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1 JULY 1986

# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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1 JULY 1986

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## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

## PRAVDA CALLS FOR CHANGE IN POLITICAL THINKING IN NUCLEAR AGE

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 86 p 2

[Article by V. Mshveniyeradze, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "New Political Thinking"]

[Text] The current world situation is exceptionally distinctive. It is essentially a question of a qualitatively new state thereof which is historically unparalleled. The CPSU Central Committee Report to the 27th party congress observes: "The modern world is complex, multifaceted, dynamic, imbued with antagonistic trends and full of contradictions. It is a world of most complex alternatives, anxieties and hopes."

For an in-depth comprehension of the new political reality, a correct orientation therein and the adoption of well-founded decisions at all levels what are needed are, as the 15 January 1986 statement of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary said, new, bold approaches, new political thinking and a heightened awareness of responsibility for the fate of the peoples.

The vital strength of Marxism-Leninism lies in its continuous self-renewal under the impact of changing practice and in its bold, creative and truly innovative surmounting of outmoded forms of thinking. Highlighting this aspect, V.I. Lenin wrote: "Engels says plainly that 'with every discovery constituting an era, even in the natural history sphere' (not to mention the history of mankind) 'materialism must inevitably change its form'" ("Complete Works," vol 18, p 265).

This applies in full to Marxist-Leninist political science also. Today its role in the comprehension of the processes occurring in the world is greater than ever for of all the forms of social consciousness and social practice policy has moved to the forefront and occupies the priority place. There is no sphere of socially significant activity which does not have predominantly a political dimension. Nor has the question of the need for the political settlement of problems arising in international relations been posed so acutely before in the history of mankind. All this makes sharply increased demands on political science, the wealth of its principles and the entire conceptual apparatus of political thinking.

The interpretation of the unity and diversity of the world is in need of new approaches now. It contains approximately 200 states distinguished by their

social system, spiritual, ideological and cultural-historical traditions and national features.

The basic contradiction of the era--between capitalism and socialism--permeates the diversity of conflicting interests. In the spiritual-ideological sphere it is expressed primarily in the struggle of the two basic world-outlook directions--Marxist-Leninist and bourgeois--and two types of political thinking--realistic-creative and dialectical and conservative-dogmatic and metaphysical bearing the strongest imprint of reactionary utopianism.

At the same time an unprecedented expansion of world relations, the interweaving of the interests of the peoples and their mutual familiarization and recognition are objectively under way. The modern mass information and communications media, the extensive, literally all-embracing development of trade-economic, S&T, cultural and sports relations and tourism and joint activity in the ramified system of regional, international, interstate, professional and other organizations and movements have brought all states closer together in time and space, leaving no trace of the former isolation of separate peoples.

But there is a main factor posing anew the question of the unity of the peoples, regardless of differences of many levels. It is a question of the threat of nuclear annihilation looming over mankind. Each inhabitant of the planet's membership of the single human race and the need for a decisive struggle for survival and the salvation of civilization are being recognized increasingly poignantly.

The arms race being pursued by the imperialist states and being foisted by them on other countries is unacceptable not only because it is pushing the world toward nuclear catastrophe. It is in itself even now having a negative impact on the entire course of socioeconomic progress and impeding the ascertainment and revelation of man's creative powers and the elimination of illiteracy, poverty, starvation and disease, from which a considerable number of inhabitants of the planet are suffering. The American political scientist R. Glossop observes in the book "Resisting War" that even if a real war never erupts, the preparations for it are so costly that they could prove an impediment to the survival of mankind.

The colossal resources and means being diverted into arms and the preparation for war are preventing the solution of urgent global problems of mankind, including, of course, the problem of development. They are creating a growing disproportion between the dynamism of the contemporary political process and the objective course of the S&T revolution, which are engendering new living conditions, and the possibility of man adapting to these conditions and conforming to the accelerating rate of movement, not to mention dominating them. The solution of this contradiction demands not only an end to the arms race but also the radical democratization and humanization of international relations and all political activity, the eradication of narrow-class egotism and actions in the interests of the masses of the working people at large.

The need for a new type of political thinking is also brought about by the fact that many of its traditional forms are today not simply unacceptable but also extremely dangerous. The formula of Ancient Rome "If you wish for peace, prepare

for war," which has for millennia been used and continues to be used even now by Western political thought to justify an aggressive foreign policy course, has not only become outmoded. In addition, following it has become a direct threat to mankind. If you wish for peace, you must not prepare for war for winning it is impossible but defend peace, and defend it by common efforts, what is more.

Among the main indications characterizing the new political thinking and the new philosophical conception of policy we may distinguish the following.

Primarily a comprehension of the world as a unity of diversity and system of states which in order to exist must coexist peacefully. There is no other political, economic, social, ideological or any other problem which can be settled positively by way of the use of armed force or the threat of force. And there is no problem which cannot be solved by peaceful, political means.

Exceptional importance in this connection is attached to various international contacts, perfection of the negotiating mechanism at different levels on urgent and acute questions of interstate relations and the utmost strengthening and extension of the activity of international organizations. With the passage of time an increasingly large number of problems should be the subject of the broadest discussion, consultation, agreement and formulation of general accords.

States' growing interconnectedness demands the safeguarding of their mutual security and clear recognition of the indisputable fact that a condition of the security of one state is the security of others and an understanding of the simple correspondence between the ends and means of their achievement. Any conflict, any local military clash is fraught with the latent possibility of growth into a world nuclear war.

Openness of thinking, its questing, alternative nature, a comprehensive sober evaluation of the current situation and its dynamism, a renunciation of stereotypes, an ability to see the new political realities--this is what is particularly necessary today. Political processes are too fast-flowing for hardened nature of forms of political thinking to have any justification. Take, say, the mass democratic movements, which have become a most important driving force of social progress. Although these movements do not advance communist slogans, they are encountering support and understanding precisely on the part of the socialist countries for the ideals of socialism coincide fully with the general aspirations to peace, freedom and prosperity. Bourgeois governments' attitude toward them is different. Repressive and punitive measures are employed against their participants. The attitude toward the mass democratic movements is the touchstone against which the democratic nature of the system and political thought and action is tested today.

It is well known that the basis of different programs of political action is this ideology or the other expressing the interests of classes, social groups and other communities. The connection between ideology and policy is beyond question. Abstracting oneself from it when deciding this question or the other is mistaken. But equating ideology and policy and ignoring their specific features and the difference of ways and means of solving problems which arise here is no less mistaken.

Ideological struggle in the modern world is inevitable, but it by no means precludes the possibility of and need for intelligent political compromise aimed at the successful settlement of contentious issues. It is just as obvious that the ideological struggle should be conducted precisely by ideological weapons. Reliance on military force is a sign of ideological and political impotence. Of course, the "psychological warfare," propaganda of hate and the implantation of hostility toward other peoples unleashed by imperialism has nothing in common either with a real comparison of views or the free exchange of ideas, about which the West so likes to talk. Contemporary political thinking demands a reorganization of the entire system of information, communication and education and their orientation toward the affirmation of a spirit of peace and good-neighborliness between peoples.

Finally, what is needed is an emphatic renunciation of the competitive method of political thinking in international affairs--this main obstacle to the establishment of such a key principle of mutual relations as political trust. Competitive struggle is organically inherent in the bourgeois way of life. Weaken and wear out the partner and then crush him in order to oneself "survive"--such is a law of capitalism. Automatically carried over into the sphere of foreign policy, particularly in respect of the socialist countries, such a way of thinking and acting could have disastrous consequences of the cause of peace.

Of course, as long as capitalism exists, the features intrinsically inherent in its nature are preserved also. But it is not the sole political system. World socialism, the progressive social and political system, which is establishing fundamentally new, humanist, democratic and equal relations between people, peoples and states, is strengthening its positions and gaining strength.

Of course, it is not easy acknowledging the loss of monopoly position in the world, abandoning old hegemonist habits and stereotypes of imperial thinking and being able to boldly and objectively evaluate the new political situation. The existence in the world of nuclear weapons is changing fundamentally the nature of international relations. The sole outlet imperatively dictated by the times is peaceful coexistence and renunciation of the policy of confrontation and rivalry. Playing politics in the nuclear age is impermissible.

In comprehending the present political reality it is essential to determine in the chain of the multitude of interconnected processes the "basic link" and distinguish the main from the derived. Such a link is a halt to the arms race and the reduction and liquidation of nuclear arsenals. The first step in this direction could be a halt to nuclear explosions and negotiations on the conclusion of an agreement on the prohibition thereof in all spheres. However, in response to all our peace proposals the United States says: "No". The test nuclear explosion which the Reagan administration carried out yesterday should be seen as an insolent challenge to the opinion of the world community and a blow to the hopes of all peoples of our planet and their vital interests.

Yes, political wisdom matures slowly, unfortunately, and frequently lags considerably behind political reality. But all the more urgent is the task of accelerating this process and preventing imprudence prevailing over prudence and recklessness over actions which have been comprehensively weighed and considered and which guarantee general security.

