooted in the idea of the global American mission and the steadily narrowing possibilities of implementation of imperialist policy at the world arena by the United States" (Vol 1, p 4). Essentially, this definition is the main conclusion of the entire investigation.

1. The editorial board: G. A. Arbatov, Yu. P. Davydov, V. V. Zhurkin, A. K. Kislov, V. A. Kremenyuk, V. M. Lukin, V. F. Petrovskiy, P. T. Podlesnyy and G. A. Trofimenko (editor-in-chief). The group of authors: Vol 1--G. A. Arbatov, V. P. Abarenkov, V. F. Davydov, Yu. P. Davydov, V. V. Zhurkin, Yu. A. Zamoshkin, F. A. Karaganov, V. A. Kremenyuk, A. V. Krutskikh, D. Yu. Melvil, A. V. Nikiforov, G. A. Trofimenko, I. G. Usachev and G. S. Khozin; Vol 2--M. S. Beglova, A. M. Belonogov, L. P. Berzin, F. I. Bolshakov, I. B. Bulay, V. Yu. Vasilkov, Yu. P. Davydov, B. N. Zanegin, I. D. Ivanov, A. K. Kislov, V. A. Kremenyuk, P. G. Litavrin, V. P. Lukin, I. I. Lyudogovskaya, S. F. Molochkov, M. G. Norzov, V. F. Petrovskiy, P. T. Podlesnyy, A. D. Portnyagin, V. S. Rudnev, A. I. Utkin and I. L. Sheydina.

Basing themselves on the latest literature, the authors disclose the class essence, internal sources and moving forces of U.S. foreign policy. They characterize the class structure, state system and sociopolitical forces and organizations determining to a greater or lesser extent the basic goals and directions of the American foreign political course. Stressing the decisive role of monopolistic capital in this process, at the same time, they note the following: First, its own aspirations and aims at times change as a result of shifts and changes in the country's domestic and foreign political, economic and military situation. Second, for the most part these aspirations are realized indirectly, basically through the bureaucratic-state apparatus. Third, in the course of this process the interests and pressure of other class sections and social forces are taken into consideration to some extent. Fourth, the policy developed and adopted by the ruling circles of the United States is represented as "general national" allegedly reflecting the ideals and interests of the entire American nation. Special attention is paid to two specific powerful forces moving the country's present foreign policy: The ruling establishment, which "is the institution, where, ultimately, the heterogeneous interests of different sections and strata of the ruling class are correlated, linked and coordinated and the resultant force of current foreign and domestic policy and the military-industrial complex exerting an ever greater effect on this policy are formed largely on an unofficial basis" (Vol 1, p 57). One can fully agree with the conclusion that at present the military-industrial complex "has been transformed into a force capable of imposing on the state a course advantageous for it, which is directed at ensuring its own flourishing. In the end the military-industrial complex has acquired the right to veto the political decisions of the supreme state authority" (Vol 1, p 59).

The role of economic interests in U.S. foreign policy has been uncovered in detail. At the same time, the authors note the steady rise in the importance of foreign economic expansion and relations both for individual private corporations and for state-monopoly capitalism as a whole, as well as of the corresponding activity of foreign political organs of the United States called upon to promote this expansion in every possible way. Principal attention is drawn to what in American literature is called "safeguarding the country's economic security." This involves the acquisition and guarantee of an access to foreign sources of raw materials and energy carriers and their deliveries to America at minimal prices, that is, maximally advantageous for the United States. The work stresses that the "thesis of a 'threat to U.S. security' as a result of the dependence on the import of raw materials and energy carriers from developing countries is largely of the nature of propaganda" (Vol 1, p 76). In fact, the question of the essence of relations between the United States and these countries in general is raised: Will these relations neocolonialist in their basis be reorganized under more equitable democratic conditions? The work gives a balanced argued evaluation of the very significant role, at times negative for the economy of developing countries, of transnational corporations in the formation and implementation of American policy of global economic expansion.

In their content the chapters on "worldwide" (global) problems and new instruments of "foreign political power" in the era of the scientific and

technical revolution are close to the chapters on the economic interests and levers of U.S. foreign policy. In their totality they give an idea both of the economic-scientific-technical basis and potential of the United States and of its utilization for the attainment of its foreign political and military goals at the world arena. From food shipments to the presentation of scientific information and the "attachment" of other countries to peaceful nuclear and space technology of the United States--this is the vast range of American nonmilitary "levers" of foreign political effect and this must not be ignored. Despite the growing opposition, "today the United States manages to one degree or another to successfully maneuver, retaining the possibility of imposing on states entering the capitalist sphere of the world economy the basic directions in their scientific-technical and, consequently, economic development, organizational forms of utilization of technology..., methods of administration and so forth." (Vol 2, p 70).

An analysis of the role of the ideological factor in U.S. foreign policy occupies an important place in the book. The authors concentrate their attention on the distinctive foreign political messianism of the United States and the correlation of "idealism" and "moralism" with "pragmatism" in its foreign policy. They examine the effect of religion, historical traditions and various concepts--conservative and liberal, isolationist and interventionist, "manifest destiny" and "extending (more accurately, moving--Yu. M.) boundary," "world order," balance of power and so forth--on the country's foreign political course. At the same time, the work repeatedly stresses that the ruling circles of the United States have a very pragmatic attitude toward different "spiritual values"--ideals, traditions, theories, beliefs and so forth--skillfully and flexibly adapting them to their current foreign political needs and tasks and, in the final analysis, reducing them to anti-Sovietism and to the justification of the claims of American imperialism to a "special role" in the world, as is now clearly demonstrated by the Administration of President Reagan. Another major function of American ideology and propaganda is also noted: substantiation of the "right" and "justice" of the turn on the part of the United States toward the use of its armed forces for the "protection" of America's maximalistically interpreted interests and "security," in fact, throughout the globe and even in space.

Quite naturally, the book assigns one of the central places to the importance of military force as the "main and final tool of U.S. foreign policy" and of the role of the military factor--doctrines, strategies, armaments and so forth--in the implementation of present U.S. policy. The chapters "Evolution of U.S. Military-Political Strategy," "Basic Tendencies in Bloc Policy" and "Military-Political Means and Methods of Realization of U.S. Foreign Political Interests" are especially devoted to them. The same problems are also examined in chapters on the American approach to arms limitation and nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Considerable attention is also paid to them in chapters on foreign political factors affecting U.S. conduct at the world arena and on the U.S. approach to international crisis situations and so forth.

One of the authors' basic theses lies in the fact that, although during the present era under the conditions of appearance of means of mass destruction the use of armed forces ceases to be an efficient tool of attainment of

foreign political goals, nevertheless the ruling circles of the United States for a whole set of reasons (from the pressure of the military-industrial complex to the instinctive devotion to power solutions) recognize this circumstance very reluctantly, slowly and by no means always. Under various pretexts, especially the myth of the "Soviet threat," they stubbornly continue the arms race and resort to a direct application of military force, or to indirect foreign pressure in various regions of the world. American plans for the preparation of an attack on the Soviet Union and their course for a military confrontation with the USSR were and are of the most dangerous nature. "In the present U.S. approach to the problem of power," the book notes, "stereotypes of the 'cold war' prevail. The beliefs in the advantageousness of the policy 'from the position of strength' and of 'balancing on the brink of war' supported by the arms race are firmly connected with the policy of dictate traditional for imperialism. The application of various kinds of power methods represents the militaristic response to undesirable changes in the world, which is classic for capitalism, although has become dangerous in our days" (Vol 2, p 30).

Repeated defeats, failures and deadlocks in attempts to use military-power tools for the realization of its expansionist aspirations have forced Washington to turn to political means for the regulation of the formed international situations critical for it. This aspect of U.S. foreign policy is examined in detail in the chapter "Instruments of Diplomacy." The problem of the use of methods of social reformism in U.S. foreign policy has also been assigned to a special chapter. Some characteristics in the implementation of U.S. foreign policy, which enable the ruling circles of the United States to claim the role of the "defender of democracy," "carrier of national liberation traditions" and so forth, are noted here. Forced turns in American policy in the direction of adaptation to practical reality and to the correlation of forces changing not in favor of U.S. imperialism, use of financial, technical, food and other types of foreign aid, activity within the United States itself of the opposition to especially defiant manifestations of these hegemonistic aspirations at the world arena, missionary activity of a number of sociopolitical and religious organizations, worldwide propaganda of America's achievements in the field of economics, science and technology and export of U.S. "mass culture"--all this has a certain effect not only on ruling classes, but also on the public of different countries. The combination of methods of violence and bribery, repressions and reforms, pressure and concessions and tactical maneuvers with unchanging strategic aims at times enables Washington to attain its goals in relations with other countries of the capitalist world if they are or feel dependent on the American economy or military "defense."

The fourth section of the second volume "Regional Problems of U.S. Foreign Policy" and chapters on foreign political factors affecting U.S. conduct at the world arena, on the dialectics of peaceful coexistence and revolutionary transformation of the modern world, on the principles of the U.S. approach to developed capitalist countries and on U.S. policy in developing states are entirely devoted to U.S. policy with respect to individual countries, regions and country groupings. In these chapters the authors also examine in brief the mutual relations between the United States and the USSR, socialist countries of Eastern and Western Europe, Canada, the Near East, South and South-East Asia and China. In particular, it is noted that the shifts in U.S.

foreign policy toward adaptation to international realities and to improvement in relations with the USSR on the basis of the recognition of principles of peaceful coexistence, equality and equal security observed during the first half of the 1970's occurred "under contradictory conditions of the unceasing fight between the advocates and opponents of this course." The latter succeeded in gaining the upper hand at the juncture of the 1970's-1980's, especially with the advent of the first Administration of President Reagan to power (Vol 2, p 165).

Thus, the authors tried to encompass all the basic urgent problems, aspects and directions in present U.S. foreign policy, selecting a primarily politologic-problem approach to this subject for this. This made it possible to create an interesting and very necessary scientific and political work.

At the same time, it seems, however, that such an approach brought about certain complications for authors. Sometimes the account suffers from an excessive fragmentation. Repetitions of the same subjects, facts and evaluations are found in the book (it is good when they coincide and do not differ from each other). As already discussed, in the book there is a chapter "Evolution of U.S. Military-Political Strategy" and even a paragraph "Economic Interests and Foreign Political Course of the United States After World War II: Historical Survey." Unfortunately, however, there is no outline of this course in the entire book.

And another remark. The authors write the following on pp 132-133 (Vol 2): "It is difficult not to agree with U.S. President J. Carter, who stated that the true 'advancement of the United States into the ranks of world powers... occurred in 1945, when Europe and the old international order were in ruins. Before that time America remained essentially at the periphery of international policy.'" In reality, however, this statement by Carter, far from original, conflicts with the true history of the United States. It is well known that America joined leading imperialist states and the fight for the world domination and hegemony as a young, strong and, especially, enterprising "predator" as early as the beginning of the 20th century.

The new work of Soviet researchers on the history of U.S. foreign policy is executed at a high professional level, is of great scientific and practical importance and, undoubtedly, is of interest to a broad circle of readers.

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WESTERN EUROPE

U.S. SAID TO PRESSURE SWEDEN ON TRADE WITH EAST

PM180926 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 17 Dec 85 p 3

[TASS report: "Arm Twisting"]

[Text] Stockholm, 16 Dec--New evidence that the United States is bringing pressure to bear on the business circles of neutral Sweden in striving to impede the development of their ties with socialist countries has become public.

As the newspaper SVENSKA DAGBLADET reports, last week Stockholm was visited by a high-ranking American delegation headed by S. Bryen, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of defense for international economic, trade, and security policy. In the Pentagon he is head of the department set the task of preventing "leaks" of American technology to the USSR. The visitors from the other side of the ocean also discussed this issue with representatives of the Swedish business world. During their stay in Sweden the Americans visited the large Ericsson concern and were acquainted with the system of export control in operation there.

As the local press has indicated, in accordance with the American ultimatum the leaders of approximately 300 Swedish concerns and firms have pledged to create a "system of internal control." It is also envisaged introducing special documentation which will make it possible to reveal which states have been sold Swedish industrial products in which components produced in the United States are used. The Swedes have been threatened that if they fail to meet the American demands they will be refused export licences for those commodities they require.

The results of the talks, SVENSKA DAGBLADET notes, show that the United States now "feels confident" of Sweden's intention to prevent leaks of American technology. The democratic press states that, by blackmailing business circles, the White House is simultaneously striving to influence neutral Sweden's political course.

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CSO: 1825/26

WESTERN EUROPE

NORWEGIAN TRADE MINISTER ON TRADE WITH USSR

PM161508 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 13 Dec 85 p 3

[Interview with Norwegian Commerce and Shipping Minister Asbjorn Haugstvedet by own correspondent V. Trotskiy: "USSR-Norway: Trade Prospects"--first graf is editorial introduction]

[Text] The 60th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty on Trade and Navigation between the Soviet Union and Norway is 15 December. SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA's correspondent V. Trotskiy met with Norwegian Commerce and Shipping Minister Asbjorn Haugstvedet in Oslo and asked him to answer a number of questions:

[Trotskiy] What role, minister, did the Treaty on Trade and Navigation plan in developing trade and economic relations between the USSR and Norway?

[Haugstvedet] The conclusion of the treaty in 1925 clearly demonstrates that Norway displayed from a very early stage the intention to develop economic ties with your country. Throughout the years since then Norwegian governments have attached great significance to trade relations with the USSR.

Subsequently the scope of economic cooperation between our countries was considerably expanded and updated. In 1971, for example, a long-term trade agreement was concluded, followed in 1972 by an agreement on economic, industrial, scientific, and technical cooperation. The 1980 Long-term Program for Developing Economic and Industrial Cooperation also plays an important role. Contacts at government level and meetings in the two countries' business circles are conducted on the basis of these documents. I personally participate with great pleasure in the annual sessions of the Soviet-Norwegian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Industrial, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation. Summing up, I should like to emphasize that the 1925 treaty established a fine foundation for subsequent expansion of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and Norway.

[Trotskiy] How do you regard the present state of Soviet-Norwegian economic ties and the prospects for developing them?

[Haugstvedet] As I have already observed, we have quite a firm treaty structure for developing trade and economic ties. Soviet-Norwegian intergovernmental contacts in this sphere also look satisfactory. However, despite this, the present amount of bilateral trade can only be termed modest. The USSR, for example, accounts for less than 1 percent of Norway's total foreign trade. It is obvious that the comparative lack of information about the potential and needs of the two countries' markets and inadequately developed contacts between Norwegian business circles and Soviet organizations are among the reasons for this.

However, I should like to stress that Norwegian firms and companies have recently been showing interest in the Soviet market. An example of this would be the extensive participation by Norwegian business circles in the work of the latest session of the standing working group on economic and industrial cooperation held in Oslo the other day.

I would like to point out that hitherto the bulk of our bilateral trade has been concentrated in raw materials and semifinished products. We should, of course, like to maintain the exchange of these traditional goods, especially the sale to the USSR of paper and pulp--which are important export items for us. However, the most promising prospects for developing bilateral trade and economic ties, in my view, lie in increased trade in machines, equipment, and finished industrial products. These goods at present represent less than 10 percent of total Soviet-Norwegian trade. Both countries have the task of trying to exploit that potential better in the future.

[Trotskiy] What Norwegian industrial achievements in the sphere of advanced technology could be offered on the Soviet market and are there any obstacles restraining the development of trade in this area?

[Haugstvedet] Norwegian industry has advanced technology in many spheres. However, as I see it, Norwegian-made equipment for exploiting offshore oil and gas deposits is of special interest to the Soviet market. The Soviet Union is getting ready to develop the natural resources of the Barents Sea, where conditions are quite similar to those on the Norwegian continental shelf. Our industry, therefore, is, I think, in a position to provide equipment and services which could prove useful in opening up the Soviet continental shelf. Regular consultations are now taking place between interested Norwegian companies and Soviet foreign trade organizations, and I hope that concrete results will be achieved in this area in the near future.