The peaceful intentions and appeals of the Soviet Union are not only a manifestation of a high sense of political responsibility but also an expression of firm confidence in its powers and the strengthening potential of peace, prudence and good will in the world.

Having defined the current situation as a pivotal stage of world history, the 27th CPSU Congress put forward the principles of the creation of an all-embracing system of international security. It clearly indicated the new features and singularities of the present period of development and called fully in accordance with the spirit of the times for a renewal of international relations and the formulation of a fundamentally new philosophy of politics. This is the summons of prudence to the peoples of the world and the governments of all states. The foreign policy principles of the congress were warmly supported by all peaceable, democratic forces of the planet. Today they are being consistently implemented in practice.

Reliance on the broad people's masses and the profound expression in the policy pursued of their vital interests are the criterion of the soundness of political thinking and behavior and serve as a stimulus to justified sociopolitical optimism.

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

ZHUKOV WRITES ON APRIL WPC SESSION IN SOFIA

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 20, 26 May 86 pp 3-5

[Article by Yuri Zhukov, Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee]

[Text] The Sofia session of the World Peace Council met at a crucial moment. Largely through the innovatory initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the prerequisites have been created for a radical improvement in the international situation. All peace movements welcome these initiatives, seeing them as an embodiment of their own demands. However, favourable prerequisites do not in themselves constitute a turn for the better. There is still an unprecedented threat hanging over the world, and consequently unprecedented efforts are required to remove it.

ROMESH CHANDRA

(From the report to the WPC session)

It was with special interest, even, I would say, with great enthusiasm, that the Soviet delegation participated in the Sofia four-day session of the World Peace Council (WPC), which developed into a dynamic, businesslike, critical and impartial discussion of the forms and methods of the WPC's work. Heated debates started informally at 7 a.m. over breakfast in the restaurant of the comfortable Rodina Hotel, reached their peak at plenary sittings, in commissions, working groups and at all sorts of multilateral and bilateral meetings in the Palace of Congresses, and ended long after midnight in lobbies and hotel rooms.

To give the reader an idea of how intense the debates were, I shall cite just these figures: over those four days the plenary meetings, commissions and working groups were addressed by 570 delegates from 121 countries; these were not the general statements some international meetings have their share of, but self-critical analyses of the work done, and outlines of plans for the future, with an emphasis on the

need to revise the forms and methods of our activities taking into account the current changes on the world scene.

The Bulgarian capital was unbelievably beautiful in late April, its gardens filled with lilac blossom and scarlet tulips basking in the brilliant summery sun. Proud chestnuts held their white candles high. Memories from 37 years ago came back to me: Paris had been bright and sunny in April 1949 when we first assembled in the Pleyel Hall, with the unforgettable Frédéric Joliot-Curie in the chair, to start the international peace movement.

The World Peace Council was founded in Warsaw a year later. It brought together all serious-minded people who realized the importance for the future of mankind of pooling the good will of nations desirous of promoting peace and good-neighbourly relations against the evil will of those who already then nurtured plans for nuclear war and wove the sinister web of military alliances.

We all take pride in the truly great achievements made by peace workers

over the past decades under the leadership of the WPC, which drew hundreds of millions of people into the peace offensive. The unprecedented success of the famous Stockholm Appeal, which helped prevent the American General MacArthur from using atomic weapons in Korea; the effective campaign to stop the U.S. aggression against Vietnam; the victory of the movement against the deployment of neutron bombs in Europe--these and many other great achievements have gone down in history.

As early as the seventies, however, there emerged in the peace movement new processes and phenomena which called for a comprehensive analysis and new political and organizational approaches to the problems with which it was confronted. A complex dialectical process began to evolve in the peace movement.

On the one hand, the mounting danger of nuclear war brought to life a large number of organizations and groups which made their voices heard the world over. Millions of people, concerned for their own and their children's destinies who had previously kept aloof from the peace movement, took to the streets in the largest states of Western Europe and in America. They came to realize that today mankind's very existence hangs in the balance. These new forces play an important part in the campaign for peace.

On the other hand, one cannot fail to see that many in these movements and organizations lack experience of active politics. Frequently they have only dim notions of the motive forces in world development, and are not always clear as to who is responsible for the arms race. Furthermore, some of them are still under the influence of the cunning and mendacious propaganda of those opposed to peace and shun cooperation with the WPC. Why? Because capitalist propaganda pictures it as a tool of Soviet foreign policy. The idea is to scare all those who advocate disarmament but do not share our social views away from the WPC.

Under the circumstances, however, the World Peace Council has not only retained its lead in the peace movement, but is even steadily consolidating it. This is due to its persistent and purposeful action to remove the nuclear

**Tangible successes in the fight for peace  
can only be achieved given cooperation between  
all the forces working to preserve life on earth**

war danger and settle the local conflicts which flare up with increasing frequency and could well develop into a global conflict. It was not without reason that during the Sofia session the WPC received messages of greetings from the U.N. Secretary-General and the heads of over 20 governments and states.

Nevertheless, participants made it quite clear that at the present juncture tangible successes in the fight for peace can only be achieved given cooperation between all the forces working to preserve life on earth.

For all the aspersions cast by reactionary propaganda on the WPC, the Sofia session attracted many peace campaigners who had not previously been in contact with the World Peace Council. Today they have a pressing need for such contact, and many of the organizations which sent their representatives to Sofia therefore decided to join the WPC.

Let us pause and consider the reasons for this. Today, as Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out in his message to the Sofia session, it is no longer sufficient to want peace, to condemn the buildup of military potentials, or even merely to see whence the threat to mankind emanates. The need now is for action—persistent and purposeful action such as that in which the movements rallied around the World Peace Council are engaged. All peace forces must join hands in concerted action.

A vigorous campaign is being fought worldwide to assert a new approach in international politics, opposed at once to war and the use of nuclear weapons. Such an approach should proceed from the need for joint efforts on the part of all thinking people to create a comprehensive international security system. The work the WPC is doing in this respect, along with many other movements and organizations, promotes progress towards this objective. As Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out, it is adding to the powerful force of peace, reason and self-preservation which has emerged over the past few years. The

sooner the world peace movement overcomes all the obstacles in its path, and disunity and prejudice in its ranks, the more efficiently it will build up this force and the more influence it will have on world development.

"The Sofia session of the World Peace Council met at a crucial moment," WPC president Romesh Chandra said in his report. "Largely through the innovatory initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the prerequisites have been created for a radical improvement in the international situation. All peace movements welcome these initiatives, seeing them as an embodiment of their own demands. However, favourable prerequisites do not in themselves constitute a turn for the better. There is still an unprecedented threat hanging over the world, and consequently unprecedented efforts are required to remove it."

Hence the session's concern for a radical improvement in the forms and methods of the activities of peace champions rallying around the WPC, as well as in the work of the Council's leading bodies, and for bringing it into conformity with the new international situation.

An all-round discussion culminated in the consensus that the peace workers' declared intentions, however good, could be realized only if the national peace movements and the World Peace Council radically changed their style of work, denounced formalism and complacency outright and adopted a new approach to cooperation with all anti-war movements. The leading bodies must enhance their efficiency.

Many participants—leaders of the American, Japanese and West European peace movements in particular—pointed out that opportunities for broadening the scope of their activities and enlisting the support of the broad masses were now greater than ever.

"The Soviet Union's new peace initiatives have given wide scope for our constructive work," said Johannes Pakaslahti, a leader of the widely representative public organization, the

Peace Committee of Finland, unanimously elected WPC Secretary-General at the session. "We actively support them—not because they are Soviet, of course, but because they accord with our own wishes."

"Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals," said Hideo Fukuyama, president of the Japanese Peace Committee, "have opened up a new phase in the fight to eliminate nuclear weapons which we have been waging for years. The objectives are clear and understandable to all: to have scrapped all nuclear weapons on earth in fifteen years, prevent the militarization of outer space, eliminate chemical weapons and reduce so-called conventional arms. In Japan we have already collected 19 million signatures to a demand to abolish nuclear weapons."

"Our people have unanimously supported this demand," said Marilyn Olsson, a representative of the Swedish Peace Council, and new Secretary of the World Peace Council. "Mind you, many people in Sweden hadn't made too much of our Peace Council until quite recently. It is now headed by Lars Karlsson, ex-Archbishop of Stockholm, who enjoys nationwide popularity. [Incidentally, he sent a warm message of greetings to the session.—Y.Z.] We drew up an appeal demanding a complete ban on nuclear tests. It is based on a call our late Prime Minister Olof Palme made in an interview only a day before his tragic death. We quickly collected many signatures to the appeal. On donations, we published an advertisement in the Swedish paper *Dagens Nyheter* and *New York Times*. That foiled the conspiracy of silence in the Swedish capitalist press on the issue of banning nuclear tests.

Speeches by new members of the WPC—especially from countries that are still considered "blanks" on the map of the world peace movement—aroused strong emotion.

A representative from Sudan, for instance, told the session that many of his country's peace campaigners had languished in prison for 16 years. After the overthrow of the dictatorship, they have been released and are now determined to bring their views to the broad masses.

Participants applauded those who risk their lives working for peace under-

ground. Representatives of the South Korean National Democratic Front and of Iranian peace campaigners, as well as delegates from other states where ruthless regimes still hold sway, told the session how they work and win over the sympathies of thousands upon thousands of people, despite bans and intimidation.

A great many delegates spoke about the enormous and as yet untapped resources of the peace campaign. "The workers' movement is to play a decisive role," Norbert Müller of the F.R.G. stressed. "It is becoming the core of the peace movement in our country. We can and must attract to the anti-war struggle more and more Social Democrats who have been increasingly joining it of late. This is evidenced by the fruitful results of the Socialist International's disarmament conference in Vienna last year."

Eduardo Nava Morales of Bolivia levelled well-founded criticism at shortcomings in the information work of the WPC Secretariat and Information Centre which, in his opinion, does not meet present-day requirements. "People have no detailed knowledge of the essence of the disarmament problems," he said. "The enemies of peace take advantage of this and misrepresent these problems. Workers and peasants whose minds are poisoned by capitalist propaganda must be given lucid, easy-to-grasp and accurate information."

"The most important task is to reach the man in the street," said Yiannakis Potamitis, a member of the Secretariat of the Pancyprian Peace Council. "This man has a hard time earning his daily bread and is constantly afraid that tomorrow his children will have nothing to eat. It must be explained to him in plain terms that his bread is taken away from him by the arms race and that if he joins us we shall stop this madness together, and his children's lives will be saved."

"My country has a population of about 100 million," a representative of the Bangladeshi anti-war forces said, "and only seven peace committees. No more than a million people in Bangladesh have heard anything about the fight for peace at all. The task is to bring the truth to the remaining 99 million."

**We have never been  
and never shall be neutral  
on the vital issues of war  
and peace.**

All the speeches at the session were informed with the idea that it is necessary to mobilize millions to the fight against the nuclear threat and to pool the efforts of all the organizations and movements that work for the survival of mankind, even those that are unfriendly towards us today.

Many concrete proposals were made and many new ideas that accord with

the requirements of our times put forward. Important organizational measures were taken to help make them a reality. The WPC Secretariat was strengthened and made more geographically balanced. It was decided to restructure the WPC Bureau and make it the movement's main executive body. It will meet not once or twice a year as has hitherto been the case, but whenever the need arises to give in-depth study to an urgent problem. Furthermore, working groups of the WPC vice-presidents will be formed for the same purpose. Measures will be taken to liven up the work of the Information Centre.

\* \* \*

It goes without saying that the front line of the fight for peace will not be extended to the detriment of the militancy, purposefulness and principles of the WPC-led peace movement. "We have never been and never shall be neutral on the vital issues of war and peace, and no one has the right to demand that we should not align ourselves with a policy of peace, reason and realism wherever it originates from," said the WPC president in his report, approved by the session. "We

believe that the peace movement should be neither anti-American nor anti-Soviet—it should be anti-war, anti-nuclear and should, therefore, involve all mankind. In a genuine peace movement there are no opponents—only equal partners. There is room in it for all those who sincerely desire to preserve peace and life on earth."

This concept assumes special importance today when ever more people who cherish the cause of peace are taking part in the activities of the International Year of Peace proclaimed by the U.N. General Assembly. Incidentally, Alioune Samb of the Senegalese Peace Movement suggested that the U.N. be requested to prolong the Peace Year and make it a Peace Decade.

The world congress devoted to the International Year of Peace, which opens in Copenhagen on October 15, will certainly be this year's most important and widely representative international event. Preparations for the congress were of course discussed in Sofia, as the WPC takes part in the international preparatory group now working in the Danish capital.

The months to go before the congress opens will be crowded with practical actions by the peace movements. In the U.S.S.R. and some other countries mass activities had already been launched early in May. Their purpose is to demonstrate—in deeds rather than mere words—the peace fighters' determination to stop the arms race. There is no doubt that the search for new ways of achieving this great goal, started at the Sofia session, will be continued and intensified in the course of preparations for the congress.

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CSO: 1812/127

SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

CEMA INTENSIFICATION: AREAS OF DEVELOPMENT

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 2, 1986 pp 52-60

[Article by D. Lebin, candidate of economic sciences: "A Qualitatively New Stage in Socialist Economic Integration"]

[Text] The 41st (special) meeting of the CEMA session, in which the Complex Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries Through the Year 2000 was adopted in accordance with the decisions of the high level Economic Conference of CEMA Member Countries (1984), was held on the 17th and 18th of December 1985. This is an extremely important event in the life of the countries of the socialist community.

The Complex Program established the truly revolutionary task of achieving the highest limits in the area of science, technology and production in the most important directions of scientific-technical progress. And this determines its importance in resolving the fundamental problems of the day linked with the acceleration of social and economic development. "The Complex Program," stressed the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, "is called upon to play a special role in the acceleration of the social and economic progress of our country and the fraternal socialist countries and to bring about a fundamental increase in labor productivity and in the authority and influence of socialism in the world."

The political significance of the Complex Program is that its realization will contribute to the further strengthening of socialism as a social and political system, to making it more attractive, and to consolidating its positions in world competition with capitalism. Its economic significance is determined above all by the basic role of scientific-technical progress in transferring the economy to the intensive path of development, raising the efficiency of production, increasing the well-being of the working people, and developing the creative nature of labor. The Complex Program is called upon to play a key role in the transition to a new stage of socialist economic integration, the characteristic feature of which is the qualitatively more effective and large-scale interaction of the economies of the CEMA member countries at the level of all economic links. The fulfillment of the Economic Program will also open up new possibilities for accelerating the process of the gradual equalization of the levels of economic development of the countries of the socialist community and for increasing the efficiency of the scientific-

technical and economic aid by the European member countries of CEMA to Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia. Finally, the ideological significance of the program is determined by the fact that it has again demonstrated to the entire world the unity of fraternal socialist countries, the tremendous creative possibilities of the socialist order, and the dependable prospects for the development of the fruitful cooperation of the socialist countries on the basis of the proven principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The uniting of the efforts of the countries of the socialist community for the achievement of the most advanced limits of science and technology will doubtless serve the interests of universal peace and progress.

The center of gravity in the economic development of the countries of the socialist community and in the economic competition of the two systems is now shifting precisely to the area of scientific-technical progress. "The socialist order," stressed M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the meeting of the heads of government delegations and secretaries of the central committees of fraternal parties participating in the work of the 41st (special) session of the CEMA, "provides tremendous possibilities for the mastering of the heights of the scientific-technical revolution. Upon our successes in this area will depend the fuller revelation of the advantages of socialism, the rapid increase in the economic, social and spiritual potential of our countries, and their technological independence and invulnerability to pressure and blackmail by imperialism. The road to this is through a sharp turn toward the intensification of public production on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology, the consolidation of efforts, and the closer interaction in key directions of cooperation.

The development of the Complex Program for Scientific-Technical Progress was in response to the urgent requirements of the new stage in the development of the socialist community. The problems in the improvement of socialism in this stage are being studied in more and more depth on the basis of the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. The April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and later the conference in the CPSU Central Committee on questions of scientific-technical progress set forth and substantiated the evolved concept of the acceleration of the social and economic development of the country on this basis as well--the achievement of a new qualitative status of the Soviet society. This concept received the approval and support of the fraternal parties.

The central task in the development of the national economy in the contemporary period is the intensification of the economy and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. In recent years in the national economy of the CEMA member countries, there has been an apparent turn to the better in raising labor productivity and lowering the energy and materials-intensiveness of national income, in the dynamics of the yield on capital, and in overcoming certain difficulties arising in the mid-1970's in the provision with resources. The necessity of intensification is dictated by the fact that at the achieved level of development of productive forces their further increase is possible not so much through expansion as through their improvement on a

qualitatively new material-technical base linked with the utilization of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution.

These new requirements are reflected in the drafts of the new version of the CPSU Program and the Basic Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the next five-year plan and the period through the year 2000. The task has been set of almost doubling the volume of national income in 15 years. Increasingly, the most important conditions for the achievement of such grandiose horizons are increased labor productivity, a significant reduction in the consumption of energy and metals in output, the increase in the yield of capital investments, and the transition from the lowering of the capital-output ratio to its stabilization and later to its gradual increase. All countries of the socialist community are setting for themselves tasks of this sort. In other words, the quantitative increase in the economy of the CEMA member countries is possible only on a qualitatively new basis. This relates not only to the most important parameters of the intensification of production but also to the quality of output, which must be raised to a fundamentally higher level and ensure the competitiveness of the goods of the socialist countries in the world market.