Of course, an industry providing services for the development of continental shelf deposits is not the only attractive thing that the Norwegian economy has to offer. Advanced equipment is also being produced in many other sectors. The Norwegian side is particularly interested in supplying the USSR with shipping and fishing equipment and the technology and equipment used in agriculture. I am convinced that the Soviet Union also has quite

considerable potential for expanding its exports to Norway. And this concerns not just Soviet raw materials and supplies of industrial equipment and machines.

When exporting goods Norway must take account of national laws and rules and also international obligations. However, I do not think these conditions will create any significant obstacles to the development of bilateral trade. It is important, in my opinion, that our countries make more efficient use than at present of the potential for trade and economic cooperation in those spheres where there are no specific problems limiting exports.

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CSO: 1825/26

WESTERN EUROPE

SOVIET-FAROE ISLANDS FISHING ACCORD REACHED

PM091503 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 85 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "USSR-Faroe Islands: Commission Sitting"]

[Text] A session of the Soviet-Faroese Joint Fishing Commission has been held in Moscow. The commission was set up in accordance with the agreement on USSR-Faroese mutual relations in the fishing sphere reached between the governments of the USSR and Denmark and the local government of the Faroese Islands on 27 November 1977.

After the introduction of 200-mile zones off their shores the Soviet Union and the Faroe Islands established mutually beneficial and equitable ties in the fishing sphere, which ensure that both countries' fishermen have access to the zones' marine resources, that fisheries research is carried out according to joint programs, and that fishing boats can call at either country's ports for repair and crew recreation. Trade in fish is developing.

The session summed up the results of cooperation in 1985 and took decision on further developing ties in 1986.

An accord was reached on the volumes of joint fishing in each other's zones which envisages increasing the potential for fish catches. The repair of Soviet ships and their visits to Faroese ports and vice versa will continue. A program of joint scientific research was agreed [upon].

Scientists and specialists from both countries took part in the session's work. The session protocol was signed by N. P. Kudryavtsev, USSR first deputy fish industry minister, and R. Thorning-Petersen, Danish ambassador to the USSR.

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CSO: 1825/32

WESTERN EUROPE

UDC 85.05.057

BOOK ON DISAGREEMENTS AMONG FRG'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATS REVIEWED

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNIYE NAUKI V SSSR, SERIYA 1: PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA (REFERATIVNYY ZHURNAL) in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 85 pp 220-225

[Review by N.A. Vasetskiy of book "Ideologiya i politika zapadnogermanskoy sotsial-demokratii" [Ideology and Politics of West-Germany Social Democracy], Moscow, Mysl', 1984, 131 pages]

[Text] The book consists of an introduction, conclusion and five chapters.

Chapter one--"The Social Democratic Party in FRG's Political System and Its Program Orientation." The SDPG [Social Democratic Party of Germany] resumed its activities after World War II. In the fall of 1945, there was created a so-called Schumacher Bureau, which aspired to the role of the central governing body of the future Social Democratic Party. Its ideological course consisted in a revival of traditional social democratism. Rightist socialist and reformist conceptions were declared predominant. Schumacher was for the removal of communists from leadership of the workers movement. He accused them of "totalitarianism" and of a "dictatorship over the proletariat." Actually, in the course of restoration of capitalism in West Germany, Shumacher's position was reduced to identification of the interests of the Western powers and the reviving social democracy. This to a large degree made easier the revival of bourgeois parties and predetermined the bourgeois character of the created state.

In West-German social democracy, two tendencies struggled both in the past and in subsequent decades--Marxist, leftist democratic and opportunistic and reformist. The chief watershed was the question of attitude toward capitalist ownership. In the period of formation and organizational consolidation of the SDPG (1945-1949), in the years of opposition (1949-1966) and in the process of participation in governments of the "large" and "small" coalitions, the leadership of social democracy strove to bring its aims into accord with the interests of capitalism. In this connection, the program positions exceeded the limits of "democratic" socialism and actually boiled down to strengthening the role of the SDPG as a constituent of the state-monopolist mechanism in the FRG during the '70s and '80s and the more distant future.

The social reformist economic policy was directed at coordination of measures in the field of economic policy by the forces of the state apparatus and at

coordination of state monopolist regulation of the economy. A broad program was proclaimed for the development of the infrastructure and others (p 25). The realization of this proposal encountered resistance by monopolies. The party was obliged to go to the opposition, not the least reason being the fact that it had suffered a defeat in the implementation of economic plans.

In the second chapter "The Legend Concerning the SDPG as a 'People's Party'" it was emphasized that the unwillingness of the party's leaders to take into consideration the class contradictions of capitalist society and the desire to moderate the white heat of class struggle predetermine not only its course in the time it was in power but also the attitude toward mass organizations of workers as well as trends existing within the party itself.

According to the data of certain researchers, the SDPG included during the '70s the following trends and groupings: "young" Social Democrats who considered social democracy from positions of pragmatism as a people's party, aspiring to the role of the ruling party; "old" social democrats, who had been reared in the traditions of the old SDPG and who were convinced of the necessity of changing the social composition of the party; "old" social democrats, who did not want such changes; "traditional" social democrats, who were against changes and also against the course of the party leadership; and "young" members of the party not connected with the traditions of the SDPG of the postwar years and striving for an active social policy (p 33).

The ideology and politics of contemporary social democracy of the FRG attest to the failure of the idea of transformation of capitalism into socialism without liquidation of the power of the bourgeoisie and establishment of the power of the working class. In their practice, the leaders of the SDPG were obliged to take into account an intensification of antimonopolist moods within the party and outside of it, first of all in the trade unions.

During the time the SDPG was in power, its contacts with trade unions were expanded, particularly with the Union of German Trade Unions (ONP). The trade unions took an active part in many measures implemented by the Social Democrats. However, the program goal of the leaders of the SDPG of transformation of the FRG into a "model social state" will always be held back by the economic power and politics of the monopolies. This predetermines the "restraint" of the party's leadership in satisfying the just demands of trade unions involving a broad spectrum of questions on the position of workers.

The strategic course of the Social Democrats of the FRG was shaped under the influence of the alliance of the party's ruling clique with the bourgeois parties, which is especially characteristic of the '70s and '80s. Therefore characterization of the party as a "rightist social democratic party" adopted in Marxist literature does not simply apply to individual leaders (such as W. Brandt, H. Schmidt), but stems from the Leninist characterization of social reformism as class cooperation. The leaders have a monopoly position in the party. At the same time they are extremely negative toward progressive trends and limit in every possible way the initiative of the rank-and-file members of the SDPG as well as of its most far-sighted figures, who are critically inclined to the SDPG leadership. This was the reason for the acute intraparty discussions in the '70s on theoretical and political problems. The alignment

of the rightist direction in the SDPG includes scientists-historians, politologists, journalists and others. splitting the position of the social democratic leaders and the ruling body of the SDPG.

The author shows that the anticommunist frame of mind of the SDPG leadership is comparable to the political platform of the coalition partners (Free Democratic Party) and the reactionary statements of the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union. Such socialist ministers as G. Leber and others of his ilk have bluntly stated that there is no place for communists in the state apparatus. Hence the support by the SDPG leadership of the anticonstitutional practice of "bans on professions" ["zaprety na professii"] in the FRG and the desire to do everything possible to prevent dissemination of Marxist-Leninist theory among the broad working masses (54).

In chapter three "West-German Social Democracy and Its Attitude Toward the Problem of War and Peace," the author shows that while "bragging" of their influence on the masses, the leaders of the social democrats nonetheless neither in the past nor at the present time have used it in all its power. Actually, they approved the policy of big West-German capitalism for remilitarization of the country both during the '50s and '60s and during the time they were in power in the '70s.

The military conception of the SDPG and the measures of the Brandt-Schmidt government in the field of the "country's defense" possessed a nationalist, revanchist bent. Flourishing militarist views during the period the SDPG was in power and the tendency for growth of military expenditures attest to the fact that the biggest success of the "policy of reforms" was attained during growth of the FRG's military power (p 61).

Particularly in the '70s, the unique system of the military-industrial complex of the country and the governmental apparatus, consisting primarily of representatives of the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union was complemented by the active participation in it of the social democratic leadership. The military expenditures of the FRG grew constantly not only because of direct but also because of indirect investment. Among the European NATO allies, military FRG expenditures per capita were the highest. Schmidt's government justified itself by references to the front-line position of the FRG--to the forward positions of struggle with socialism.

But in the beginning of the '80s the party's leadership was obliged to revise its attitude toward the problem of war and peace. At a Munich congress held in April 1982, the need was stated of renouncing the use of force, of "readiness for a dialogue" and the like. At an extraordinary conference in the fall of 1983 in Cologne, a decision was adopted against deployment of American missiles on FRG territory.

In the fourth chapter "Attitude of the SDPG Leadership Toward the Policy of Peaceful Coexistence and the 'German' Conceptions of Social Democrats," the relations of the FRG and the GDR were primarily examined. In the '70s, the SDPG leadership worked out the principles of the so-called "new Eastern policy." They included: the necessity of normalization of the not entirely desirable but in the "past nonexistent relations with communist Europe,"

normalization of coexistence with East Germany on the pretext of a discussion by "Germans with Germans," the desire to isolate the GDR from the socialist community and others.

Under pressure of circumstances, the SDPG, while in power, was obliged to sanction the conclusion of treaties between the FRG and the USSR (the 1970 treaty of the FRG with Poland (1971)) and the FRG with the GDR (1972). However, this does not at all mean that the social democratic leaders had turned away from the crux of their foreign policy. Talks on the need of a "unification of Germany" and on a "unified German nation" were not removed from the agenda.

SDPG representatives participating in different governments utilized the conditions of peaceful coexistence for politization of historical, national and cultural traditions in the ideological struggle against the GDR as a member of the socialist community.

Chapter five "Social Alternatives of the FRG in the Positions of the SDGP and the German Communist Party." Basic ideological and political dogmas of social democracy are felt in the relations of social democrats with communists. First of all, a distorted interpretation of the essence of the present epoch; denial of the class struggle, solidarity of the working class with other groups of the world revolutionary process, first of all with the countries of the world system of socialism; rejection of scientific socialism, which is declared "obsolete," ostensibly not meeting the conditions of today; employment of the notorious doctrine of "totalitarianism" for attacks on real socialism (p 100).

Under conditions of exacerbation of the economic and social crisis in the FRG, social democrats do not shrink from participation in anticommunist campaigns and with the help of funds of "moral rearmament" contribute to stabilization of the monopoly position of bourgeois ideology. But under the influence of the achievements of the countries of socialism, the SDPG leadership has been obliged to change emphases in their evaluation. At the same time, fearing the influence of Marxism-Leninism on the Social Democratic Party under conditions of cooperation with real socialism, certain SDPG leaders continue to insist on the course of "delimitation" from communism.

The presence of the Social Democrats in power from 1969 to 1982 vividly showed their reformist nature. Actually, the SDPG was unable to withstand monopolies with any alternative solutions with respect to any single question. As soon as the masses demanded of the leadership more radical actions in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy, the SDPG was removed from power. The Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union on coming to power immediately called the SDPG "Moscow's fifth column" (p 119). Recently SDPG leaders have begun to assume a more considered position, to support in particular the struggle for peace, against the deployment of American missiles in the FRG and a number of other questions.

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CSO: 1807/69

WESTERN EUROPE

BRIEFS

USSR-SWEDEN: FISHING QUOTA PROTOCOL--Stockholm, 20 Dec (TASS)--Soviet-Swedish talks on mutual quotas for fishing in the fishing areas of both countries for 1986 were held in Stockholm from 16-20 December. A protocol signed on the results of the talks envisages the allocation to Swedish fishermen of quotas for catching 115,000 metric tons of salmon and 5,500 metric tons of cod in the Soviet zone. Soviet fishermen have been accorded the rights to catch 18,450 metric tons of herring in the Swedish fishing zone. The document which has been signed is designed to further the development of Soviet-Swedish relations in the field of fishing.
[Text] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1836 GMT 20 Dec 85]
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CSO: 1825/26

EASTERN EUROPE

REPORT ON GDANSK SHIPYARD UNION

PM171501 Moscow TRUD in Russian 14 Dec 85 p 3

[Report by Yu. Vasilkov and Yu. Skvortsov: "In Gdansk, Where They Build Houses and Ships"]

[Excerpts] The entry to the Lenin shipyard--its main entrance and wide metal gates--is directly in the city center. Apartment blocks have encircled the shop buildings and you simply cannot believe that just a few hundred meters from the noisy highway intersection there is a smooth expanse of water and ships are standing still encased in metal scaffolding and still covered in sparks from electric welding.

Next to the entrance but behind the gates is an unremarkable-looking one-story brick building. But for those who witnessed the events which developed at the shipyard in 1980 and 1981 this building is a special one. It was a fortress. A fortress which held out.

This building--the trade union committee is situated here--was as it were a bastion for the few ship building workers who, at the period when the antisocialist forces were rampaging, did not give in to the political provocations or the moral and frequently physical terror. They courageously advocated a socialist Poland and class-based trade unions.

The trade union of the Lenin shipyard workers is now situated in the one-story house at the entrance.

Henryk Koscielski, the trade union chairman, is a man of unusually impetuous temperament. Thin and frail with straight gray hair, he cannot sit still for a minute: He jumps up from behind his desk and his hands rise gravely above his head or rest belligerently on his knees and his sentences attack his interlocutors with the speed of a round from a machinegun.

"I am always pleased to have guests. There have been many of them recently. But there is even more to do. In 30 minutes I must be at a workers meeting at the shop...So please ask me your questions quickly.

"...Our trade union had a difficult birth. Only 80 people joined the organizing group. By the time the trade union was registered, in 1982, it had 200 members. I hope you have some idea of the situation at the time. The new trade union at the shipyard was immediately the focus of attention--of both friends and enemies. In Gdansk, in Poland, in almost the whole world... Who were we? Who was standing behind us? 'No, the workers won't go to them!'...In late 1984 our trade union had 2,000 members. A lot? Not a lot! There are 12,000 people working at the shipyard. That year was a turning point for us--now there are 5,000 of us and we have 44 shop organizations. Why this leap? There's no secret. People have become convinced that the new trade union is not merely paying lip service to concern for the working person. It is concerned for his working conditions, wages, housing, leisure, and health...

"Ours is the first trade union in Poland to have signed a contract with the management on the wages system. We do not demand the impossible. But we believe that wages should encourage labor productivity. At the same time we realize that wages are closely linked with production efficiency. Its improvement is the main task of our day.

"The problem of the workers' leisure. We are still only embarking on it. We are organizing excursions and trips--the trade union pays half their cost. Vouchers for a vacation resort are half price. And how are workers' children to spend the summer? We have reached an agreement with the trade unions of the GDR, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia and now we send children to them as guests...

"We very much want to strengthen our contacts with the collectives of related Soviet enterprises and their trade union organizations. You must write that--we are in favor of the rapid development of friendly relations.

"Do people come to our center? They do. And not only trade union members. A conflict may arise at someone's work place. Working conditions do not suit someone. We hear them out and help them.

"...My speech is turning out very complimentary. But to be honest our heads are spinning with the problems. I just mentioned housing. And it is an acute question. We, the trade union, have plunged into the housing problem headfirst, as they say. We have launched an interesting construction site. An unprecedented one. If you can wait for me just an hour, I can take you there..."

We agreed to wait for Henryk Koscielski. We wanted to see for ourselves how the Lenin shipyard has begun to resolve the housing problem--the number one problem for all Poland. Our notebooks had already recorded an interview with Romuald Sosnowski, deputy chairman of the National Trade Union Accord. It was he who called the housing problem the number one concern in Poland.

People should not have to wait 10 years for an apartment, R. Sosnowski said. The trade unions have analyzed the situation and believe that substantial advances are possible in the very near future.

The gist of the trade unions' proposals is to develop the enterprises' initiatives. And thus to achieve the point where not 0.2-0.25 million apartments but 0.3-0.4 million apartments a year are constructed in Poland and the waiting period for housing is halved.