The material preconditions for the resolution of the indicated tasks, which are acquiring a certain significance for the fate of socialism, are in contemporary productive forces, whose development is becoming more and more dynamic. The realization of these preconditions must be achieved in the course of the new technical reconstruction being carried out and capable of providing the greatest economic and social result. In this connection, a special role is being attained by the joint economic strategy of the fraternal communist and worker parties, the basis of which is the unification of the efforts of our parties above all in the development of a coordinated and, in some cases, of a common scientific-technical policy called upon to resolve the fundamental problems of scientific-technical progress.

The Complex Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries is now also becoming the basis for the development of such a scientific-technical policy. Its adoption means a qualitatively new and pivotal stage in the development of socialist economic integration as a whole. The essence of this stage is the transition from the extensive to the intensive path of the development of integration. The countries of the socialist community have not yet had to concentrate their joint efforts to such an extent in the most progressive paths for the acceleration of the development of productive forces, relying on qualitatively new forms of reciprocal cooperation.

The Complex Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries is a huge step in the fuller realization of the planning principle both in the area of integrative cooperation as well as in the management of the development of the national economies of the fraternal socialist countries. It makes it possible to strengthen substantially the scientific bases of planning, inasmuch as it relies upon the advanced methodology of the program-specific approach to the administration of planning. This methodology is aimed mainly at the resolution of two large-scale tasks: in the first place, at the accelerated development of the most advanced and revolutionary

directions of scientific-technical progress and, in the second place, at the maximum utilization in the national economy of the economic and social consequences of the realization of these directions.

The first task is resolved by means of the concentration of scientific-technical forces, capital investments, and production resources in key directions for the development of science and technology. The Complex Program singles out the following five such priority directions of scientific-technical progress: the application of electronics in the national economy, complete automation, the accelerated development of nuclear energy, the creation of new materials and technologies, and the accelerated development of biotechnology. Precisely these directions are the basis of the present-day revolutionary changes in science, technology and production and the implementation of precisely these directions leads to a profound social consequence--the improvement of working conditions, the development of the creative nature of labor, the strengthening of public health, the improvement of living conditions, and the resolution of a number of other urgent problems.

In regard to the second task, its resolution is linked primarily with a sharp reduction in the time for the transition from research and planning and design studies for the new technology to the broad assimilation into production and the spread of progressive types of output and especially new and advanced technologies. Accordingly, the principle of planning and management is made the basis of the Complex Program throughout the entire reproductive cycle, including research, planning and design studies, production and operation of equipment. This principle "permeates" the organization of all of the work in the implementation of the program.

The program indicates fixed periods for the assimilation into production of developments in each of the scientific-technical problems included in the program. In accordance with these periods, specific tasks for the production of fundamentally new technology will be determined in the coordination of plans in each of the CEMA countries. The authorities specified for the management of the implementation of the overall program as well as individual priority directions of the program will also orient their work toward the resolution of questions in the entire reproductive cycle. The activities of the chief organizations will be set up under the same principle. In the long term, the task is being set of establishing international scientific-technical centers providing for the resolution of specific large-scale scientific-technical problems in the entire reproductive cycle. Finally, the system of agreements and contracts for the realization of the Complex Program is also oriented to covering the entire cycle of the creation and assimilation of new technology.

This approach is attaining special importance for the further development and deepening of mutually advantageous international specialization and cooperation in the large-scale production of new generations of highly productive technology and equipment on the basis of the industrial assimilation of efficient technologies and high-quality materials.

Let us now briefly examine the essence of the basic problems that stand out within the scope of the priority directions in the cooperation of the CEMA

member countries in the area of scientific-technical progress as well as the most significant economic and social results to which this cooperation is oriented.

The application of electronics in the national economy on the basis of the mass utilization of computer and microprocessor technology will make it possible to carry out a fundamental reorganization of the technical basis of the planned management of the economy, to raise labor productivity and the quality of output significantly, to strengthen the creative nature of labor and move to a new level of personnel skills, and to improve the daily life of the people and the provision of the society with information. Further, one of the important directions in the application of electronics is the establishment of automated research systems and systems of automated planning. The application of computers for the processing of experimental data for the development of such key sectors of contemporary science as the exploration of space and the resolution of the problems of thermonuclear fusion, genetics, microelectronics and many others will permit a significant reduction in the time for the realization of scientific programs.

A great effect is expected from the introduction of the means of information and computer technology into the area of administrative work. The mass assimilation of computer technology will fundamentally change the level and style of this work. Computers will become reliable advisers in the selection of some administrative strategy or other, will quickly evaluate and present the consequences of different variations of proposed solutions, will help to find bottlenecks in the development of production, and will suggest ways to eliminate them.

The educational system, beginning with the elementary school and ending with instruction in VUZ's and courses for improving skills, will undergo substantial reorganization under the conditions of the application of electronics. The mass production of teaching computers and the issuance of the corresponding methodic and educational literature will be organized for these purposes.

The application of electronics will also have a substantial effect on the social area. The systems built into microprocessors will find broad application in housework, improving the conditions of everyday life and leisure for people. Extensive prospects are opening up for the utilization of computers in medicine, especially as applied to diagnostic equipment, care for the sick, different devices facilitating the life of invalids, etc. Finally, up-to-date computers in combination with the latest achievements in telecommunications will make it possible to expand significantly the area of information services to the public and to acquaint the broadest strata of the working people with the highest cultural achievements.

Complete automation, covering production, economic and organizational processes in all sectors of the national economy, is a leading factor in raising labor productivity and improving the quality of output. The extensive utilization of industrial robots and equipment with built-in management systems based upon minicomputers and microcomputers and automated means of

control will ensure an additional increase in the productivity of labor and industry.

The introduction of automated systems for managing industrial processes at different levels--from groups of machine tools, lines or shops to the automation of entire enterprises--will be continued on a large scale. For this purpose, it is necessary above all to concentrate attention on the development of flexible automated production processes and systems for the automated preparation of production. Their automation will make it possible to raise labor productivity markedly on the basis of the automation not only of mass but also of small and medium-series production and to increase the capital-output ratio through the maximum load on production capacities and the increased use of shifts in the work of equipment. Under the conditions of the current dynamic development of production, the capability of flexible automated production processes for rapid reorganization and the progressive renewal of output taking into account the new requirements of society and the achievements of scientific-technical progress is especially important. At the same time, it will provide for a reduction in the cost of the development and manufacture of new products with a simultaneous improvement in their consumption qualities.

The accelerated development of nuclear energy has as its objective the fundamental reorganization of the existing structure of the production of energy with the goal of the more rational utilization of solid types of fuel and the exclusion of petroleum, fuel oil and, in the future, gas from the fuel and energy balance.

CEMA countries have already established the essential basis for the further acceleration of the development of nuclear energy. Underlying it is the technical assistance of the Soviet Union in the building of nuclear electric power stations and the large-scale multilateral specialization and cooperation in the production of the corresponding equipment.

The further increase in the efficiency of the utilization of nuclear power is linked with the mastering of new areas for its application. In particular, cities and other inhabited places will be heated through nuclear sources of heat. This will make it possible to replace small boiler houses presently using mainly fuel oil with nuclear heat-supply stations producing heat with a high-level guarantee of continuity of operation and safety. Another direction is the utilization of nuclear power to obtain high-potential heat, which is used in metallurgy, chemical production and other energy-intensive sectors.

The large-scale development of nuclear power will also make it possible to resolve the problem of overcoming the limitedness of available supplies of uranium fuel used in nuclear power. For this purpose, it is necessary to shift to the industrial utilization of fast-neutron nuclear reactors. These are units of a fundamentally new type combining two "opposite" processes: in burning fuel, they simultaneously form new fuel supplies. The fast-neutron reactors therefore have tremendous advantages: they make it possible to multiply by tens the degree of utilization of fuel.

Finally, it is also very important that nuclear power, accumulating in its development the achievements of many sectors of scientific-technical progress, is having a simultaneous impact on the increase in the overall technical level of industrial production of CEMA member countries.

The assimilation of new materials and technologies for their production and processing is an essential condition for the creation of new generations of equipment and technology. The new materials also make it possible to raise significantly the quality and competitiveness of the output of metallurgy and metalworking in world markets. As experience shows, their broad assimilation is becoming one of the most important directions in the saving of physical resources in the national economy.

Of paramount importance is the creation of ultrapure, particularly strong, heat and corrosion-resistant metals and new materials and alloys based on aluminum, titanium and nickel.

High-strength polymer materials and plastics capable of replacing metals in short supply must be developed and introduced in the area of the production of new essential materials. The orientation of industrial production toward ecologically pure wasteless technologies also puts on the agenda the problem of the development of polymer materials for the efficient purification of liquids, sewage and waste gases.

A large contribution to increasing the efficiency of production is being made by the utilization of composition materials based on the combination of heterogeneous substances (metal and glass, metal and ceramic, mineral fibers and plastics). They will find applications in construction, chemical production, and machine building.