Romuald Sosnowski cited the construction of housing which is now being undertaken by the Gdansk Lenin shipyard as an example of a successful initiative.

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CSO: 1825/31

31 January 1986

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

JAPAN'S ATTEMPT TO INCLUDE OWN MILITARY IN UN FORCES SCORED

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 18 Dec 85 pp 1-2

[Article by Vsevolod Orchinnikov]

[Text] Japan's Minister of Foreign Affairs Shintaro Abe introduced in the Parliament a proposal to consider the question of dispatching Japanese troops abroad to participate in rescue operations in the event of major calamities such as the recent earthquake in Mexico or the eruption of a volcano in Columbia. He qualified use of "Self-Defence Forces" beyond Japan to maintain international peace and to help the victims of national calamities as an important task.

This statement caused concern among the Japanese peace-loving public for two major reasons. First, when the embryo of the present armed forces--the "reserve police corps"--was set up in Japan in violation of the post war Constitution, the ruling circles also assured the people that such formations had nothing to do with the Army and that allegedly their aim was first of all to render emergency assistance to the population in the event of earthquakes, volcano eruptions, typhoons and other natural calamities that are so frequent in Japan, as well as to maintain law and order. But, as a Japanese proverb says, no matter how hard one might try to prove that a tadpole does not look like a frog it will all the same become a frog. The "reserve police corps" served as effective camouflage for preserving the backbone of the personnel of the former Emperor's Army.

Second, the Tokyo bellicose circles have long dreamed of seeing the Japanese servicemen wear blue helmets, i.e., of including them, under any pretext, in the UN international peace-keeping force. Those who would like to annul once and for all Article 9 of the Constitution which proclaimed renunciation of establishment of armed forces have been seeking an occasion to test the bastard army outside Japan. One may call a fighter-bomber an "interceptor," or a missile-carrying destroyer an "escort ship," but how can you justify dispatching abroad units ostensibly formed exclusively to defend national territory?

Japan's Defence Agency has long been purposefully studying the legal, political, and military aspects of the UN international peace-keeping forces' activity in Cyprus, the Congo and Lebanon. At the height of the

American intervention in Indochina a Tokyo-based weekly published a secret operation plan code-named Flying Dragon. The idea of airlifting Japanese "Self-Defence Forces" to South Korea to replace American troops also staying there under the blue flag of the United Nations.

To exploit blue helmets for creating a legal precedent for participation of the Japanese armed forces in operations abroad, i.e. to remove one of the few remaining obstacles to turning the Country of the Rising Sun into a military power--such is the long-cherished dream of the advocates of Japan's rearmament.

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CSO: 1812/59

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

COOPERATION WITH DPRK PRAISED

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 33, Aug 85 p 20

[Article by V. Moiseyev, candidate of economic sciences, in Pyongyang: "Forty Years of Creation"]

[Text] During the years of the peoples power, the workers of the DPRK [Democratic People's Republic of Korea], under the leadership of the Korean Workers Party, and relying on the help and cooperation of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, have transformed their country into a socialist state with up-to-date industry and developed agriculture. The appearance of peoples Korea's cities and villages has changed beyond recognition and qualitative improvements have taken place in the welfare of the population and the development of education and national culture.

Steady Growth of the Economic System

Up until liberation, Korea had to import even the simplest agricultural equipment from overseas and it had practically no manufacturing industry. The DPRK's economy today is a striking contrast to this. The republic produces metal-cutting lathes and trucks, wheel and caterpillar tractors, diesel and electric locomotives, large-tonnage ships and ship engines and electric generators and transformers. Complete sets of equipment for non-ferrous metallurgy enterprises, chemical and cement plants and enterprises of the light and food industries are being produced. The production of automation equipment and electronic equipment is being set up. The share of machine-building in the overall volume of the country's industrial production exceeds 34 percent.

The data published here about the successful fulfillment last year of the 2nd Seven-Year Plan for developing the DPRK's national economy during 1978-1984 shows that during this period the gross volume of industrial production increased by a factor of 2.2. Approximately 18,000 enterprises and shops have been put into operation, including the Taean heavy machinery plant, the first section of the Tanch'on non-ferrous metals plant, the Hamhung herbicides plant and the Taedong gang hydro-electric power station.

As of the end of 1984 the republic had developed capacities to produce 50 billion kilowatt-hours of electrical power, 70 million tons of coal, 7.4

million tons of steel, 4.7 million tons of chemical fertilizers, 12 million tons of cement and 50,000 metal-cutting lathes.

In the concluding year of the Seven-Year Plan, agricultural workers gathered 10 million tons of grain, whereas in 1946--the first year after liberation--the grain harvest in North Korea was less than 2 million tons. The level of mechanization and of the use of chemicals in agriculture has increased significantly during the period of fulfillment of the national economic plan. More than 200 reservoirs and 3000 water towers were constructed and, as a result, the area of irrigated land increased by a factor of 1.4.

The country's economic achievements have created the bases for a steady rise in the Korean people's welfare. From 1978-1984, the real income of blue collar workers and white collar workers increased by a factor of 1.6 and peasants' income by a factor of 1.4. There are now 216 institutes and 576 tekhnikums in the republic where, before liberation, there was not one higher educational institution and only six secondary specialized education institutions.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have given the DPRK vital assistance in developing the economy. Through the USSR's help, 12 plants and shops have gone into full or partial operation during the Seven-Year Plan alone and around 70 national economical projects during the entire period of the republic's existence. In 1984, the share of these enterprises constituted around 64 percent of the over-all volume of electrical power production, 33 percent of the steel and rolled ferrous metal, 10 percent of the cast iron, 25 percent of the coke, 50 percent of the petroleum products, 13 percent of the chemical fertilizers, 19 percent of the cloth and 40 percent of the iron ore extraction.

The festive commissioning of the Pukchhan hydro-electric power station with a capacity of 1.6 million kilowatts and the Ryenson bearing plant with a productivity of 10 million ball and roller bearings a year took place the day before a great occasion--the 40th Anniversary of Korea's liberation from the Japanese invaders. The power station and plant were built with the Soviet Union's help in the DPRK.

Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland and other socialist countries have also assisted the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in building national economical projects,

The KWP Central Committee's slogans for the 40th Anniversary of the country's liberation and the 40th Anniversary of the formation of the Korean Workers Party (October 10, 1985) aim at the further development of the republic's political, economic and scientific and technical ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In International Cooperation

Having visited the country's enterprises and talked for a bit with their managers and workers, you visibly imagine peoples Korea's successes and the

great economic help given to her by socialist states in developing the national economy.

The Synni truck plant, which is located in the city of Tokch'on, is an example of the persistent efforts of the Korean people to make their country an industrially developed socialist state.

Its history began in 1952 while the DPRK was repelling the American and Li Syn Man aggression. Czechoslovak specialists helped to set up the production of spare parts for imported cars, mainly Soviet makes, here on the shore of the Taedonggang River. The plant expanded in due course, the engineers accumulated experience and the workers' skill grew. When the question arose about producing Korea's own trucks, then it was naturally decided to begin production at Tokch'hon.

"You must have noticed," said the plant's chief engineer, Kim Khen Khe, addressing us, "that our automobiles are very similar to Soviet ones. There is nothing surprising about this. Your well-proven GAZ-51 truck was taken as a prototype for production at that time in the fifties. All the technical documentation necessary for production came from the Soviet Union."

Today's name for the truck, as well as for the plant itself--Synni (Pobeda in Russian)--contains a great symbolism. It immortalizes the feat of arms of the Korean Peoples Army fighters who smashed the Americans at the foot of the Synni Hill, where the plant was located, during the 1950-1953 Korean War. This name also symbolizes the great labor victory of the country's workers and engineers who were able to get automobile production going in the difficult period of the post-war restoration of the national economy.

Today the plant produces more than 10,000 trucks a year, including the Synni-58, the 10-ton Choju-82, based on the Soviet KrAZ, and the 25-ton and 40-ton Konsol and Kumsusah quarry dump-trucks, based on our BelAZ type. Almost all the parts necessary for automobile assembly, with the exception of the industrial rubber products, electrical equipment and glass is made in its shops. In recent years, the plant has essentially been transformed into a combine which has 14 independent production units and more than 7,000 workers. There are technical schools, teknikums and evening VTUZes for training personnel attached to it.

They are also thinking about the future of domestic automobile building at the plant. The basic directions of the work of the plant's design buro which, by the way, is the leading one in the industry, are an increase in engine efficiency, an increase in the repair-free running of automobiles and a further improvement of production technology. As before, the Korean automobile builders are receiving help in this from their Soviet colleagues. The Tokchkhon people have formed close and stable ties with the Kremenchug automobile and the Yaroslavl motor plants.

The Synni automobile plant is one of 130 industrial enterprises of the Tokch'on District [Uyezd]. The history of this district's development is typical for many of the country's other regions. Khen Yn San, chairman of the

People's Committee of the Tokch'on District, received us in his office and cited some comparative figures which reflect the situation before liberation and now. If there were only 8 schools in the district before August 1945, now there are 80. Before liberation, medical services for the population were practically non-existent and now there is a district hospital, 40 out-patient units and 12 sanatoriums, dispensaries and rest homes.

With a feeling of great pride, our Korean friends showed us the Taedong-gang GES with a 200,000 kilowatt capacity which is located not far from Tokchkhon. Two of the four power units installed at the station were manufactured at the Tae'an heavy machinery plant.

Peoples Korea's achievements in all areas of politics, economics and culture are significant. When the Korean comrades speak about these successes, they especially emphasize that they could have been far greater if only they didn't have to constantly fend off the provocational intrigues of the South Korean regime and the American imperialism standing behind its back. The Soviet Union's true solidarity with the Korean people's just struggle for a peaceful democratic unification of the homeland and its help and support call forth the genuine gratitude of all the DPRK's citizens. The managers of the factories and plants and the simple workers we spoke with the day before the great occasion, mentioned this constantly.

The DPRK looks at the future with optimism. A new long-range plan for developing the republic's national economy will be implemented beginning next year. It provides for ensuring the production of 100 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power, 120 million tons of coal, 15 million tons of steel, 1.5 million tons of non-ferrous metals, 20 million tons of cement, 7 million tons of chemical fertilizers, 1.5 billion meters of cloth, the catching of 5 million tons of fish and ocean products and a harvest of 15 million tons of grain by the end of the eighties. These, as they say here, "economic heights" will be reached. The energetic disposition of the workers of the DPRK and close unity with the USSR and other fraternal countries is security for fulfilling the party's plans.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

U.S. SENATE'S BILL ON AID TO AFGHANISTAN CRITICIZED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Dec 85 p 5

[Report by own correspondent G. Ustinov under the rubric "Behind the Sabotage Scenes": "Instigators Exposed"]

[Text] Kabul--There was a press conference 17 December in Kabul. It dealt with the results of the U.S. Senate "hearings" on medical services for the Afghan populace. A transcript of the "hearings" was offered to local and foreign journalists accredited to the Afghan capital.

We will introduce to our readers the organizers and main dramatis personae in this unsavory spectacle. The initiator of the "hearings" was Senator Gordon Humphrey, who is regarded in U.S. political circles as a major expert on Afghan, or rather anti-Afghan affairs and has close links with the CIA. The curious fact is that, having moved his colleagues with his crocodile tears about the backward public health situation in Afghanistan, he submitted to and pushed through the Senate a bill on giving "aid" to that country. Do you think this meant providing U.S. money for the construction of a new hospital or medical center in Kabul? Nothing of the sort. On the basis of the results of the "hearings" the Senate allocated funds to set up a daughter "Free Afghanistan" radio station within the framework of the "Radio Liberty" and "Radio Free Europe" espionage and sabotage center. The station began regular broadcasts from Munich 1 October.

Humphrey was actively assisted by Senator Alfonse D'Amato, also a CIA minion, who has long been active in the sphere of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism and, in recent years, in the anti-Afghan field.

(Khaled Akram), who calls himself a doctor, although there is no truth in this, was among those who addressed the U.S. Senate. He did not succeed in graduating from the medical institute in Kabul, having been expelled for the systematic theft of medicines which he sold to private pharmacists. Despite not having a diploma, he took up medical practice. Later he fled to Pakistan to escape prosecution for carrying out an illegal abortion.

When he was still living in Kabul (Khaled Akram) caught the eye of the U.S. Special Services. Two professional agents--Peter Graham and Howard Freeman--secretaries at the American Embassy in the DRA, got him to collaborate with the CIA.

It is easy to imagine what a pile of dirt all these people dropped on revolutionary Afghanistan and its system of medical services. There was no mention of the legacy the republic inherited from past regimes in the medical sphere. None of the "speakers" mentioned that there is a shortage of hospitals and doctors in the country because of the Dushmans' atrocities and that Afghanistan's chief difficulties when it comes to providing medical services for the population are due to the counterrevolutionaries' actions.

The Western media carried on calumny and slander against the Afghan public health services. FRG television, for example, devoted a series of programs to the subject, urging viewers to send donations to the fund to "aid" the Afghan population. Gullible viewers responded to the appeals without knowing, of course, that all the money was going on new weapons for the Dushmans.

DRA Public Health Minister Mohammad Nabi Kamyar spoke at the Kabul press conference and gave journalists details about the medical care situation in Afghanistan. He reported that during the revolution, despite the grim conditions of the undeclared war and the limited opportunities for people's power as a result, the number of hospital beds has increased by over 1,000 and there are now nearly twice as many doctors. Appropriations for public health needs have risen from 546 million Afghanis to 1.01 billion.

Particular attention is being paid to medical services for women and children. Today they are provided with medical services by over 40 specialized health centers, polyclinics, hospitals, medical centers in schools and kindergartens, and branches of big hospitals in villages.

These successes might have been much greater, the minister stressed, had it not been for the criminal war unleashed against the DRA by international reaction. The counterrevolutionaries have destroyed 131 medical establishments, killed medical staff in their hundreds, destroyed many emergency vehicles, and tried on several occasions to cause explosions in the medical institute and in medical schools.

The press conference participants were introduced to two bandit leaders, (Shalikhan) and (Lal Mokhammed), who were arrested some years ago. They told the journalists that they had been trained at the Varsak sabotage and terrorism camp in Pakistan. It was there that the U.S. allies taught them how to use psychotropic drugs in order to carry out acts of terrorism.

In the light of these facts the organizers of the "hearings" in Washington look extremely unpleasant. In an attempt to justify direct U.S. involvement in aggression against Afghanistan and validate the need to allocate more and more money to maintain the Dushman army, they have organized yet another propaganda spectacle. But the truth is stronger than incantations. The curtain of lies cannot conceal the United States' inflammatory and organizing role in the savage war the counterrevolution is waging on Afghan soil.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

WESTERN ANTI-AFGHAN PROPAGANDA HIT

Moscow AGITATOR in Russian No 19, Oct 85 pp 43-45

[Article by P. Shershnev: "Terror Against the Afghan People"]

[Text] The Afghan people this year marked the 7th year of the April Revolution carried out under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. Being national democratic in character and objectives, it made it possible for the people's government to embark on building a new society based on the principles of equality and justice, democracy and progress. The social-economic and cultural changes begun in Afghanistan are in the basic interests of the population. Measures are being undertaken for reviving the work connected with implementation of a land and water reform, expanding industrial production, eliminating illiteracy and improving medical services. A process is proceeding for strengthening central and local organs of government and public organizations; their authority and influence are gradually growing.

At the same time, the reorganization of Afghan society is running into major objective and subjective difficulties. First of all, the country's economic and cultural backwardness, the presence of prefeudal and feudal vestiges, mass illiteracy of the population and as a consequence an inadequate level of its political activity take their toll. But the most important cause of the difficulties are to be found in the necessity of diverting large material and manpower resources from the solution of urgent tasks of national-democratic development for the purpose of upholding the gains of the revolution and defending them against the machinations of enemies attempting to overthrow the people's government. Internal opposition in the person of the feudal lords and landowners, a portion of the bourgeoisie and reactionary circles of the Muslim clergy as well as foreign forces of imperialism and their abettors--the United States, Pakistan, Iran, Japan, FRG, France, Great Britain, Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and others--have joined together in their hatred of revolutionary Afghanistan.