In the area of the technology of the production and processing of metals, we have to raise the productivity of oxygen-converter and electric-steel smelting production and introduce continuous casting on a large scale. This will make it possible to increase the productivity of industrial processes in metallurgy by a factor of 2 to 2.5.

Powder metallurgy, a fundamentally new technology in the production of metal products, must be further developed. The expansion of the area of its application requires further improvement in the methods for obtaining high-quality and alloyed powders and the reduction of metal concentrates and oxides. On the average, the use of 1,000 tons of powder metallurgy permits the saving of 2,500 tons of ferrous and nonferrous rolled products and frees up to 80 machine tools and as many as 190 skilled workers.

Laser technology occupies an important place in a number of progressive methods of metalworking, including electrochemical, plasma and radiation methods. It will be widely applied in the performance of such industrial operations as welding, cutting, thermal strengthening of the surface of products, marking, and quality control.

In the area of chemical and physicochemical production processes, the introduction of electrochemical, nuclear-chemical, plasma, laser and radiation methods of accelerating chemical production is most effective.

The combining of the efforts of fraternal countries in the accelerated development of biotechnology has as its goal the fundamental increase in the yield of agricultural crops and in the productivity of animal husbandry and, in the final analysis, the full provision of the population with food products and the increased exportation of food. On the basis of biotechnology, new highly effective medicines and fundamentally new highly productive ecologically pure technologies in various industrial sectors will also be created.

The improvement of the technology of gene engineering will make it possible to turn selection into an industrial process for the creation of new types of plants and animals with predetermined combinations of characteristics and properties. Bacterial fertilizers, growth regulators and means of defense against diseases and pests are especially important in plant growing. Bacterial fertilizers help in the better assimilation of nutrients by agricultural crops, providing for an increase of 15 to 35 percent in the harvest. Microbiological means of plant defense harmless to man, animals and the environment must be widely applied in agriculture. Their utilization destroys up to 90 percent of pests and reduces the use of chemical compounds to one-tenth of the former level. In animal husbandry, biotechnological methods will be applied for the production of feed protein, the stimulation of growth, the increase in the productivity of livestock, poultry and fish, for the purpose of protecting them against pests and diseases, the utilization of wastes, etc.

In the future, there will be a significant increase in the role of biotechnology in supporting the ecological balance in nature. At the present time, when only 2 to 3 percent of the entire volume of mineral resources extracted from the depths of the earth are used in the manufacture of useful product and the remaining 97 to 98 percent become wastes that pollute the environment, this problem is very acute.

The successful development of cooperation in priority directions of scientific-technical progress requires a qualitatively new level of organizational integrative interaction of fraternal countries. Concurrently with the development of the Complex Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries, the most steadfast attention was paid to its implementation. In this connection, an extremely important task was the thorough study of the administrative problems: the program was viewed in its interrelationship with the forms and methods of joint planning work that have come into being and proven worthwhile. The Complex Program is called upon to become the central organizational link in an integral system for the joint planning and administration of the scientific-technical and economic cooperation of the CEMA member countries.

The obligations accepted by the CEMA member countries for the implementation of the Complex Program and its signing in 1985 prior to the beginning of the

new five-year plan have fundamental importance, reflecting the work done to link it with the national five-year plans of the CEMA member countries and with the process of coordinating these plans. In the future, on the basis of the proposals of the countries, periodic refinements and additions will be included in the program taking into account the results that they obtain, new achievements in science, technology and production, and also the current tasks of cooperation. The program will be developed and renewed so that timely consideration is given to approved measures for cooperation in the process of coordinating national economic plans.

In putting the program into effect, the CEMA member countries agreed to pay special attention to providing the necessary physical and financial resources for the measures foreseen in it. In so doing, they will make active use of the advantages of socialist economic integration through the further development and deepening of specialization and cooperation in the area of science, technology and production, the fuller and more efficient utilization of the scientific-technical achievements attained by the individual countries, and the provision of the proper conditions for the broad development on a contractual basis of direct ties between the organizations and enterprises of the countries of the socialist community. The head organizations directly carrying out scientific-technical developments and assimilating them into production are called upon to play a leading role in the study of priority problems. In a very short time, they must organize interaction with other participants in all fraternal countries and provide for the accelerated resolution of the specific scientific-technical problems defined by the program.

Naturally, the leading organizations themselves must above all have a large scientific-technical potential. It is no accident that the functions of such organizations will be assigned to the most authoritative research institutes, planning and design offices, and scientific production associations. The resolution of the problems put forward by the Complex Program is closely linked with the development in priority directions of large-scale organizations capable of using their own forces to handle the entire reproductive cycle from scientific-technical studies to the production, sale and consumer servicing of the new equipment and technology.

Organizations of a fundamentally new type--intersectorial scientific-technical complexes--are already being established in our country. Their task is to ensure the conditions for the fastest possible utilization in the national economy of the results of fundamental and applied scientific research. They are formed, therefore, on the basis of a number of leading scientific institutes of the country and are equipped with an adequately strong experimental-production base necessary for perfecting the designs of new equipment and new technologies. Almost all such complexes become head organizations for the corresponding problems of the program. For example: the intersectorial scientific-technical complex established on the basis of the Electric Welding Institute imeni Ye. Paton became the head organization for automated equipment for welding, fusing, soldering and thermal cutting; the Scientific-Production Association for Machine Tools (ENIMS) became the head organization for the establishment of flexible production systems for different industrial purposes; and the General Genetics Institute of the USSR

Academy of Sciences became the head organization for the development of the methods of gene engineering.

The head organizations will be given the right to sign contracts directly with organizations of other CEMA member countries and also to carry out the reciprocal transmission of the results of work in the scope of cooperation in the corresponding problem. In this way, the idea of the active development of direct ties between the enterprises and organizations of fraternal countries is finding new specific forms and is beginning to serve the most important objectives of deepening mutual cooperation.

Subsequently, on the basis of the consolidation and development of such ties, it is planned to establish joint scientific-production associations with the CEMA member countries that ensure efficient work in the entire reproductive cycle. A large step in this direction was the signing at the special meeting of the CEMA session of agreements on the establishment of an international scientific-production association "Interrobot" to develop the resources of robotics and also two general agreements: on systems for automated planning and on light guidance.

It was stressed at the top-level Economic Conference that the translation of priority directions of cooperation to the language of specific agreements and their systematic realization are not only an economic but also a major political task. When developed into an extensive system of agreements and contracts on scientific-technical and production cooperation in the most progressive areas of science, technology and production, the Complex Program will become the organizational basis for the development of diversified and thorough forms of the international division of labor.

The problems in the realization of the Complex Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries are not limited to cooperation within the scope of this very program. It is significantly broader. Of particular importance, in particular, is the further improvement of the economic mechanisms in the fraternal countries, which would make it possible to establish an entire complex of organizational and economic conditions for the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. At the present time, as you know, in far from every case are the collectives of the associations and enterprises being motivated to introduce new technology that requires a change in an established system of production. Increasingly urgent are tasks of the acceleration of the investment cycle, the nonadmission of an excessive increase in the cost of new equipment in comparison with the improvement in its technical and economic parameters, and the elimination of all other obstacles on the way to scientific-technical progress.

The adoption of the Complex Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries has great international significance. The reality of our time is that the center of gravity in the world competition of socialism with capitalism is shifting to the scientific-technical area, into an area of fundamentally new and highly efficient technologies.

The strategic line of the aggressive imperialist circles in economic relations with the socialist countries is to turn questions of cooperation in the scientific-technical area into an instrument for political and commercial-economic pressure on socialist countries. Along with attempts to close the channels for the development of scientific-technical cooperation, they are devising and implementing programs for scientific-technical integration closed to socialist countries, the basic objective of which is to make a leap forward in this area and to outstrip the socialist countries significantly in the area of new technology. In addition, also apparent is the possibility of the military application of a number of programs. The American "Strategic Defense Initiative," for example, is aimed directly at the beginning of a new spiral in the arms race, transferring it into space.

Under these conditions, tremendous interest throughout the planet was evoked by the declaration of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in which he put forth a complex of major foreign policy initiatives aimed at the complete elimination of nuclear arms and at ensuring the dependable security of humanity.

The Complex Program demonstrates the determination of the CEMA member countries to continue systematically their course of preventing the arms race in space and of ending it on earth as well as of pursuing the broadest and mutually advantageous cooperation for exclusively peaceful purposes. In this is the fundamental difference between the Complex Program and Western projects for scientific-technical integration, it being a graphic confirmation of our willingness to have the achievements of science and technology serve all humanity and to use them to assist the underdeveloped countries and to eliminate hunger, disease, poverty and illiteracy in the world. Thus the program conforms to the urgent interests of all humanity.

The socialist community resolutely repudiates the policy of exclusions and discrimination in the area of science, engineering and technology as contradicting the interests of the development of international economic relations and the very nature of scientific-technological progress. In putting into effect the plan that they adopted and in thereby consolidating their scientific-technical potential, economic security and technical and economic independence, the CEMA member countries intend to participate actively in the worldwide division of labor and scientific-technical cooperation and have declared their willingness to coordinate their actions on an equal and mutually acceptable basis to carry out the Complex Program with other interested countries, including within the scope of the programs for international scientific-technical cooperation adopted by these countries, provided that such programs also have a humane and peace-loving orientation and correspond to the goals of the United Nations.

In their program, the CEMA member countries declared their willingness to contribute to the development of overall European progress. The program will be carried out in accordance with the positions of the final Helsinki agreement. The CEMA member countries are prepared to cooperate actively on an equal and mutually acceptable basis with other interested countries in scientific-technical and other areas, which would correspond to the interests of Europe and the entire world.

The realization of the Complex Program is called upon to make a major contribution to the acceleration of social and economic development and the consolidation of the unity and solidarity of fraternal countries. The CPSU sees the implementation of this program as a political task for the state and party as a whole. The CPSU Central Committee is orienting communists, the economic aktiv and all working people toward the most energetic participation in the joint work of the scientific institutions and enterprises of the countries of the socialist community in the development and utilization of modern-day technology. This is an extremely important guarantee of the successful completion of the Complex Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries.

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SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

DISCUSSION OF CEMA SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL PROGRESS

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[Article by A. A. Khachatryan, laboratory director at MNIIPU, candidate in economic sciences: "Economic Stimulation of Scientific-Technical Activity (Experience of the European CEMA Member States)"]

[Text] The Integrated Program for Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member States to the Year 2000 presents the task of achieving the highest possible level of development of science and technology. The successful implementation of this task depends to a large degree on the prudent organization of economic stimulation of scientific-technical activity. In the process of solving national scientific-technical problems, the CEMA member states have accumulated rich experience which is deserving of attention. In recent years, many of these states have implemented a series of measures in the sphere of improving the management of scientific-technical activity. Their primary goal was to increase the effectiveness of NIOKR [scientific-research and experimental design work], to reduce the time for development and introduction of new technology, and to broadly introduce technical innovations into production. Much attention was given to developing the system of economic stimulation of scientific-technical activity, and specifically to improving the mechanism of profit acquisition and distribution. This is associated with the fact that profit, being the main cost accounting criterion of effectiveness of the activity by collectives in sectorial scientific-technical organizations, fulfills the role of an important economic lever stimulating the improved quality and effectiveness of NIOKR.

The improvement in the mechanism of acquiring and distributing profits by scientific-technical organizations is implemented in the CEMA member states for the purpose of solving two mutually related problems. This, first of all, is to provide necessary monetary resources for the activity of cost accounting scientific-technical organizations and to realize the principles of their self-recovery and self financing. (This presupposes a sufficient amount of profit, as well as its optimal, economically substantiated distribution). No less important also is to achieve activation of the role of profit as an economic stimulus for increasing the effectiveness of scientific-technical activity. Including the profit into the price of development ensures cost accounting interest in increasing the volume and improving the quality of NIOKR, as well as in accelerating the introduction of the results into production.

In the PRB the primary source of income for engineering-assimilation organizations (IVO) are the funds from the realization of completed and assimilated tasks. The receipts from clients are included in the income. The income also includes the funds provided in the contract agreements from the realization of intermediate results which the client may utilize, as well as the payments for completed stages and types of work whose assigned period of completion exceeds one year. At the present time, the basic portion of revenues to IVO is associated with the realization of completed developments which have been accepted and paid for.

The income does not include advances paid by the customer for performing individual scientific-technical assignments. The sum which is received as an advance is in essence a unique source of replenishing the working capital of the IVO. According to the standard directives, advances are transferred to the work executor in an amount of 10 percent of the contract price. Thanks to them, the organization makes less use of credits to replenish its own working capital which is in short supply. In payment by stages of intermediate or final results, the advances are deducted, and the computation includes the amount of monetary receipts representing the contract price of the scientific-technical result.

Upon fulfillment of the plan assignments, the expenditures of the IVO are not included into the adopted estimate of expenses prior to the moment of realization of the obtained results. These are the expenses for unfinished production and are provided through the organization's working capital. The expenditures include all material and monetary outlays, as well as the funds for payment of wages to those performing the work and to the management personnel.

The difference between the overall sum of income and expenditures represents the gross profit of the IVO. Its distribution begins with the allocation of the tax on turnover. It is introduced directly into the state budget according to the tariffs ratified by the normative acts. The turnover tax as an element of the totality of profit is not characteristic for the basic activity of the IVO (in 1983 it comprised 0.4 percent of the overall sum of gross profit), and is used only in cases where goods (services) for widespread consumption are produced and sold, for which a turnover tax has been established. In this sense, for the overwhelming majority of IVO the gross profit is equal to the balance profit.

From the balance profit, the IVO makes contributions to the budgets of the local Soviets of People's Deputies on whose territories the organizations are located, and pays insurance premiums and interest on the credits used for working capital. The standard deduction for contributions to the local Soviet comprises 3 percent of the balance profit. The relative share of expenditures for credits on working capital is relatively low in the overall sum of the balance profit. This testifies to the fact that IVO's generally avoid the widespread use of credit. The reasons for this are as follows: the presence of their own working capital in amounts necessary for normal fulfillment of the planned tasks, as well as certain difficulties arising in the mutual relations with the banks (credit is given to cover only

the material expenditures for each task in that portion which is not provided by the available working capital).

The income of the IVO is formulated from the remainder of the balance profits and the expenditures for wage payments, which are included in the production cost of the realized production. This includes: wage payments; supplements to them; deductions for state social security; sums paid to non-staff associates, consultants, and personnel who are not on the regular payroll; the difference between the obtained mark-ups and discounts on prices paid for the results of NIOKR. In 1983, the following factors affected the income of the IVO: the fulfillment of the planned tasks (79.3 percent); the positive difference between the contractual prices and the actual expenditures (17.2 percent), and mark-ups (discounts) to prices (3.5 percent).

In the HPR the system of formulation and distribution of profit by sectorial scientific-technical organizations does not differ in principle from the system used at industrial enterprises. The principles of regulating the income of sectorial scientific-technical organizations which are in effect at the present time became effective as of January 1983. In accordance with them, the gross profit of these organizations consists of their own profit (as a result of income exceeding expenditures) and 80 percent of the sum of funds obtained as a result of participation in the profits of other enterprises (the remaining 20 percent of the funds go directly to the scientific-technical organization's economic risk fund). Deductions are paid out of the gross profits into the budget for the fund for development of population centers (15 percent of the profit) and for the linear turnover tax. (At the present time, 9 percent of the overall income of scientific-technical organizations is not subject to taxation. This portion is deducted from the gross profits as the allocation to the fund for development of population centers. The remaining portion of the profit is subject to 45% of the linear tax).

Scientific-technical organizations are given certain advantages regarding taxes on profits as compared with industrial enterprises. Thus, 10 percent of the funds which they obtain through profit sharing with enterprises is not subject to taxation. They do not pay consumer's turnover tax when buying machines, or duty on imported machinery. Also, they may use accelerated amortization, and the funds which they obtain in this manner may be invested in the developmental fund. Those institutes which perform the most effective research for the national economy pay lower taxes on the sum going into the profit sharing fund. In other words, the volume of funds intended for collective and individual stimulation is tied in through the system of taxation with the degree of national-economic importance and effectiveness of the results of the institutes' activities. In this regard, an important role is played by the rights bestowed on superior organs as of 1981 to increase or reduce by 3 percent the portion of tax exempt profits. This decision is based on the evaluation of the degree to which the scientific-technical organization has fulfilled its tasks for the state 5-year plan on scientific research.

In the GDR the research institutions plan profit as the difference between receipts and production cost. It consists of: standard profit by results of research; profits from export; profits from the realization of other results of scientific-technical activity (for example, sale of experimental products, means of innovation, results of calculations and computations).

To compute the plan volume of profit for the research institution, the general director or manager of the superior organ establishes a profit standard. It depends on the amount of plan deductions into the premium fund, the risk fund, and moreover, direct expenditures for wages. If the enterprise sells its scientific-technical results, this standard is defined based on the basic portion of the premium fund computed for the direct expenditures for wages paid to research personnel. If the planned profit will not allow for the creation of the research institution's own funds in the necessary amount, then temporary supplements are planned at the expense of redistribution within the framework of the combine or at the directive of the superior organ in favor of the research institution.

Above-plan profits, which are formed as a result of exceeding the planned profits, include: additional profit on the research results; profit from overfulfilling the planned results; revenues received from handing over the scientific-technical results for use on a reimbursement bases; savings on expenditures, etc. Additional profit is particularly indicated as a component part of above-plan net profit. Thirty percent of it is used for additional deductions to the premium fund, and 70 percent--for deductions to the "results fund," if the amount of the above-plan net profit is sufficient for this and at the same time does not exceed the maximal amounts of the deductions.