Intervention of international forces of imperialism in the internal affairs of Afghanistan finds expression in financing, formation, arming, training and sending from the territories of Pakistan and Iran numerous bandit groups and detachments, encouraging and paying for subversions, acts of terror, violence and murders from behind. In addition to this, imperialist propaganda has

unleashed against the young democratic state an ideological aggression that is unprecedented in its scale. It bears the clearly expressed character of psychological warfare and has two directions: external and internal.

External anti-Afghan propaganda involves direct participation of government and nongovernment services of the imperialist states, reactionary regimes and their resources of mass information. The chief organizer, inspirer and coordinator of ideological subversion against Afghanistan is U.S. ruling circles, first of all the CIA, which relies on "various committees," "funds" and "centers" working under its aegis. Thus American secret services subsidize the "Center for Afghan Documents," the "Afghan Press Agency" and other subversive centers.

For the accomplishment of anti-Afghan actions, the United States tries to involve various international, particularly Islamic, organizations. They do not disdain the services of antisoviet emigre rabble. These artificially inflate the contrived "Afghan question" in the UN, while "Afghanistan days" are held for provocative purposes.

External subversive propaganda attempts to inflict maximal moral and political damage to democratic Afghanistan and to mobilize all the forces of reaction for providing all-out support to the Afghan counterrevolution.

Inside Afghanistan, subversive propaganda is conducted by counterrevolutionary parties and organizations under the guidance of those same secret services. Their "advisors" are in many headquarters and in educational centers of counterrevolution located in Pakistan, Iran and China. Frequently, they together with bandit formations penetrate into the territory of Afghanistan.

The most active subversive propaganda activity is engaged in by the following counterrevolutionary organizations: "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," "Islamic Society of Afghanistan," "National Front of the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan," "Movement of the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan," "National-Liberation Front of Afghanistan," "Party of Allah" and others. These organizations are roughly of the same type in structure and consist of supervisory organs (most of them are in Pakistan and Iran), armed formations (stationed outside the borders of Afghanistan and on the country's territory) and so-called "Islamic committees," aspiring to the role of local organs of government (they operate in camps of refugees and frequently in areas of active operations of counterrevolution on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan).

All these groups and groupings, maintained by imperialist reaction, are torn by deep internal contradictions. They constantly compete for the right to obtain as large sums as possible from the funds allotted for the operation of the anti-Afghan struggle. Due to differences in the struggle for a sphere of influence, armed conflicts occur among the bandit formations of different parties. Attempts by the United States and its allies to rally and unite the motley opposition to the people's government and to create a single front remain unsuccessful.

Understanding that they were not succeeding in overthrowing the people's government in open armed struggle, the transoceanic inspirers of counterrevolution are spending increasingly more funds on secret subversive activities and intensifying the flow of calumny directed against Afghanistan. They are counting on hindering an understanding of the true state of affairs for those Afghans who by force and deception get drawn in into the bandit formations of counterrevolution.

For this end, a most insolent lie is being spread that is truly monstrous in content and shamelessness. Literally every radio broadcast and publication of the bourgeois press on Afghan affairs starts with it. For example, a reference to "reliable sources " was cited concerning the "seizure" by dushmani of such large provincial centers as Qandahar, Herat and Gazni. Fabrications are being disseminated to the effect that Cuban, Czechoslovak, Bulgarian and other military units are operating on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Forged documents are passed around on alleged murders of members of the Afghan government that have occurred.

Fabrication of "facts" suited for imperialist propaganda is broadly practiced. Thus, on special orders of centers of psychological warfare, acts of terror are committed which are then attributed to the authorities of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Afghan and Soviet servicemen. Cases are known of bombing attempts on mosques (for example the Khazrat Ali Mosque in Mazar-Sharif). In Herat, Qandahar and other places, desecrated pages of the Koran were scattered. Then this was attributed to actions of members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

It has become customary for dushmani to dress in uniforms of Afghan and Soviet servicemen. Dressed this way, they commit bandit sallies against the peaceful population. In Peshawar (Pakistan there is even a special workshop where they make parts of such uniforms. Dressed in this way, the dushmani falsely pose as "documentary" personnel called upon to compromise Afghan and Soviet fighting men. Thus photos are created of "victories" by the dushmani. For example, in a brochure of a party called the Islamic Society of Afghanistan, bandits are shown in officer peaked caps of the Afghan Army. The text under the photo reads as follows: "You see our heroes, who, after killing several officers and generals of the Red Army, put on their uniforms." In publishing such false documents, they rely on the fact that the population does not notice differences between Afghan and Soviet uniforms and cannot guess that the masquerade costumes were sown in Peshawar.

For the purpose of lending credulity to the calumny and lies, they are trying to rain them down on the heads of listeners on an ever-increasing scale. Prior to the April revolution, many Western radio stations, including the Voice of America, generally did not broadcast in the state languages of Afghanistan--Pushtu and Dari. At the present time, more than 50 radio stations of the United States, countries of Western Europe, China, Pakistan, Iran and other countries are intensively conducting inimical propaganda against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in Dari, Pushtu, Turkmen, Uzbek and other languages. Two quite powerful radio stations located on the territory of Pakistan are at the disposal of the counterrevolution. In some regions of Afghanistan, mobile stations of the counterrevolution periodically

go on the air. Recently an agreement was reached on the opening in Peshawar (Pakistan) branches of the subversive Liberty and Free Europe radio centers maintained by the CIA. The Senate of the American Congress has sanctioned the creation of still another subversive radio station provocatively called Free Afghanistan.

Efforts are being made for increasing the turbid flow of printed matter aimed at the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and disseminated by the counterrevolutionary organizations. In Pakistan, Iran, FRG and England, seven journals and newspapers are published in the Pushtu and Dari languages (DEATH FOR FAITH, THE HOLY WAR, THE MARTYR and so on.)

Taking into consideration the illiteracy of the population, the ideological adversaries are increasing in the total volume of printed matter the number of illustrated leaflets, placards, albums and picture books for children and adults. An example of the subversive propagandistic literature is a "textbook" for Afghan school children published in Pakistan. From the first to the last page, it is permeated with hatred toward the April revolution. Inscriptions and drawings of counterrevolutionary content on consumer goods are becoming increasingly prevalent: match boxes, kerchiefs, bindings, packaging and the like.

Spreading rumors and gossip is widely practiced. For example, rumors are periodically disseminated of certain military successes of bandit formations calculated at undermining belief in the durability and stability of the people's government in the country. The ideological saboteurs also use such methods as sending to Afghan servicemen, state employees, party personnel and patriots threatening letters with different kinds of demands, and attempts to influence them through relatives and friends, taking dear ones as hostages and levying a special tax on the parents of those who are serving in the army.

Blackmail and threats frequently become open terror against activists. Repressions have increased, for example, in regard to clergy cooperating with the people's government. After the revolution, more than one hundred mullahs and ulamas were killed. Among them were such well-known religious figures as Mullah Nasrulla Gardezi, Sheikh Ali Khuseyn Natom, Maulawi Asadulla Nasrat and others. Many teachers and pupils have been killed at the hands of the bandits. The counterrevolution attempts to hold the peaceful population in constant fear, moral and physical stress, counting thereby on preventing their support of the measures of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the government.

The ideological enemy exploits mistakes made in the past in the solution of a number of political, social-economic, national, tribal, religious and cultural problems and on the difficulties of the material situation of workers. The counterrevolution is trying to adapt itself to changes in the ideological situation in the country and systematically corrects the content and tactics of subversive activity. The war against the government is presented as "pleasing to Allah"; the political aims are concealed behind the religious phraseology. The slogan "defense of Islam" is pivotal to the subversive propaganda, and the reactionary clergy are a central element in its apparatus.

The leadership of the counterrevolutionary movement is most concerned with the rejection of armed struggle against the people's government on the part of some of the band, and their switching to the side of the revolution. For the purpose of blocking the development of this tendency and strengthening the moral spirit of the dushmani, their religious and ideological handling and punitive measures are becoming more severe for deviation from active participation in subversive and terrorist activity. At the same time, material rewards are widely practiced for the commission of crimes against the Afghan people. Thus those who "distinguish" themselves in committing bandit acts are issued additional rations, clothing or money.

Thousands of facts attest today to the doom of the counterrevolution. Neither open banditry nor the millions of dollars which come from the pockets of taxpayers and are spent by the American administration on supporting the counterrevolution nor psychological warfare are in a position to reverse the historical process.

The hostile propaganda contains no positive program for the Afghan people. The counterrevolution has objectively nothing to oppose the high ideals of the progressive social and economical development of Afghanistan introduced by the April revolution. The facts convincingly attest to a steady expansion of the social base on which the people's government rests. The connection of the party with the masses is being strengthened. A constantly growing number of people from different strata of society are joining the ranks of conscientious builders and defenders of a new life. The political activity of workers is rising. It is expressed in growth of the people's interest in the social and economic measures being carried out, in the development of production and in holding hashars for the restoration and construction of schools, hospitals, irrigation structures, communications lines and so on.

All this is a pledge of the inevitable defeat of the forces of counterrevolution and of the inspirers of psychological warfare against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. At the same time, the party of Afghan workers sees and correctly assesses the whole scope of open terrorism and subversive ideological activity directed from across the ocean.

In March of 1985, the extraordinary 15th Plenum of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which examined the question: "On Increasing the Work of the Party Among the Masses and Bolstering Their Activity in Defense of the Motherland and the Revolution" was held. The plenum admitted that a significant portion of the population has as yet not been awakened to the new life and has not become involved in the revolutionary process and that many people as yet have become temporarily involved through deception in the counterrevolution's camp. The Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan sees as one of the reasons for such a situation serious defects and lapses in work with the population and in the fact that so far the truth concerning the high and noble aims of the party, the revolution and the government has not reached all Afghans.

The general democratic changes being carried out at the stage of the national-democratic revolution reflect the profound interests of the great majority of Afghan society. This creates favorable conditions for the party's work among

the masses and serves as a real basis for expansion and strengthening of the social base of the people's government. A reliable guarantee of victory of the April revolution is the steadfast support of the just cause of the Afghan people by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. In light of the decisions of the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, a complex of measures is being implemented in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to transform agitation and propagandistic work into a powerful tool of struggle against the ideological subversion of imperialism and regional reaction and for revolutionary ideals and the right of the Afghan people to build a bright future through their choice and will.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

CIA SEEN BEHIND 'FAKE' ISRAELI EMIGRATION INVITATIONS TO SOVIET JEWS

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 29 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by Dm. Guseynov and I. Kamenkovich: "The Technology of Dirty Tricks or Provocateurs from Tel Aviv"]

[Text] Our talk was not not a simple matter. The topic was as follows. And even though our acquaintance can be reckoned in decades rather than years, this meeting was not occasioned by a personal factor: the publication in BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY of an article entitled "One-Way Ticket." We recall that the article was about those who abandoned their homeland in the search for happiness and prosperity in a world in which a bulging purse is the measure of happiness and prosperity.

No, Mark Isakovich Bobrovitskiy, the principal of Baku School No 163 (the person we are talking to) never left his homeland (except for tourist travel in foreign countries) and has no intention of doing so.

He is known by many people in Baku, the city where he was born, attended school, and grew up. He is at least known by the thousands of Baku residents who attended the school where he was principal and by their parents...He also has many personal acquaintances and friends. Finally, he also has relatives.

It must be said that most of the people who know Mark Isakovich in one way or another relate to him not only with respect but also with a special liking.

There are people who are easygoing, open and direct, who even if they have to say something unpleasant can say it without offending anyone and whose smile is dearer than praise from someone else. Bobrovitskiy is one of these people. And Mark Isakovich's warm, friendly, slightly ironic smile is memorable.

At the time of which we speak, it is said, he smiled in the same way. However it was probably not easy. The rumor started that the whole Bobrovitskiy family was planning to emigrate to Israel. The rumor grew stronger and acquired detail (the children and old people were going too). The furniture was already sold. The rest of the belongings were being sold. Passports were being exchanged for new ones...

A couple of months later, in the summer, someone told someone that Mark Isakovich himself was already abroad.

In actuality, however, Bobrovitskiy never intended going anywhere. And naturally he did not surrender his passport with the stamped gold emblem. He did not sell the furniture and other things.

But nonetheless, the rumors started somewhere.

Once when Bobrovitskiy was taking newspapers out of his post office box, he noticed an unusually long envelope. It was a letter from Israel. Strictly speaking, it was not even a letter, but was an official appeal to the Soviet authorities to allow the Bobrovitskiy family to emigrate and take up permanent residence in the state of Israel.

The Bobrovitskiy household scrutinized the envelope with the strange-looking stamps, read the text of the letter, and wondered who had sent it and why. They were particularly astonished at the signature of the "relative" who signed the petition in behalf of the Bobrovitskiy family: Rekanati Meir, a complete stranger entirely unknown to the family.

They also noted that the mysterious "relative" was poorly informed, that he obviously did not know the names of the Bobrovitskiy children. On the other hand, he knew the family tree of the older generation flawlessly. He had obviously studied it well. He knew that Bobrovitskiy's father had been killed in the fighting in the vicinity of Velikiye Luki while defending the motherland in 1942. He also knew that the father's three brothers had also been killed fighting against the fascist invaders.

The petitioner had to know that Mark Isakovich himself had been a communist for almost 20 years and that he would never abandon his land and its people to whom he was devoted.

Why, then, was the petition sent? There was a reason. But more about this below. Let us proceed to relate everything in order.

The family discussed the letter once again over evening tea. The next day, Bobrovitskiy took the letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and requested that it be returned to the sender.

That would have seemed to be an end to the matter.

But it did not end there. The very same rumor was reborn.

Mark Isakovich does not want to recall all this today. It is not difficult to understand why.

Suffice it to say that Bobrovitskiy wound up in the hospital as a result. The diagnosis of his medical condition was serious: massive myocardial infarction. It is not for us to say whether this stemmed from the whole business with the petition. But the doctors believe that this was the case. Bobrovitskiy was outraged by the petition, the subsequent gossip, and the

rumors. In a word, he took everything too much to heart. In the most literal sense....

It would not be worthwhile publishing this story in the pages of a newspaper if it were exceptional. Unfortunately, this is not the case. In recent years, there have been more and more letter-petitions from Israel, the senders of which are well aware that the addressees have not the slightest interest in emigrating.

Here is another example. Konstantin Romanovich Raykhmakh, a veteran of the CPSU and participant in the Great Patriotic War, who has never concealed his antipathy for those who are fond of talking about the good life "over there."

What kind of "candidate" for emigration is he? Clearly he is not a candidate. But he receives letter-petitions and parcels from Denmark.

A letter attack has also been launched against Roza Borisovna Mikushina, who also lives in Baku. Eliazar Iyeudi (Eylon Kibbutz, Israel), a stranger, did not hesitate to bother the seriously ill woman with a summons from mythical relatives. We also note that Roza Borisovna was well known for her antizionist views. The same thing happened to Baku resident Lev Shulevich Roytman who was urgently summoned to Israel by a stranger--Hana Feist (7 Khid Street, Jerasulem) with the aid of Esther Brunstein, a Tel Aviv attorney.

The same Esther Brunstein (her name will turn up again) wrote a summons to the Lev Abramovich Shabashayev family in Khachmas. The head of the family sent a short letter to Israel and kept a copy:

"My homeland is this city, our entire country. My brother was killed at the front in its defense. My wife and I have raised our children here. Two of them have already graduated from an institute. One of them has completed a technicum. Why should I want to go to some other place? Why am I being sent visas? Did I request them? Why do I receive notifications of a parcel sent by strangers from a foreign country? This is a pittance. For your information, I want you to know that our family earns more than 1500 rubles a month. We have a fine house, a car, and do not want for anything. Don't bother me any more! We are not going to Israel! I have no one in Israel--neither relatives nor friends."

Any number of similar examples could be cited. Is it worth it?

Let us instead ask the simple question: what is causing this flow of letters? Why do "Israeli relatives" often not even know the name of the people they are inviting to take up residence [in Israel]? In the name of what are they going to so much trouble and spending so much money? We recall that in capitalist countries, lawyers charge high fees even for trivial services. The documents include an affidavit signed by the inviter:

"My family and I are financially secure and have sufficient funds to defray all travel costs of my relatives."

What is the source of such altruism on the part of the Israelis who (life teaches us) cling tenaciously to every shekel?* We repeat that the invitations go not to close relatives, not even to people who are related only through Adam, but to absolute strangers.

From what does this come? Philanthropy? Communal endeavor? The charitable impulse of people who sincerely believe they are helping someone to escape from behind the "iron curtain."

But is this not the case!

If this were merely a misunderstanding or even stupidity, we could laugh it off. But this is a much more serious matter. Even cursory examination of the "invitations" turned over to the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Affairs shows that a common feature of letters from all fake relatives is not only the obvious lie (the affidavit) and not only ignorance of the composition and degree of kinship of the persons invited. This can be "explained" by forgetfulness, by errors. However, chronic errors are already a symptom. But how can it be explained that the fake relatives act through one and the same lawyers?

How can it be explained that the "invitations" are sent in packets (examples of this were cited in the "One-Way Ticket" article)? After all, even a very affluent person would not invite and moreover guarantee the support of twenty or so families. What if they unexpectedly descended? It would also be necessary to feed them.

Finally, why do the residents of various cities prepare their fake documents in Tel Aviv? After all, notarial offices are to be found in any town in Israel. How can it be explained that notaries--people whose profession is the embodiment of honesty--certify flagrant, unconcealed counterfeits? Who forces them to do this?

There is only one answer.

The "wellwishers" and "altruists" who concern themselves with "Russian Jews" are only a cover for the activity of special services.

The Western press does not write about these services often. But information about them does filter through newspaper and magazine pages. And the Israeli man in the street knows at least three autonomous Israeli intelligence services: Sherut Modsin, Makhlenet Khamizhkar, and Reshut. These agencies also include political aspects in their sphere of interest. The Reshut intelligence administration is especially active. It organizes and directs intelligence work in foreign countries. It considers its basic task to be the collection of not only military but scientific-technical, economic and political information as well. Reshut has the specific responsibility of propagandizing zionism and of organizing the zionist underground in countries where zionist activity is outlawed. Reshut uses every means to encourage the emigration of Jews, especially from the socialist countries.

The activity of these and other spy nests is coordinated by the colossus of secret services--Mossad, which also has firm directive contacts with Interpol,

with the Israeli police and especially with its "department of special assignments" that uses the police administration and all police services for intelligence and counterintelligence activity.

Mossad in turn is also forced to cooperate with intelligence services of other Western countries, especially the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, and to share its information in the hope of obtaining various kinds of aid in the form of agents and financing.

We remind the reader of the existence of all these Israeli services because their primary mission is to encourage emigration to Israel, to promote the affirmation of Zionist ideology, and to deal with those who do not accept official Tel Aviv's aggressive foreign policy and especially those who oppose it. These services' tentacles are reaching out to the entire world. They are also trying to penetrate the Soviet Union.

It is known that dirty goals generate dirty methods.

Vladimir Mikhaylovich Shcherinskiy, a resident of the settlement of Amiradzhn, also received a letter from Israel. Isaac Cohen, a stranger, sent him a visa for Israel. Once again the documents were filled out by Esther Brunstein, whom we already know, from Tel Aviv. But this is not the whole story. The letter was sent to Shcherinskiy's place of work--a machinery plant where he has worked many years.

As is known, the envelopes containing official letters from Israel have windows that make it possible to read the address of the addressee and the sender. Hence the contents could not be a secret to the addressee's colleagues. It is not difficult to imagine the effect.

The same number was pulled on Sabir Veliyev who worked for the city's Public Catering Administration. Even though the Veliyev family's home address was mentioned in the text of the letter, the invitation was mailed to his place of work.

Of course, Shcherinskiy, Veliyev, and others who will subsequently be mentioned, are known by their fellow workers. But...we will not be pharisees. A letter "from there," a letter-invitation sent to the place of work does not contribute to one's good health or joy.

After all, a person has not only friends at his place of work. An ill-wisher may start a rumor: "he is planning to emigrate to Israel and yet he is a speaker at meetings." Unfortunately, mean people and dirty tricks are still encountered in our reality. The people who sent such letters are counting primarily on the latter.

There is a twofold objective: either to break a person, to force him to emigrate (no one trusts you any more) or to wreak vengeance on or besmirch people who not only have no intention of emigrating anywhere but who also expose Zionism.

In any event, there are dirty tricks at work here. Well-thought out, refined dirty tricks. What is more, they have their own technology which can be modified as needed.

Here is yet another example: on payday, Baku resident Ilya Iosifovich Volovnik, who works in the Rostov "Yuvma" Startup-Adjustment Combine, received not only his pay but also a letter or, more precisely, an "aerogram." The envelope handed to him was strikingly large and was inscribed in different colors. It is impossible to slip such an envelope quietly into your pocket.

The text of the letter is as follows (translated from English):

"Dear Ilya! We were glad to hear from you again. Our last letter may not have reached you yet. We sent you what you asked for and hope that it will reach you in time. We also sent you a little present in another parcel. It is hard to believe another whole year has passed. We hope that you and your family are all well. We wish all of you a happy Passover. If you or your father attend Passover in the synagogue, please say hello to the rabbi for us. The weather is finally turning warmer, the way we remember Baku at this time of year.

Please write again. We want to continue corresponding with you." (Signature illegible).

Let us now try to put ourselves in I. Volovnik's place. Imagine that you received such a letter with your pay. By the way, it was also necessary to translate it, which was not an easy matter considering the style of the message and the ambiguities that were passed over in silence.

This might cause an outsider to smile because of its similarity to a bad spy novel. But what is the reaction of the person actually on the receiving end? What was it like for Ilya Iosifovich when he tried to explain that he did not know the author of the letter, that he did not know any rabbi because he did not go to the synagogue, all the moreso with his father who died in 1957. That he had not asked for or received anything. That no parcels had ever been sent to him from abroad.

And then another parcel is delivered to the same address. From the United States of America. From someone named Seitzmann living in the town of Sommerville.

Abracadabra? By no means.

It is the same dirty tricks technology that is brought into play against those who are supposedly the object of concern.

We note that the provocations are not only directed against persons of Jewish nationality. The same Esther Brunstein sent an invitation in the name of Ginda Itkin from Jerusalem to Niyazi Nasreddin ogly Askerov and family. The sender was not in the least bothered by the fact that the Askerov family has no relatives of Jewish nationality not only in Israel but anywhere.

How did Captain 3d Rank Niyazi Askerov, a communist, and a participant in the war, or his son, a student at a Moscow institution of higher learning that is also known in foreign countries, or someone else in this family spite Esther, the prolific invitation writer? The most important point is that the decision was made to pay them back, to be sure with other, dirty coins.

One might ask: why are those who are behind Esther and her ilk, who play for their services, and who plan the activities so well informed?

Without becoming overly suspicious, we nevertheless recall lines from the instructions for CIA "one-time agents," American tourists, and exchange students in the USSR.

"Visit the bazaars, churches and synagogues, talk with believers, seek out the dissatisfied," teach the dilettantes from intelligence. "We can also use information on people who are more active than others, who effectively propagandize in the local press, in lectures, in temples, and in educational institutions against the ideology and politics of the USA and its natural allies...."

One asks why such data are need on the other side of the ocean. Are they needed merely to refuse someone a visa?

We think that information about Soviet people are also needed for other purposes.

Invitations, parcels, rumors--these and other instruments are sometimes used as dirty tricks in the attempt to besmirch people, including Soviet citizens, who incur the displeasure of zionism. They often include scientists, cultural figures, journalists, lecturers, trade unionists, and social figures. They receive anonymous letters. In the middle of the night, they receive telephone calls: "Have you forgotten that you are a Jew?" or "You still do not know how to attack us!" Heads of the institutions where these people work have occasion to read anonymous letters the sense of which is as clear as it is dirty: "Don't trust so-and-so. He is planning to emigrate to Israel."

And, of course, let us be honest. A person cannot be calm and balanced if he believes that those around him--friends, coworkers, neighbors--might think that he is preparing to betray his motherland by abandoning it.

It is known that the state of Israel pursues a policy of hatred for the USSR and for the Soviet people. Zionism is our vehement ideological enemy as a matter of principle. And the inescapable fact is that those who have emigrated to Israel, whether they realize it or not, whether they wish it or not, have emigrated to the enemy camp.

And the attitude toward such people has always been very definite at all times and everywhere. This is also true in our day and in our country. Thus, all this business with the parcels that no one requested and the invitations that no one expected is by no means innocuous.

They are essentially acts of provocation albeit not on the same scale as sending the doomed Boeing into Soviet air space or the falsification of the "Bulgarian connection" in the events in St. Paul's Square in Rome, but they are nonetheless provocation. And they pursue the same goal: to besmirch and slander the Soviet people, the socialist system, our entire system of government. The army of literary and journalistic prostitutes feeds for years on the planned total of such provocations. They eagerly scribble: they are emigrating? That means things are bad there. They are not emigrating. That means they are not letting them out, that they are violating their rights! These judgments are printed in the same countries where people are blacklisted or their names are entered in police files or in the mass memory of supercomputers for merely visiting the German Democratic Republic or the Soviet Union as tourists or for participating in a youth festival.

There are always dirty tricks at the base of every provocation! The technology of provocations involving fake invitations from nonexistent relatives is particularly refined, particularly dirty.

But they also contain the embryo of their own end because oft-repeated dirty tricks ultimately no longer fool anyone. They also ultimately unmask their creators.

Also on the basis of a special technology.

FOOTNOTE

*An Israeli monetary unit.

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CSO: 1807/94

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

CURRENT STATE OF ISRAELI NUCLEAR PROGRAM VIEWED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 23, 30 Oct 85

[Article by Igor Belyayev under the "Literaturnaya Gazeta Investigation" rubric: "A Bomb in the Cellar"]

[23 Oct 85 p 14]

[Text] The first entry in my dossier, "Israel--Nuclear Weapons", appeared in 1963. Conversations then about an Israeli atomic bomb pricked up many people's ears. U.S. President John Kennedy became anxious. On receiving Israel's Minister of Defense S. Peres, he asked him directly: "Is Israel armed with a nuclear bomb?"

S. Peres' answer was not specific: "Israel will not be the first one who uses nuclear weapons in the Near East!"

As we see, 22 years ago the present prime minister of Israel did not deny assertions that the Israeli nuclear reactor in Dimona (the Negev Desert) had been engaged for the carrying out of military programs. S. Peres did not say that Israel does not have an atomic bomb. His formula has only come down to the Israeli government not launching the first nuclear weapons in the Near East!

John Kennedy began to doubt the honesty of Israeli politicians. Then the idea of sending physicist inspectors to Dimona arose.

On 28 June 1966, the NEW YORK TIMES announced that Israel had concluded a confidential agreement with the United States on monitoring the activity of the powerful Israeli reactor. American physicists had been in Dimona earlier--the first time in the spring of 1964 and the second time in February of 1965. The third visit was intended for 1966. The newspaper noted that, in the opinion of observers from the United States who had sent a report to the State Department, the reactor in

Dimona was not being used then for the production of atomic weapons.

However, the newspaper's judgement was not accurate. By that time, operations for the creation of an atomic bomb in Dimona had already begun. A confirmation of such a simple conclusion has appeared in...Israel.

On 29 June 1966, the Israeli newspaper MA-ARIV, having pretensions to objectivity, published a report of its New York correspondent F. (Ben). He confirmed the following: the conclusion of American physicists that Israel is not producing plutonium--one of the two initial products for the construction of nuclear weapons--does not correspond to reality. And where then did the Americans see monitors?

MA-ARIV has given an answer to this question: the Israelis had been able to produce plutonium during the intervals between the visits of visitors from the United States. Only Israel, (Ben) has emphasized, had been interested in seeing to it that the Israeli-American agreement on the monitoring of the atomic reactor in Dimona be kept secret. In this case, Tel Aviv "would keep the Arabs ignorant in regard to the nature of atomic research in Israel". With what goal?

Among the members of the Israeli government, certain ministers at that time still thought that Israel's keeping its nuclear research secret would produce a more frightening effect on neighboring states than the production itself of an atomic bomb.

In the same year of 1966, the NEW YORK TIMES noted that the American physicists who inspected the reactor in Dimona had come to the following conclusion: Israel, although it did not intend at that time to produce atomic weapons, retained for itself the resources to begin their production. When? "When it will be necessary"--such was the Israelis' answer. This means that even in 1964 and 1965 when the American physicists came to Dimona for a detailed familiarization with its work, one thing was demonstrated to them, but the plans of the Israeli government were already different. Israel was preparing to begin the production of nuclear weapons, although the then Prime Minister L. Eshkol tried to convince the United States and the rest of the world that his country was not producing and did not intend to produce either atomic weapons or fissile materials. Was the head of the Israeli government telling the truth? The opposition Israeli newspaper HAYOM then announced that Israel was in a position to produce fissile materials, including plutonium.

The NEW YORK TIMES has recalled that during the second visit by American physicists to the reactor in Dimona, the apparatus and instruments for the extraction of plutonium were not taken away. This means that the reports of HAYOM were substantiated, and L. Eshkol's declaration was disinformation. Israel, the opposition Israeli newspaper has elaborated, can produce two small atomic bombs per year.

On 30 June 1966, the Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs Abba Eban invited the U.S. ambassador in Israel, (Barber), for a visit and announced to him a protest against the disclosure by the American press of the details of the American scientists' visit to Dimona.

We will add an essential elaboration--by this time the Israeli government had still not made a final decision regarding the conduct of atomic research for military purposes. Israel's budget was not in a position to support the financial burden connected with an expansion of such research. Why was Minister Eban worried? The perspective has already been cleared up: Israel intended to begin the implementation of military programs in the next few years.

The following is an indirect confirmation of so important a conclusion. On 30 June 1966, 56 professors of Jerusalem University, the Weitzman Institute and the Technological Institute in Haifa called upon the government and Knesset to take on the initiative of concluding an agreement with the Arab countries on the nonproliferation of atomic weapons in the Near East and on mutual monitoring. Israel's Cabinet of Ministers ignored the scientists' appeal.

I remember that the Israeli government had examined for the first time a proposal on the construction of a powerful nuclear reactor in Dimona (26 megatons) already in 1957; that is, soon after the failure of the "triple" aggression against Egypt (October of 1956). France built the reactor. From the very beginning, the conducting of nuclear research for military purposes was foreseen in it. What about the Americans?

The United States, which already had been zealously guarding in word the principle of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, adhered to another position in deed. The CIA, of course, has provided Israel with top secret information necessary for the production of an atomic bomb with the consent of the Washington administration, not informing American legislators or the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission about this.

As far back as 1965, Senator R. Kennedy warned that Israel, if it obtained fissile materials, would be able to create an atomic device in months! Pay attention--not in years, but in

months! However, President L. Johnson then signed an order which obliged to keep the transfer to Israel of everything needed for the production of an atomic bomb in the strictest secrecy. R. Kennedy thus did not know that the United States had supplied the largest part of fissile materials to the Israelis....

In June of 1967, the "Six-Day" War broke out. The Israel army occupied the West Bank, Sinai Peninsula, East Jerusalem, Gaza [Strip] and Golan Heights. It would seem that nothing would threaten Israel any more. But in fact, the production of nuclear weapons was then sped up in Israel.

In March of 1970, the Nuclear Weapons Nonproliferation Treaty came into force. The Soviet Union first and foremost had a bearing on its working-out, as well as other nuclear powers (the United States, England, France and People's Republic of China) Israel has not signed the treaty. Why? First of all because it did not want to permit an international inspection, acting within the bounds of the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency)* and guaranteeing nonproliferation, in Dimona.