In the PPR, profit is the basic indicator of the effectiveness in the work of cost accounting scientific-technical organizations. It is computed as the difference between the income of these organizations and the cost of the scientific production which they turn out. The income is formed as a result of the realization (sale) of: results of NIOKR; patents and licenses for the application of the results of NIOKR; developments in the sphere of general technical activity; produced experimental and unique equipment and apparatus, including also within the framework of small-scale production; other developments and scientific-technical services. Here, part of the profits exceeding 20 percent of the cost of produced NIOKR and other realizations (70 percent) is placed at the disposal of the superior sectorial ministry and contributed to its centralized fund for scientific research (the remaining 30 percent of this portion remain with the organization itself).

In the SRR the profit of scientific-technical organizations which exceeds the price fixed in the contract agreements for their scientific production (10 percent of the production cost of the NIOKR) is fully introduced into the state budget. The standard profit remaining for the scientific-technical organizations is used for formulating their reserve fund and for developing the material base, as well as for material stimulation of the workers.

In the CSSR this profit is defined as the difference between income and expenditures associated with scientific-research, experimental-design and other forms of activity. Deductions are made from it to the budget and to superior organs. Unlike industrial enterprises, the scientific-technical organizations in the CSSR make deductions from profits into the budget according to a progressive scale, depending on the achieved level of profitability in relation to the outlays. This may be in amounts of from 25 to 75 percent (in the production sphere a unified deduction rate of 70 percent has been established for enterprises, as a rule). The deduction for social security is made in the amount of 10 percent of the wage fund (in the production sphere it is 20 percent). A reserve fund is created for compensating for risks associated with research and experimental work (in the production sphere this fund is formed usually not at the enterprise level, but within the framework of large production-management organizations).

A generalization of the measures implemented in the fraternal countries in the sphere of developing the mechanism of formulating and distributing the profits of scientific-research organizations shows that the primary attention here is given to stimulating the growth in the effectiveness of scientific-technical activity, reimbursing funds expended for performing NIOKR, and rewarding managers and direct executors of the work in accordance with the quantity and quality of expended labor. All this is done at the expense of the profits. Taking this experience into consideration, it seems expedient to proceed from the following basic premises in the subsequent development of the order of formulating and distributing the savings of sectorial scientific-technical organizations in our industry. The amount of profits of the sectorial scientific-technical organizations must be determined by the amount of actual economic effect achieved from the introduction of the results of NIOKR into production. The volumes of the economic incentive funds must depend on the amount of this profit, while the basic labor wage of the direct executors and managers of the work should be placed in direct dependence on their contribution to the formation of the organization's material incentive fund.

One of the basic questions in distributing the profits of scientific-technical organizations is the formulation of economic incentive funds and the association of the amounts of these funds with the effectiveness of the scientific-technical activity. In the PRB, the following monetary funds are formed in the distribution of the income obtained by the IVO: expansion and technical development; economic risk; social-domestic and cultural measures; currency; a fund for managerial expenses and other purposes; a wage fund. The deductions to these funds are made on a standard basis in percentages of the IVO income. No less than 3 percent of the IVO income is directed to the fund for expansion and technical development. The amortization deductions for fixed production capital are also included here in full measure. The accumulated funds are used in accordance with the general regulations in effect at economic management organizations, as well as for financing their own research, development, and other tasks of a long-term character.

The additional resources necessary for expanding the activity on IVO counter plans are provided according to the principle of complete return on investment. For this purpose, an economic risk fund has been created. Its funds go primarily toward obtaining and introducing certain new scientific and technical decisions which have an associated risk, and toward giving greater stability to the work of the IVO.

Payments into the "Currency" fund recomputed for the national currency (lew) are made from the income of the IVO with status of an economic management organization. The monies in this fund represent part of the currency payments of the customer realized as a result of his utilizing the scientific-technical achievements. Thus, the IVO acquires an interest in direct participation in work directed toward the growth of currency income for the customer ordering the development. Also deducted from the IVO income are monies which go into the fund for "Social-domestic and cultural measures" (on the basis of ratified standards), and the fund for "Managerial expenses". The question of creating the latter is resolved by a collective organ of management, while the amount of the deductions is determined by the appropriate minister at the suggestion of the IVO.

Expenditures for all the funds are made within the framework of the monies accumulated in them and cannot exceed them. The sums which have not been spent at the end of the year are carried over to the next year. They are not subject to withdrawal or centralization. This increases the independence of the IVO and strengthens the stimuli for accumulating large sums in the monetary funds. In solving its investment or social problems, the sectorial IVO makes independent use of these funds.

In the institutions of the HPR, as a rule, the following funds are formed: an economic risk fund; a mandatory reserve fund; a profit sharing fund; a developmental fund; a social-domestic and cultural fund, and monetary means for material interest in the economic effect by the customer (at the expense of part of the monies obtained from profit sharing). To stimulate the work associated with substantiated economic risk, an economic risk fund is formed within the scientific-technical organizations and institutes. This is formed from part of the profits, which are exempt from payment of taxes. The formation of the mandatory reserve fund also serves this purpose to a certain degree. The primary purpose of this fund is to maintain the economic incentive funds for the period of development and introduction of new technology at a level close to the level of profitability achieved during the period of operation in recent years.

The remainder of the profit after deductions to the reserve fund is used at the discretion of the collective. It may be wholly or partially rechanneled either into the development fund or into the workers' profit sharing fund. In this case, the assets directed to the profit sharing fund are levied with a progressive tax. This fund is the source of individual stimulation, while the developmental fund, aside from the development of the institute, provides also for financing research performed through the organization's own initiative.

In the GDR, scientific-technical organizations formulate economic incentive funds from the deductions from net profit and cost. Formed at the expense of profit are: the premium fund; the insurance fund; the results fund. The fund for social-cultural measures is formulated at the expense of the production cost. This system has been in effect since 1984. Prior to that, the scientific-technical organizations created only a premium fund and a fund for social-cultural measures.

The premium fund is established annually by the general director of the combine or by the manager of the superior organ in an absolute amount as a state plan indicator, consisting of a basic premium sum per single worker and for the planned amount of the work force. It must be no less than the basic premium sum in the preceding year. Scientific-technical organizations may deduct up to 30 percent of their additional profit into it, as well as any obtained above-plan profits. Additional deductions may comprise up to 200 marks per year per worker.

The risk (insurance) fund is planned and formulated in the amount of 1 percent of the planned annual expenditures for research. Its monies are used for additional expenditures and for ensuring minimal amounts of profit in performing innovative scientific-research work whose purpose is to seek new spheres of application of the developments, as well as the creation of a scientific stockpile for achieving higher goals on the tasks fulfilled under a certain degree of risk. The results fund is formed at the expense of deductions from the above-plan profits of the scientific-technical organizations. The amount of deductions to this fund cannot exceed 300 marks per year per worker. Its assets go toward the implementation of measures on innovation, as well as additional measures for improving the working and living conditions of the organization's workers.

The PPR has the following basic economic incentive funds: development fund; reserve fund; premium fund (worker's collective fund); fund for effects of application; social-domestic funds. At the present time, the scientific-technical organizations of the PPR may participate in the economic effect obtained after the introduction of the developments. According to the effective statute, the fund on effects from application may receive (in accordance with the agreement) from 2 to 10 percent of the economic effect (additional profits) of the customer, beginning with the third year of series production of the new technology. The profit sharing may continue until the fifth (or as an exception--until the seventh) year from the time of acceptance of the work by the customer.

If the introduced scientific-technical decision facilitates a reduction in imports from the capitalist countries or makes it possible to increase the export to these countries, then the maximal level of deductions to the applications fund may be increased to 15 percent, and the period of the deductions extended to 3 years. The fund assets go toward payment of specific bonuses to the authors of developments, their associates from other organizations, as well as those facilitating the introduction of the developments into production.

The following basic economic incentive funds are in effect at the cost accounting scientific-technical organizations of the CSSR (by analogy with the industrial enterprises): the remuneration (material rewards) fund; the fund for cultural and social measures, and the reserve fund. The remuneration fund is essentially a component part of the combined assets of the scientific-technical organization for wages. The fact is that as of 1981 the assets for wages in the economic management organizations of the CSSR are formed within several funds. The incentive portion of the wages is paid out generally not from the remuneration fund, but formulated specially. The above mentioned fund fulfills primarily a reserve function, thanks to which the necessary interrelation is formed between the results of the scientific-technical activity of the entire organization, its subdivisions, and its workers. The formulation of this fund is tied in with the fulfillment of tasks in the topical plan.

As of 1980, the cost accounting system of organizing work on the development, assimilation and introduction of new technology has been introduced in our industry. The emphasis was placed on formulating and utilizing economic incentive funds in the scientific-technical organizations. The practice of economic management has shown that despite the fact that the effective instructions obligate these organizations to formulate incentive funds generally from the effect realized from the introduction of NIOKR results, a significant portion of the incentive funds is formulated, as before, from the estimated cost of the work, i.e., in the form of an advance.