The seven years which have passed since the "Six-Day" War were used by Israel to reach its goal of becoming a member of the world's nuclear club. De facto! Perhaps this is an exaggeration? No!

In 1974, the CIA came to a carefully corroborated conclusion: Israel had already produced an atomic bomb, regardless of the fact that no one threatened it. The initial raw material, uranium, had been seized or produced illegally, or secretly supplied to the country.

A. Pozner, a representative of the Israeli Embassy in Washington, has declared: "But indeed there is no proof!" And he has repeated Peres' formula: "Israel will not be the first one who uses nuclear weapons in the Near East!" A concise and clear refutation did not follow....

The CIA's report was given publicity...by mistake. In return, others following the American intelligence service discussed this forbidden subject aloud.

The West German magazine VERTEKHNİK thus has deciphered still another sensation: "Everything that since then has been considered pure speculation is turning into an immutable fact--

*IAEA--the International Atomic Energy Agency, a specialized institution of the UN for the problems of the production and testing of nuclear weapons and given inspection functions.

Israel possesses 13 atomic bombs with a capacity of 20 kilotons apiece." The point was about an equivalent to the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs.

The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission has admitted in 1976 that 3,600 kilograms of high enriched uranium and plutonium...have disappeared. They have dissolved! They have disappeared, as it is said, from under the nose of American physicists and troops--in the state of Pennsylvania! Congressman Udall and others have admitted that someone somewhere...transferred "elsewhere" materials radioactive to the highest degree. The CIA and NSA (National Security Agency, a special intelligence service of the Pentagon) quickly provided a "leak"; according to their information, Israel was the recipient of the enriched uranium and plutonium!

Who transferred the radioactive raw material "elsewhere"? When? Questions, questions! An investigation was begun. Suspicions were concentrated on an American company which had operated in Pennsylvania. Doctor Zalman Shapiro headed it. A U.S. citizen and staunch supporter of Israel, he worked for the American Navy and its nuclear research program. Shapiro's firm "Nuclear Materials and Equipment Corporation" thrived on supplies of atomic fuel to U.S. Navy reactors.

It has been possible to establish that in 1964-65 at least 90 kg of uranium (in the form of some "surpluses") were illegally given over to Shapiro's company on the decision of certain powerful persons. Subsequently there began to be talk about tens of kilograms of uranium which had mysteriously disappeared from the warehouses of the company mentioned. The fact that a metallurgist--an Israeli citizen--worked in the company especially pricked up the ears of those who conducted the investigation. The company formally considered him a consultant for the training of specialists...for Israel. Well, what of that?

Z. Shapiro has escaped with a light scare! He has paid the U.S. government a fine of one million dollars for the unexplained "loss" of the fissile materials, and stubbornly denied the transfer of them to Israel. Despite such defiant "negligence", in March of 1970 the American authorities allowed Shapiro's company to continue its work, although they admitted that the monitoring service called upon to guard against "mysterious losses" was insufficiently effective. That's all!

Note: Shapiro's company produced non-enriched uranium. It safely transfers for long distances. And indeed the processing of the "lost" nuclear raw materials has taken place in Israel.

One of the directors of the U.S. Atomic Commission at that time, (Duckert), informed CIA Director R. Helms that he, (Duckert), knew the following: Israel had already begun the production of nuclear weapons, using American fissile materials. Helms asked (Duckert) not to publicize his information! Having learned about the sensational news from the mouth of the CIA director, President L. Johnson in turn had asked Helms: "Do not tell anyone, even Dean Rusk (secretary of state) and Robert McNamara (secretary of defense)!"

Johnson systematically and intentionally covered up U.S. participation in providing Israel not only with scientific and technological information, but with fissile materials, first of all because the CIA itself was involved in the work of Z. Shapiro's company. And the president knew about this!

Others confirmed that the same Israeli who had worked in Z. Shapiro's company as a "teacher" of Israelis and had gone through probation, transported the stolen uranium to Israel, although, of course, he had not acted on his own.

Johnson did not set in motion the information received, thinking that it would harm American-Israeli relations. And the president of the United States was their active supporter, suggesting that such a position would protect him against the attacks of opponents of the "dirty war" in Vietnam. However, they nevertheless covered up Shapiro's company....

Then the Israeli intelligence services got down to work. After Z. Shapiro's downfall in the United States, Mossad created the special command which had impudently stolen uranium for the reactor in Dimona from France and England. Later, Israel sought a more reliable supply source of nuclear raw materials. The South African Republic became it. Moreover, the Israeli government has paid for the supplies of fissile materials with services.

In Pretoria they have finally admitted that they are receiving help from Israeli physicists, although earlier they always maintained silence when reports appeared that the South African Republic was supplying Israel with uranium.

Here is still more information: like Israel, the government of the South African Republic has not signed the Nuclear Weapons Nonproliferation Treaty, not wishing to allow international inspection at its nuclear reactors!

Detailed reports about supplies of South African uranium to Israel began to appear in print in 1976, soon after the South African Prime Minister Forster visited Tel Aviv and signed

an agreement there on scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries. Since then, the authorities of Pretoria have been buying Israeli weapons constantly and in large lots. Recently watching a TV program in which there was a video series about what is going on in the South African Republic, I paid attention to the fact that the South African police are armed with "Uzi" submachine guns and use Israeli anti-partisan equipment for boundary zones, military patrol launches and "Gabriel" missiles.

How has the United States reacted to what has gone on? One of the representatives of the State Department announced as far back as 1965 that he did not know if Israel is observing the embargo on arms supplies to the South African Republic. Well, one can interpret the actions of the South African Republic as a prelude to a nuclear union with Israel....

At the beginning of the 1970's, the Israeli military censor not totally unexpectedly forbade the publication of a sensational book of veterans of Israeli journalism, Eli Teicher and Ami Dornon, "No One Will Survive Us: A History of the Israeli Atomic Bomb". The creation of the Israeli nuclear arsenal is described in it with great detail. The authors have compared it to the nuclear potential of the People's Republic of China! In particular, it was reported in the book that the South African Republic has offered Israel a site for conducting tests of a nuclear device--somewhere on the coast of the Atlantic or Indian Ocean. This was indeed a sensation! Although, as followed from the discussions of those who provided the "leak" of the confidential information, the Israeli government then supposedly refused to accept the tempting offer. Naturally, the book has not been printed. The authors' appeal to the Israeli Supreme Court has not helped.

The turn in the events surrounding the Israeli nuclear bomb, which had become the property of publicity, was not accidental. Indeed, Israel has too small a territory. One can test neither a nuclear device nor an atomic bomb on it. The territory was not large when the Israeli army temporarily controlled the Sinai Desert. Naturally, the Israeli physicists who have achieved success in the production of enriched uranium and plutonium only did part of the job. The second half of the job is the testing of a device or bomb. Therefore, as it is represented, the report that an agreement on joint tests of nuclear weapons had been reached between Israel and the South African Republic was extremely alarming. It was not groundless.

Still another piece of information: during the October War of 1973, it was confirmed that Israel already had first generation nuclear weapons and was preparing to use them--if it began to lose the war.

Using specialists, moreover at a very high level, and also the most secret information received from its agents in Israel, the CIA has reported in a special briefing in 1976 that Israel has 10-20 nuclear bombs "ready for use". Indications that the Israeli reactors are in a position to produce enriched uranium have attracted attention, although about 1,000 pounds of American enriched uranium and plutonium had gotten into Israel by the beginning of the 1980's. Do not let such a confirmation appear as an exaggeration. In 1977, the CIA and other U.S. intelligence services were convinced that in fact Israel stood behind those who had stolen 93 kilograms of enriched uranium from the Apolo plant in Pennsylvania as far back as 1967. From Z. Shapiro's plant!

Approximately at the same time, as an American investigator has confirmed, 200 tons of uranium "disappeared" on the open sea. It is not excluded that they were also destined for Israel.

The magazine (or more accurately bulletin) (AUTOSPACE) DAILY, which is published in Washington, has also joined those who are convinced that Israel already has nuclear weapons. In contrast to others, the magazine thinks that this government is stationing a large number of nuclear warheads being used in combination with the "Jericho-2" ballistic missiles.

(AUTOSPACE) DAILY has also reported that Israel is stationing atomic artillery missiles, that is, tactical nuclear weapons. This means that the world is clearly underestimating Israel's nuclear potential! In Tel Aviv, the (AUTOSPACE) DAILY report was dismissed without attention, although in Israel they usually react very angrily at meaningless claims apropos of this.

The most remarkable thing of all regarding Israel's nuclear potential is that thefts of nuclear fuel for this state are continuing. Here are the latest reports.

In May of 1984, international inspectors suddenly discovered a "loophole" in the carefully controlled trade of uranium. As a result, Israel, using clearly illegal methods and means, is continuing to receive the necessary materials for the production of nuclear weapons. The news has been received from Vienna and Luxembourg. It has been shown, in particular, that a company engaged in the trade of metal has been used as a transit agent which has sent to Israel more than 40 tons of "waste uranium" produced by a license from Great Britain for use in industrial purposes! Specialists have explained that it is possible to produce two kilograms of fissile material from the indicated amount of uranium.

Last year, in cooperation with the IAEA in Vienna, inspectors of "Euratom", the EEC nuclear energy agency, managed to intercept the above-mentioned "leak" of nuclear fuel. As we see, not only ubiquitous journalists, whose reports sometimes are not treated with enough attention, have intervened in the affair.

[Oct 30 85 p 15]

[Text] Now about two forgotten sensations. On 22 September 1979, the American satellite "Vela" registered some kind of mysterious flash which took place in the region of the Prince Edward Islands in the South Atlantic. Reports about what had happened appeared in all the large newspapers of the world. But talking among themselves, scientists of various countries came to the conclusion that a nuclear explosion had occurred. More accurately, a test of an atomic bomb or a nuclear device took place. Then they suggested and even expressed the belief that the American satellite had located an explosion produced by the South African Republic in cooperation with...Israel. Pretoria and Tel Aviv stubbornly maintained a silence.

In Washington, President J. Carter created an investigative commission. Nine competent American physicists joined it. Their task was precisely formulated: to uncover the secret of the mysterious flash and to answer the question of whether this was a nuclear flash or something else.

The commission sat three times. And every time a special report on the results of the discussion of hypotheses and conclusions was prepared which was sent personally to the U.S. president. And this is what is strange--not one of the three reports was released for print by the White House, and, incidentally, despite the practice which had been established earlier. Thus, President Carter did not explain the decision adopted by him. Silence apropos of this is still being maintained.

"We can prepare a report for the broad public," a representative of the White House who studied the problem of science and technology has announced. But it has still been kept secret. Why?

As American physicists and politicians stated, the fact that Israel and the South African Republic tried to enter the nuclear club a long time ago is well known. And for President J. Carter, an open acknowledgement of this fact could have cost great expenses. Even too great! It has been claimed, in particular, that an open acknowledgement of American

physicists about the incident on 22 September 1979 could have torpedoed Carter's campaign for the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. I will add that it could have dealt a shattering blow to his policy in the Near East.

And now the second sensation. Less than three years later on 12 May 1982, a correspondent of the American telegraph agency UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL (UPI) transmitted the following from Tel Aviv: "The Israeli newspaper HA-ARETZ has reported that the real state of affairs of the bombing by the Israeli Air Force of the Iraqi nuclear reactor is told about in a book titled "Two Minutes Over Bagdad", written by three Israelis. I remember that the flight took place on 7 July 1981.

The book's authors are Professor Amos Perlmutter (Harvard University, United States), Dr Michael Handel (Department of Political Sciences of Hebrew University in West Jerusalem) and Uri Bar-Joseph, a former officer of the Israeli Air Force and a doctoral student of the same Hebrew University. In particular, it is confirmed in the book that Israel, the South African Republic and Taiwan are creating many types of nuclear weapons, including a nuclear cruise missile with a flight range of 1,440 miles. The authors demonstrated directly that through a launching from Israel, a new missile of joint production will be able to strike a target "in any part of the Arab world, and also objectives in the southern regions of the Soviet Union!

The following are other facts reported in the book.

Israel and the South African Republic are successfully creating a neutron bomb and cooperating in the stockpiling of not only strategic, but tactical nuclear weapons.

Israel is creating an atomic gun for firing nuclear missiles which it already has in its arsenal.

Israel is using the cheapest method in the world for the enrichment of uranium. This method has been developed and patented with the use of laser technology by two Israeli citizens as far back as 1972.

Perhaps the authors of the book exaggerated? No.

According to CIA reports, in 1982 Israel had 200 nuclear warheads, primarily tactical ones, with a capacity of up to 20 kilotons apiece. They can be delivered to a target by fighter-bombers--the Israeli "K-Fire" and American

"Phantom", "F-15" and "F-16", and two types of "surface-to-surface missiles: the American "Lances" and Israeli "Jerichos".

Let us return to the first sensation. An official acknowledgement of the fact that the South African Republic and Israel have tested a nuclear device or an atomic bomb in the South Atlantic on 22 September 1979 has become extremely difficult for the United States.

If the fact of the dispersion of nuclear weapons would be stated publicly, it would be necessary to take measures without delay against it... But did the United States of America want to oppose Israel and the South African Republic? No, they in no way wanted to. Why?

Representatives of the State Department in Washington then admitted that it would not have entered into J. Carter's plans to condemn and even to punish his allies. "It is terrible even to think about it," one of them has noted. "I feel bad if I just only begin to reflect on it."

The MIDDLE EAST monthly, which is published in London, at that time conducted several interrogations of official representatives of the United States, asking them only one question: do Israel and the South African Republic have nuclear weapons? Here are the typical answers.

"We do not have corroborations that a nuclear explosion in fact took place in the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean. We have neither a confirmation nor explanations that it was not a nuclear explosion."

One of the American monitors of the nuclear research has admitted that heated arguments have taken place regarding what had happened on 22 September 1979. However, all the discussions occurred behind closed doors.

Already a month after the "Vela" satellite had located the mysterious one-second and unusually intensive flash, it became obvious that a nuclear explosion had occurred. John Scali, a former correspondent of the ABC television company at that time, apparently with Carter's consent, published the report that an explosion of an atomic bomb had been carried out in the South African Republic.

In February of 1980, the American television company CBS broadcasted a report of its correspondent in Tel Aviv, Dan (Raviv), which definitely confirmed that Israel had exploded

its bomb in cooperation with the government of the South African Republic. Then they quickly refuted the report in Pretoria and Tel Aviv!

(Raviv's) stunning information has disturbed Washington. And Pretoria! And Tel Aviv! The Israeli government has deprived (Raviv) of his accreditation as a correspondent. He left for Rome in order to continue to accumulate information there. The goal was to get around Israeli military censorship and to provide information about the true state of affairs.

The government of the South African Republic has even reported that a Soviet submarine nearly blew up somewhere in the Southern Atlantic?! Such an interpretation of what had occurred was a deliberate lie; but, as they say, whatever you undertake, just cover up the traces.

Meanwhile, arguments that a nuclear explosion took place somewhere in the South Atlantic continued to be forthcoming. This was among them: the "Vela" detected nuclear explosions 41 times in 41 cases! There have been no misses! This means that it was not one on 22 September 1979. The apparatus on the satellite was repaired two weeks before the mysterious flash, and it could not have made a mistake.

The flash took place at 3:00 am South African time. When the inquiries of American legislators began to pour forth on the morning of the next day, the CIA reported to Congress that exactly at that time a special sub-unit of the South African Navy had conducted some kind of top secret maneuvers in the region corresponding approximately with where the explosion took place. Two months later in the middle of November 1979, a third sensation burst forth: atomic fall-out was discovered in New Zealand. Where was it from?

The "Vela" transmitted a signal that the force of the explosion was 2.4 kilotons, and that the region on which the nuclear radiation was distributed was equal in area to 3.5 thousand square miles.

However, specialists have verified that that same night when the explosion took place, the "Vela" supposedly got off course and only thereby detected the nuclear explosion.

It seemed to me that conversations about how the "Vela" supposedly got off course had no basis. A Soviet expert who well understands the subject of our attention--if a satellite's deviation from a set course is possible--has definitely rejected this claim.

Here are some more important details of what happened. The explosion took place not only at night, but under a dense layer of clouds. And this circumstance, of course, was counted on by the organizers of the explosion who were certain that the explosion would remain undetected.

It is known that the United States and South African Republic have been systematically exchanging satellite information and flight courses of satellites for a long time. The United States' resources to locate any test of nuclear weapons by tracking satellites are known in Pretoria. When the South African naval attache in Washington requested computer data exactly at that time about the locating of nuclear explosions by American tracking methods, it surprised no one. Something else is known: after yet another satellite located a nuclear laboratory in the Kalahari desert that was confirmed by American intelligence services, President J. Carter nevertheless did not publicize the nuclear tracking on the South African Republic.

On 22 September 1979, the excellently equipped "Arecibo" telescope (Puerto Rico), one of the most sensitive telescopes in the world, located a certain undulation in the ionosphere which moved to the north exactly from that region where the mysterious flash occurred. It could have been the result of an earthquake, or a so-called electron storm, or some kind of other phenomenon of nature which still has not been unravelled by scientists. However, calm reigned around there that night. There were no earthquakes, electron storms or other incidents. Perhaps it was the flash of a meteor? A representative of the State Department announced then: "Some people in Washington are certain that an explosion of a nuclear bomb took place."

In April of 1980, the commission of physicists gathered again in Washington. The goal? To analyze new evidence and information from Puerto Rico. After the meeting, the White House once again imposed a ban on printing the report. The CIA did not officially confirm the explosion, however its representatives still announced to the members of the U.S. Congress that if a nuclear explosion had taken place, then Israel and the South African Republic were responsible for it!

In November of 1982, a UPI correspondent transmitted the following from Tel Aviv: "The United States has refused to sell a nuclear reactor to Israel, but the Israeli Minister for Scientific Affairs (Yuval Neeman) has reported for the first time that Israel has the necessary technology at its disposal and can build a third reactor by itself." By that time, the reactor in Dimona in the Negev Desert, which had been built by the French, was in operation, and also a reactor in Nahal Soreg on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, near Ashdod. The question was from where did the raw materials for nuclear military programs systematically continue to appear in Israel?

The correspondent gave to understand that Israel is continuing to steal uranium in the United States and...from ships in the Ocean!

And in addition, top secret information and the technology of the production of cruise missiles mentioned in the book "Two Minutes Over Bagdad" were transferred to the Israelis by highly placed officers of the U.S. Air Force.

Finally, there is still another "color" for the "nuclear mosaic"; in 1981, Israeli engineers visited the South African Republic for the construction there of the first atomic submarine.

On 18 May 1985, the NEW YORK TIMES published the article "Israel Is Joining Up With the Nuclear Pie". It was reported in it that Israel has illegally obtained 800 triggering mechanisms for an atomic bomb.

The miniature switches, called "krytrons", can discharge a precisely measured charge of an electrical current in something like a millionth fraction of a second. They are used for military purposes. Therefore, export from the United States is strictly controlled, and only one American firm, which especially cautions all buyers that special permission from Washington is necessary for export, manufactures "krytrons".

The affair has reached a court. A Federal grand jury in California has charged businessman Richard Kelly Smyth with the illegal export to Israel of 800 "krytrons" in lots of 10 to 50 pieces. The Israeli Ministry of Defense has admitted that it received this shipment, however it has denied its involvement in the contraband transportation of it and subjected the reporting of the Israeli press about this affair to censorship. Apparently the Israeli authorities did not have a harmless explanation of what had happened. And the Israeli authorities did not want to swear their innocence, despite

the promise given. The NEW YORK TIMES has reasonably noted that if these purchases were illegal but Tel Aviv did not know about it, and if what was bought was not intended for military purposes, then in this case everything would be simple--Israel would apologize and publish the purposes for which the American "krytrons" were intended, and would appeal to the United States with a request for the issuance of an antedated license. Why was it necessary to propose returning the goods? Nothing like it happened.

The NEW YORK TIMES recalled a feeling of respect for an ally, having explained its opinion very distinctively. Last year when a Pakistani agent was tried for a similar violation, the U.S. Justice Department helped to conceal his connection with a friendly government, cancelled the delivery organized by him, and sent him back to his homeland. But the United States has also stiffened its control over export, and some members of Congress have urgently demanded that a law be adopted which refuses aid to any country which is active in the evasion of export restrictions.

Candidly speaking, the details of the incident with the "krytrons" only interested me from one point of view: for what purpose did Israel need them? For an answer to this question, once again we must return once again to my dossier "Israel--Nuclear Weapons".

Here are the latest notes--data about the deployment of nuclear weapons in Israel. The magazine AEROSPACE has reported that Israeli troops have deployed "Jericho" missiles in the Golan Heights and Negev Desert. The magazine has added that all the missiles there have been equipped with nuclear warheads.

Here is still another piece of information: the "Jericho" missiles produced in Israel are ballistic ones--that pricks up one's ears. They have been equipped with the newest guidance system. The "Jericho" missiles have been placed on specially equipped ground vehicles, although underground silos for them have also been built.

Against whom will these Israeli missiles be used? Of course, not only against Arabs.

The English GUARDIAN has reported on 15 May of this year that Israel has admitted receiving "krytrons" from the United States. It has been confirmed that their recipient is...the Israeli Ministry of Defense! At the same time it has been determined that these very important devices for nuclear weapons, which have been produced in the United States, have been received by Israel as far back as 1979-1983!

The very informative Kuwaiti newspaper (AL-KABAS) has reported on 5 May of this year that Israel and the South African Republic are working on the problem of reducing the sizes of the nuclear bomb. Then DAVAR, which is published in Israel, reported that the "Gabriel" type "surface-to-surface" missiles can now already cover a distance of 200 kilometers instead of 36. These missiles will be used by specially equipped helicopters.

The WASHINGTON POST has reported on 16 May of this year that the United States has requested permission to inspect an Israeli atomic reactor (probably the same reactor in Dimona). Washington has not received an answer, and they have preferred to hush up the scandal.

Well, what are American politicians saying?

Richard T. Kennedy, the Reagan Administration's ambassador for special assignments on the problems of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, has recently remarked that "there are countries which have gone too far (in their effort to succeed in the production of nuclear weapons--I. B.) We are very worried by this...." The ambassador listed Israel and the South African Republic among these countries! Moreover, he had in mind that Israeli and South African nuclear weapons already exist.

The American weekly TIME has recalled in June, 1985, that Israel has produced atomic weapons as far back as 1968, using plutonium for the production of them.

I am certain that the claim of the weekly TIME can be called into question. Journalists still are not experts! That can be a decisive argument for doubts. Therefore, as it appears to me, the opinions of a leading American authority in "small nuclear forces", R. Jones (Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University in Washington, to which the White House directs its attention) are very important and interesting. Any legal instance can accept them as highly conclusive evidence. In particular, the expert practically confirms that Israel:

1. Has at its disposal a scientific and technological base for the production of nuclear weapons.
2. Has produced nuclear weapons. In 1983, it could have had up to 30 plutonium warheads. In 1990, there will already be 70 of them. In R. Jones' opinion, Israel has become the owner of a "small nuclear force".

3. Has at its disposal the means for the delivery of nuclear weapons. Among them are 40 "F-15" fighter-bombers. In 1990, there will already be 125 of them!

4. Has a special command control system in the case of the use of nuclear weapons.

5. Has at its disposal the political will for the use of nuclear weapons.

And here is a no less important acknowledgement.

"The preparation for the use of nuclear weapons in the Near East," General K. Adam, the deputy chief of the General Staff of the Israeli Army, declared in 1982, "perhaps still requires two or more years. However, this case must be seriously examined through prediction and planning (political or military)...."

And why is the United States zealous for the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons in words?

As for President Reagan, the head of the present American administration, in contrast to John Kennedy, apparently is suggesting that the Israeli bomb is the principle means for achieving an "American peace" in the Near East, and the South African bomb is a means for eliminating a free Africa and Africans.

Having made the investigation which is before you, the reader, one comes to the conclusion that it is no coincidence that Israel and the South African Republic have not signed the Nuclear Weapons Nonproliferation Treaty. Remaining "paranuclear" countries in word, through their systematic actions directed towards the creation of their "bombs in the cellar" Israel and the South African Republic are only intensifying the already dangerously explosive setting in the Near East, Africa and the whole world.

Israel may launch the nuclear weapons it possesses at any time--today, tomorrow, in the future! Everyone who is fighting against a universal nuclear catastrophe cannot but take into account such a real possibility. It is not difficult to predict the destructive consequences, moreover the most destructive, which are similar to a chain reaction....

Is such a definite conclusion appropriate? Yes, it is appropriate. In October of this year Peres announced that Israel is taking part in the carrying out of Reagan's

"Star Wars" program. Primarily of its military sections....

Of course, the results of the investigation disturb me very much. Especially the fact of the possession by Israel and the South African Republic of nuclear weapons. They disturb me because these so-called "paranuclear" countries stubbornly and deliberately do not want to be subject to the requirements of the Nuclear Weapons Nonproliferation Treaty. This means that they have some kind of other plans in relation to these weapons. What kind? The answer to this question requires another investigation....

12810

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

IMPERIALISM, NOT RELIGION, MAIN CAUSE OF IRAN-IRAQ WAR

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 8, Aug 85 pp 56-58

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Notin, "The Iran-Iraq Conflict"]

[Text] The bloody war between Iran and Iraq has gone on for five years. It began in the fall of 1980. According to various accounts, from 500,000 to 600,000 people have been killed in military action, and about 600,000 have been wounded. Recently, military operations have been more and more often directed at civilian objectives, and as a result hundreds of thousands of peaceful inhabitants of Iran and Iraq have abandoned their ancestral lands and moved to regions away from the front lines. Today, these lines extend more than 1200 kilometers from North to South.

Tremendous damage has been done to the economies of both countries. The output of oil has been reduced, correspondingly decreasing the income from its export which, as is known, is the basis of the state budget in both countries. At the same time, spending on military needs is increasing. Naturally, the people's situation is deteriorating. Inflation is growing, there is an insufficient supply of foodstuffs and goods in high demand, the housing problem is being aggravated, the financing of social needs is of course being ever more reduced, and unemployment is growing. Specialists think, and quite correctly, that the warring countries have been set back by a decade in their economic development.

In spite of all these circumstances, Teheran consistently declares its intention to bring the war "to a victorious conclusion," regardless of the consequences and sacrifices involved. It rejects proposals which could end the conflict. The war has taken on a protracted character.

What is the essence of the conflict between Iran and Iraq? Why has it turned out to be so difficult to solve? This question concerns not only the warring countries. The political consequences of the conflict have clearly overgrown their borders.

Some Western specialists depict it as almost a contemporary variety of religious war, and seek the main reason for its outbreak and development in Islam. It goes without saying that in examining the contradictions one cannot help but take the religious factor into account, and it without a doubt plays a role here. However, it is also clear that its role is secondary, and that the real reason for the conflict is not in religious differences. These are no greater today than in any other period in the history of these countries.

As sources of the conflict, one should look to longstanding mutual territorial claims that stem from the first years of this century, and to border disputes between Iran and Iraq that have been significantly aggravated by colonialism. The traditional rivalry between Iran and Iraq--the largest countries in the the Persian Gulf region (Iraq's population is over 12 million, and Iran's is 44 million)--has also played a role. This condition of their relations was advantageous to the imperialist powers, and they exerted no small efforts not only towards maintaining it, but towards stirring up enmity between these neighboring states.

These are the fundamental reasons for the Iran-Iraq conflict. What kind of role does the religious factor play in the two countries' relations? It goes without saying that both sides take it into account and endeavour to turn it to their advantage, or to neutralize its undesired influence.

In discussing religious contradictions between Iran and Iraq, it is well to keep in mind above all the differences in the predominant sects of Islam in these countries--Sunnism and Shiism.¹ Shiism has been the state religion in Iran since the sixteenth century, and today Shiites make up 90 per cent of the country's population. In Iraq, in spite of the fact that 60 per cent of its population is Shiite, the leading role in the political life of the country belongs to Sunnis. It is important that Shiism has always played an appreciable role in the history of the peoples living on the territory of contemporary Iraq and Iran. On more than one occasion it served as a religious basis for protest against the rule of the caliphs (practically--against their cruelty and abuses, dogmatically--against the injustice of their rule, since they were not direct descendents of the prophet).

Having arisen on Arab national soil, this sect of Islam at first predominantly spread throughout the central and southern areas of contemporary Iraq. Therefore, the most revered Shiite holy places turned out to be here: the mosque and grave of the Imam Ali in Nejef, and the place where his son, Imam Hussein, perished, in Kerbela. Every year, in the first month of the Moslem calendar--Muharram--which is known as a month of "grief and sorrow," tens of thousands of pilgrims from all over the world gather in traditional ceremonies in memory of the martyrs of Shiism. A

high organ of the Shiite community is also located in Nejef--the so called "Circle of Ulama,"² which is a kind of council of Shiite elders.

Over time, the center of Shiism shifted to Iran, and today the most influential Shiite religious and political organizations that oppose Sunni regimes are here. Important international Shiite sacred places and objectives of pilgrimages are located in the cities of Qom and Mashad. All the same, these are less significant than Iraq's Nejef and Kerbela. Apparently, therefore, after the 1979 victory of the anti-Shah Islamic revolution, the new Iranian religious and political leadership demanded the return of some sacred objects from Iraq to the Iranian city of Qom which, in its opinion, must become the world center of Shiism, equal in significance to Mecca and Medina (in Saudi Arabia). These projects, however, did not find sympathy among the Shiites of other countries, and the government of Iraq firmly opposed them.

The ruling Baath party of Iraq welcomed the Islamic revolution in Iran. Soon, however, relations between the countries began to deteriorate. To a certain extent this was connected with the fact that the new government of Iran announced a policy of "exporting Islamic revolution," and the Shiite clergy of Iran considered the religious situation in Iraq optimal for putting such a policy into action. There was also a certain reckoning on the traditional, lasting ties between the members of the Iraqi Shiite community and their fellow believers in Iran, which exerts a known ideological and political influence on Iraqis.

Even before the beginning of the conflict, subversive activity on the part of anti-Iraqi religious organizations became widely developed. An appeal to constituents of one of these, which was released under the title of "The Islamic Revolution of Iraq," contains a call that is typical of such organizations for Iraqi Shiites and Moslems of Iraqi origin in exile to take part in a "holy war against the Baathist regime." The activity of these organizations has been stirred up since the beginning of the conflict.

The Iranian leadership is striving to use the activity of the Shiite parties and movements in Iraq itself that which oppose the Baath. The two most influential of these are the Party of the Islamic Call, or Dava, and the organization of fighters of Ulama (it is usually called the Mujaheddin, or fighters for the cause of Islam).

Before the Iranian revolution the presence of the Dava party was almost entirely unnoticed in Iraq (although it was formed in 1968-1969, and according to some--in 1959). However, after the coming to power of the Shiite clergy in Iran, the ruling center of the party was moved to Teheran, and its activity, particularly in the area of propaganda, was appreciably intensified. The

eight-page newspaper of the Dava party, AL-JIHAD, comes out weekly in Teheran. The party has a special military unit in its ranks called the Army for the Liberation of Iraq, which is being formed on Iranian territory.

Dava expresses the interests of the conservative part of the Shiite clergy of Nejef and Kerbela. Its backbone consists of members of the middle Shiite strata--officials, professional people, and the "traditional" Shiite intelligentsia. The party is making attempts to draw the Iraqi peasantry (and it is predominantly Shiite) into the political struggle, but without success--which is probably explained by the notable improvement in the position of the peasantry as a result of the agrarian reform carried out by the Baath party in 1970.

The Organization of the Fighters of Ulama (the Mujaheddin) is primarily active in Baghdad and Mosul. The Mujaheddin are for the most part graduates of secondary school and college, teachers, and other representatives of the urban intelligentsia.

In spite of certain differences, both parties oppose the Baath regime and join in supporting the Iranian policy of "exporting Islamic revolution."

The Shiite clergy of Nejef supported and inspired an opposition movement in the country long before the Iranian revolution. In 1974 and 1977 it incited anti-government demonstrations in Nejef and Kerbela, and in 1979-1980--unrest in Baghdad, Basra, and other cities. This was a reaction to the "secular policy" of the authorities, which brought about deep changes in the mass consciousness of Iraqis and threatened the interests of the "Circle of Ulama."

The government took a series of measures against the religious opposition. In this regard, Iraqi President Saddam Husayn said: "We warn...that the use of religion as a cover for policies and actions opposing the course and aims of the revolution in religious practice, and pitting one against another, serves only the interests of neocolonialism. Such activity cannot help but suffer severe punishment and the iron fist of the revolution."

The measures taken, however, were by no means the most important factor in relations with the Shiite opposition. Social policies aimed at improving the position of Shiites in the country also played a role. An agrarian reform (1970), laws providing for social security and insurance, the establishment of a minimum wage and the general provision of pensions, widespread housing construction in the city and country, the introduction of compulsory education, and the development of medical service systems--all these steps led to material improvement in the situation of the lower strata of the population (from which the Shiites predominantly come), and at the same time struck a blow against traditional, including religious, institutions and

relations, and weakened the position of the Nejef Shiite clergy. A national campaign to struggle with illiteracy, which affected more than 2.5 million people at the beginning of the 1980's, also strongly undermined its influence.

Historical experience again and again shows that religious slogans can only raise the masses to political struggle (as happened, for example, in Iran) when they act as a cover; a form of expressing social discontent.

In Iran, the capitalist modernization "from above" undertaken by the Shah's regime led to the impoverishment and pauperization of millions of laborers and small owners of the city and country, bringing about a wave of social protest in religious form, which swept away this regime. On the other hand, the Baathist policy pursued in Iraq in the 1970s facilitated a rise in the workers' living standard. This is also, in our view, the main reason for the relative passivity and lack of receptivity among the Shiite lower classes of Iraq to antigovernment agitation by the Nejef Shiite clergy and calls by Teheran to come out against the "Baathist regime." According to observers, just as before the beginning of the conflict, the Shiite opposition in Iraq "remains completely peaceful."

The accusations of "atheism" raised by the clergy against the ruling Baath party are neutralized by a whole complex of propaganda measures undertaken by Baghdad, explaining the relationship of Baath to Islam and the religious problem in general.

In Baath ideology, appeal to Islam occupies a clearly secondary place, with first belonging to the ideal of pan-Arabism as expressed in the triune slogan "Unity, freedom, socialism."³ However, the Baathists have never taken an atheistic position. At all stages of secularism, this petty bourgeois nationalist party has unconditionally recognized the role of religion in the life of Arab society and has always considered the place of Islam in the consciousness of working Moslems. The leaders of the Baath party emphasize that "our party does not remain neutral on the question of unbelief and faith. It is always for faith. At the same time, the Baath cannot and must not be religious party."

The Baath policy on the Shiite question is rather flexible, considers the characteristics of the moment, and makes concessions on purely religious questions in order to gain and keep allies in political and material affairs. For example, the Iraqi leadership announced at the beginning of 1980 that in the previous year alone they had apportioned 24.4 million dinars for religious aims (construction and repair of mosques, pilgrimages, and so on), and that moreover neither Shiite nor Sunni had any preference here. By order of the Iraqi president, the birthday of the Imam Ali, whom the Shiites honor equally with the prophet Mohammed, is a national holiday. In 1980-1981 the Baath leader

visited many Shiite regions and promised to increase state aid to the population of these places, and to carry out new reforms for improving their situation. He declared to the Shiites of Nejef and Kerbela that: "Without distorting history, we have a right to say today that we are the children of Imam Hussein"

Unlike the Iranian leadership, which strives to give the conflict an exclusively religious nature, the Iraqi leaders place the primary emphasis on Arab nationalism in their internal propaganda, emphasizing that in the war with Iran they are defending "the general Arab cause from encroachment by the Persian enemy," and "guarding the Eastern borders of the Arab world," and so on. This is precisely why the official mass information media in Iraq call the Iran-Iraq war Qadisiyah referring in this way to the well known battle of Qadisiyah in the first century of Hijrah (637), when the Arabs inflicted a crushing defeat on the Persian army. Attempts in the same direction are made to transform religious symbolism, and to isolate and emphasize the idea of national self-consciousness in it: yes, many Iraqi Shiites honor Ali, but they should be reminded that both Shiites and Sunnis in Iraq are Arabs. This unites them, so certain differences in cult do not have primary significance. On an official sign by the entrance to the mosque of the Imam Ali, visitors may read: "We are proud of the presence here of our great father Ali, since he was a leader of Islam, a cousin of the prophet, and since he was an Arab" (my emphasis--A.N.).

Understanding that all forms of social discontent stir up and support religious opposition, the Iraqi leadership, in spite of serious financial difficulties brought about by the war, is even today doing much to support the previous living standard of the population. The country imports goods in wide demand, food, cheese, and strictly controls prices and supplies. These measures also serve to neutralize the opponents of the regime. The current state of the Shiite problem in Iraq clearly shows that in themselves, without their sustaining social foundation, religious differences and slogans do not play a determining role in the relations of society's various strata. Thus, Teheran's calculations in playing the "Shiite card" in the conflict with Iraq have not brought the expected results.

Islam does not play a determining role in the Iran-Iraq conflict. But it is apparent that religious slogans are used in Iran to send tens of thousands of Iranians to a senseless death, especially 13-16 year old youths. In February-March of this year, the so-called battle of the Strait of Hormuz occurred on the Iran-Iraq front, in which tens of thousands of people perished. Young Iranian soldiers have symbolic keys to the "gates of heaven," and religious propaganda pamphlets remind them of a well-known thesis in Islam: he who dies for the faith goes straight to heaven.

A recognition of the hopelessness of prolonging the war, and the senselessness of the sacrifices laid at the altar of the "battle for religion" (at the top in Teheran, they declare that "We are fighting for our religion, not for territory") is ever more deeply penetrating wide strata of Iranian society. According to foreign publications, an antiwar movement is expanding in Iran. Protest demonstrations take place in Teheran, Kermanshah, Meshed, and Hamadan. Many mullahs support them. A series of deputies of the mejli (the parliament) have come out against the war.

Without a doubt, the Iran-Iraq armed conflict today affects the interests not only of the warring countries. Exploiting the situation (in particular, referring to Iran's threat to close off the free passage of tankers through the Strait of Hormuz), the USA and the NATO countries are assembling warships in the Persian Gulf. There are always five U.S.A. Navy cruisers here, led by the flagship "Lassalle." The American aircraft carrier "Midway", which carries 85 warplanes and is supported and serviced by another six ships, plies the coast of Oman. At any moment, up to 30 of the U.S.A.'s warships can arrive here from nearby regions of the Indian Ocean. The Persian Gulf is the "number one objective" for the 250,000-strong contingent of the U.S.A.'s rapid deployment force, which is maintained in 48-hour readiness. Significant French and British naval forces are concentrated in the Gulf.

Clearly, the U.S.A.'s actions by no means stem from concern for the interests of the peoples of this region. Nothing would serve the fundamental, vital interests of the latter like a just political settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict. And forceful methods have not yet settled even one such situation. Rather the opposite.

The Iran-Iraq war, the essence of which is not at all in religion, enters organically into the general strategy of the imperialist opposition to the world socialist system, and facilitates Washington's aggressive, anti-Arab plans in the Near East. Therefore, a prolongation of the conflict is in the interests of the imperialists.

Other motives, and genuine interest in the quickest solution of Iran-Iraq contradictions on a just basis determine the Soviet Union's position on this question. This was brought out, in particular, in the discussions with the Iranian delegation led by the Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister of Iran, H. Kazempurom-Ardebili, which arrived in Moscow in April 1985. Politburo member of the CPSU CC and First Deputy President of the USSR Council of Ministers A.A. Gromyko emphasized at these talks that: "The Soviet Union decisively stands for the quickest cessation of this conflict, and a shift to political means of settling contentious questions outstanding between Iran and Iraq. This would answer both the fundamental interests of the peoples of both countries and the broad interests of peace." At the basis

of the Soviet position is an underlying realism and a deep understanding of the senselessness and destructiveness for the peoples of conflicts such as that between Iran and Iraq. This position finds support and sympathy among the progressive forces and world public opinion at large.

FOOTNOTES

1. Shiism (from the Arabic shia--party or group) arose in the first decade following the death of the prophet Mohammed (632) as a religious form of opposition to the orthodox Sunni sect of Islam. In contrast to Sunnis, Shiites recognize the "true Imams"--only Moslem leaders who are direct descendants of the prophet Mohammed. In all, according to Shiism, there were twelve Imams, and the first of these, Imam Ali, was a cousin of Mohammed and husband of his daughter Fatima.
2. The Ulama, or Ulemy--are Shiite scholar-theologians, the most authoritative representatives of the Shiite clergy.
3. The all-Arab Baath party arose in the mid-1940's in Syria. Its branch in Iraq was formally organized at the beginning of the 1950's.
4. PRAVDA, April 6, 1985.

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13017

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

READER'S QUESTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN IRAN ANSWERED

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 27, 2 Jul 85 p 8

[Article by V. Aleksandrov and A. Ivanov]

[Text] I have read that in Iran the persecution of those who speak out against the "Islamization of the nation" continues. Please give us some more details about this.

A. Konkin, Dushanbe

According to reports from Iran published in the journal PROBLEMY MIRA SOTSIALZMA, a bloody terror reigns in the country. Mass executions of the best sons and daughters of the Iranian people, death sentences without trial and investigation, unbearable social oppression and exploitation--these are the results of the "Islamic justice" promised to the people by the reactionary authorities. The police, the guards of the Islamic revolution, the security organ (SAVAMA--successor to the Shah-era SAVAK) and other repressive institutions enjoy unlimited rights to arrest and punish those who, in their opinion, violate the draconian laws and statute of the authorities.

Iran has several times in the last two years increased the number of prisons where tens of thousands of prisoners, including women, old people and even children, undergo refined tortures. Prisoners are sometimes held for months blindfolded in solitary confinement. There are many known cases of mothers tortured in front of their small children. People are beaten unmercifully and have their arms and legs broken. Those who hold to their convictions in spite of the bestial tortures are subjected to psychotropic drugs that break down the will and the ability to think and to resist. Out of their minds, prisoners are made to participate in the execution of their comrades in the struggle. Generalizing from the information that has leaked from the torture chambers to the foreign progressive press, it may be said that the number of political prisoners in Iran exceeds 100,000. At the very least, 10,000 have already been executed.

The people languishing in these jails have no sort of legal protection. The threat of execution constantly hands over even those who have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

The country completely tramples human rights. It relentlessly squashes any expression of protest. The authorities torture and kill anyone who does not agree with them, and destroy the true patriots, primarily the members of the People's party of Iran (Tudeh), and the organizations [Mujahedine Khala and Fedayeene Khala (Majority).]

In these difficult days for the Iranian people demands to halt the executions and torture and to free political prisoners, the true patriots, fighting courageously for democracy and progress in their homeland are growing around the world.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

NEGATIVE REACTION TO HUSSEIN-ARAFAT AGREEMENT EXPLAINED

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 27, 2 Jul 85 p 8

[Article by V. Aleksandrov and A. Ivanov]

[Text] Why did the agreement signed in Amman by King Hussein of Jordan and PLO leader Arafat elicit such a negative reaction in the Arab world?

The Jordanian-Palestinian agreement on "a framework for joint action towards a Middle East settlement" was signed on 11 February of this year. At first glance it appears that this document contains no provisions that violate generally recognized principles for the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In particular, it confirms "the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination" and "participation by the Palestinian Liberation Organization in peace talks, as the only lawful representative of the Arab Palestinian people." It speaks of the necessity of establishing an international conference on the Middle East under the aegis of the UN, and also of solving "the problem of Palestinian refugees in accordance with UN resolutions.

These are essentially the same principles of settlement insisted upon by the vast majority of Arab countries, and which were formulated in the documents of the meeting of Arab heads of states and governments in Fex which worked out a pan-Arab plan for a Middle East settlement. Why, then, has a sharp polemic sprung up right away in this case concerning the Amman agreement, both from within the Palestinian resistance movement and in the Arab world as a whole? Why has it received a sharply negative appraisal from Palestinian organizations and individual figures, especially the democratically-inclined? The Jordanian-Palestinian agreement is condemned by all progressive Arab nations and parties. It is significant that this agreement is opposed by some in Arafat's inner circle, particularly [F. Kaddumi], head of the PLO political department, and one of the leaders of the Fatah organization, [A. Iyad].

The fact is that the formulations of the Amman agreement, which are completely acceptable at first glance, contain so many reservations which actually bring them to naught, while evading the key issues of a just Middle East settlement. The document speaks of the Palestinian right to self-determination. But there is no mention of establishing an independent Palestinian state, only of a "Arab confederate union" which would consist of Jordanian and Palestinian state formations. Thus, the right of the Palestinians to choose the formulation of their future state system is limited from the start.

PLO participation in talks? Yes. Not independently however, but as part of a Jordanian Palestinian delegation. This violates the exclusive right of the PLO to represent the Palestinian people that has been confirmed by all inter-Arab summit conferences.

The agreement does actually talk about an international conference, but it clearly has an ambiguous role: this forum must only rubber-stamp decisions arrived at in separate talks with Israel.

That is why many in the Arab world regard the Amman agreement as a slip to the side of Camp David and the "Reagan plan", which has been conditionally rejected by the majority of the Arab states, and as an obvious concession to the United States that puts the Arab states on the path of separate deals and capitulation. There is another circumstance of no little importance. Conclusion of the Amman agreement has had a negative effect on the situation inside the PLO and deepened the divisions in the organization's ranks. This circumstance objectively plays into the hands of the US and Israel in their aggressive expansionist policy toward the Arab countries and in Washington's attempts to restore their lost military-political position in the Middle East.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

PEACE AGREEMENT IN UGANDA, TASKS AHEAD EXAMINED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 85 p 5

[Commentary by Igor Tartunin: "In the Interests of Unity"]

[Text] The ruling military council of Uganda and the opposition National Resistance Army (NRA) have signed a peace agreement. The sides have agreed on a cease fire and to guarantee law and order in the country. The task to integrate NRA detachments and to reorganize the army was proposed as well as to restore the economy and the system of administrative management. The agreement also provides for convening a national conference of political and religious leaders from all regions in order to discuss the question of elections and restoration of civilian rule.

We remember that in July of this year a coup took place in Uganda which the military carried out. They were able to reach agreement with many of the existing political and armed groupings whose representatives formed a government. However, they were not able to find a common language with the largest of these groups, the National Resistance Army. They tried to resolve their differences by force of arms. Bloody battles broke out.

Here it is necessary to say that the tense situation in Uganda has remained for many years. Many specialists see as one of the main reasons the fact that after achieving independence the young republic was not able to overcome the sharp internal tribal and religious contradictions. These were found in traces of the past, when the colonizers specifically kindled ethnic dissension, using their favorite method of "divide and conquer".

The poisoned seeds sown during that period are making their appearance to this day in various African countries. It is possible to recall the events in Biafra which claimed the lives of tens of thousands of Nigerians. There are fresh examples. The clearest of these is Chad. The many years of internecine war completely disorganized the economic life of the country and practically led to its split. France interfered in the internal conflict and sent its armed forces into the country.

Imperialist forces are trying to use for their own benefit the competition between groups and individual leaders in the struggle for power in many countries of the continent. The coups and conflicts inspired by them complicate the situation not only in specific states but in whole regions

and painfully affect the development of all of Africa. They lead to political instability and economic difficulties and serve as a pretext for direct intervention by neocolonialists.

In Uganda the conflicting sides were able to achieve a compromise and make mutual concessions. Of course, bringing the peace agreement to life will not be a simple matter. It is important, however, that the interests of maintaining the national unity of the country be uppermost.

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END