The experience of the CEMA member states suggests the expediency of changing over to a different system of formulating economic incentive funds--at the expense of part of the profit remaining at the disposal of the scientific-technical organizations after payment of interest for credit and deductions into the budget. Under the condition that the amount of profit depends on the amount of economic effect, this order of formulating the material incentive fund will ensure greater correspondence between the volumes of this fund and the real end results of activity of the scientific-technical organizations. We believe that the amounts of other economic incentive funds should also be computed analogously. This applies to the fund for social-cultural measures and housing construction and the fund for development of the organizations. Considerable interest is evoked also by the practice of formulating economic risk funds and reserve funds, which are associated with the performance of initiative work, as well as scientific-technical work with substantiated economic risk.

In the past decade, the economic management practice of a number of the fraternal countries (HPR, GDR, CSSR and others) has acknowledged the need for clear delineation of wages into a fixed and variable portion. The former is tied in with the training of the worker, with the national economic importance of the work which he performs, and with other labor factors which remain unchanged for a long period of time. Here the amount of the fixed portion of the wages is not directly tied in with the end results of the labor. Its stimulating importance consists of attracting and securing the most qualified workers at certain sectors of scientific-production activity.

The variable portion of the wages is tied with changing factors of labor (labor activity, initiative, creative approach, labor discipline, etc.). It depends directly on the results of the work and thereby has a stimulating effect on increasing production effectiveness. It is specifically for this reason that, based on the interests of intensifying the stimulating role of wages in increasing the effectiveness of scientific-technical activity, emphasis is being placed in the CEMA member states on improving the forms of its direct effects on the end results of labor. These measures, as practical experience has confirmed, have made it possible to augment the effective system of forming the wage fund with new elements which give it greater flexibility and which make it possible to consider in the basic portion of the wages not only the level of training necessary for the work, but also the end results which have been obtained.

The mechanism of formulating wages in the engineering-application organizations of the PRB is structured somewhat differently. The so-called resultative-surplus method of formulating the said fund is used here. In accordance with it, the volume of assets in the wage fund is determined in the process of distributing the IVO income, after implementation of the standard deductions to the target monetary funds. The obtained surplus of funds may be attached with standard contributions to regulate the growth of the average wage. If the growth exceeds 2.5 percent, the IVO implements progressive standard deductions from the surplus income (according to a unified scale for all sectors) and channels them into a centralized wage regulation fund under the Ministry of Finance. The income of IVO obtained in 1983 in the PRB was used in the amount of 12.2 percent for the formation of the organizations' own target monetary funds, 3.3 percent for regulating the growth of the average wage, and 84.5 percent for the formation of a resultative-surplus wage fund.

The specific indicators, conditions and standards for determining the personal contribution, which are used as the basis for directly establishing the individual wage, are approved by the internal regulations of the IVO. The management and administrative personnel of the IVO are paid their wages as an advance in the course of the year in the amount of their salaries plus additional remunerations specified by the Labor Code and other normative acts. Scientific workers and specialists are paid in the same way, with consideration also for the realization of financial assets in accordance with the performed tasks. The final amount of the individual wage of IVO workers is determined in computing the annual totals within the framework of the obtained resultative-surplus wage fund. On the basis of this, the workers are paid additional remuneration according to the annual totals.

The scientific-technical organizations of the HPR also utilize the principle of dividing wages into fixed and variable portions. Specifically, in the sectorial institutes 80-85 percent of the wage of scientific workers is a fixed value, while 15-20 percent of it depends on the quality of the work. Part of the profit obtained by the customer from the introduction of scientific developments may also be used for paying premiums to workers at scientific-research institutions. The sectorial scientific-research institutes may reduce the number of workers and increase the wages at their expense.

Incentives for the management workers of the sectorial institutes are directed primarily toward fulfilling tasks stemming from the target programs for scientific-technical progress. This is evidenced by the fact that 50 percent of the bonus premium paid to a director of a sectorial institute depends on the measure to which the orders for development of scientific-technical tasks included in the target programs have been fulfilled.

There are a number of limitations to curtail an unjustified increase in the income of scientific associates. The wages of the worker should not exceed the limits set by the state (a limit of 40 percent). Another limiting factor is the average prevailing wage throughout the institute. If the average wage is higher than the standard set for the institute, the management will not receive its premium. The growth of wages at the expense of realized profits is sharply limited. When wages increase at the expense of profits, the scientific-research institute must pay a tax whose maximal rate may reach up to 10 forints for every forint of increase in wages.

In the GDR, the variable portion of the wage in scientific-technical organizations is tied in with the fulfillment of specific plan assignments and may comprise up to 30 percent of the wage rate for scientific-technical personnel. It is paid out here in the form of a differentiated bonus to the salary with consideration for the evaluation of labor achievement. The bonus mark-ups comprise up to 150 marks and are tied in with the fulfillment of indicators and criteria for labor achievements which are subject to computation. These indicators are deduced from the plan for the development of science and technology, as well as from the "duty folders", and are passed down to the appropriate research collectives and their associates. Monthly or quarterly deductions are performed in accordance with them. As a result of the evaluation of times and quality of performed NIOKR, the decision is made regarding recommendations for wage bonuses or amounts of wages oriented toward labor achievements. Wage bonuses (up to 300 marks) which are tied in with specific tasks are used for stimulating high creative results in resolving vital tasks within the plan for development of science and technology. These are paid out to a limited number of workers who directly affect the level of scientific-technical development through their work on topics vital to the national economy.

In recent years, the role of target bonus payments has increased in the scientific-technical organizations of the GDR. Target bonuses are paid out in amounts of 50 percent of the planned sum in the course of task fulfillment with the condition that the intermediate goals specified in the "duty folders" are achieved. When these tasks are completely fulfilled, the remaining 50 percent are paid out. Bonus payments during the sale of licenses have a significant stimulating effect, when part of the sum is paid out in currency to participants in scientific-research work. The system and methods of evaluating the work of scientific workers is also being improved. For this purpose, personal work plans and other forms of control and evaluation of the results of scientific-technical activity are being ever more widely introduced in the GDR.

In the PPR prior to 1982 the system of planning wages at institutions within the sphere of science was by directive, and was based on a limited wage and employment fund. Then, significant changes were introduced into the principles of distribution of the incentive funds. Today they are subordinated to the formula of self-financing generally accepted in the PPR. At the same time, the limitation of the wage fund has been abolished, along with the limitation of the scope and forms of employment in the scientific-research institutions. The decisions are made by the management organs of these institutions.

A significant element in the system of stimulation which is currently in effect is the dependence of the amounts of economic incentive funds on the achieved financial results from the work of the entire scientific-research institution (profit or loss). This is true for the bonus fund, the fund for effect of application, as well as the principles of growth in the average wage. The basic principle of reform is the increase in the independence of the enterprises in defining the regulations for bonus payments and remunerations given to the workers.

In the SRR, according to the "Program for Application of the Principles of Workers' Self-Management of Cost Accounting" adopted in 1983, the sphere of application of methods of wage payment based on the principles of the collective order is expanding in the national economy. It is presumed that this form of wage payment will encompass the entire cycle of "science--technology--production", up to realization of the planned indicators. In the process of performing the NIOKR, the associates of the scientific-technical organizations operating according to the method of the collective order receive monthly advances whose total amount cannot exceed 80 percent of the amount of wages allotted for fulfillment of the work as a whole. When the finished draft is submitted to the customer, 10 percent is withheld from the sum which is due every worker depending on his personal input. These 10 percent will be repaid after the draft has been introduced into production and the plan technical-economic indicators have been achieved. Instead of withholdings for every NIOKR facility until the project parameters have been achieved, a fixed sum in the amount of one month's wages may be withheld as a guarantee.

In the CSSR, the superior organs set absolute limits on the basic (fixed) and incentive (variable) components of wage funds for their subordinate scientific-technical organizations. At the same time, a fund-corrective indicator may be established for the absolute limit to the basic portion. If this indicator is not fulfilled, the planned volume of the basic portion of the wages is reduced. (Such an indicator may be the volume of production work or other indicators expressing the quantity of labor and its scientific-technical level). The profitability, which is computed in relation to the expenditures, is determined as a mandatory fund-corrective indicator to the absolute limit of the incentive component of monies paid for wages. If the planned value of the fund-corrective indicator established for the basic wage is exceeded, the assets allocated for wages are not increased. The incentive portion of the wages as a whole comprises a minimum of 15 percent of the general wage fund. Along with the ratification of the absolute limit

on the incentive component for the scientific-technical organizations, indicators are established which determine the interconnection between the application of these funds and the fulfillment of basic tasks in the plan for development of science and technology.

The experience of the CEMA member states suggests the expediency of establishing a direct dependence between the wages of managers of scientific-research organizations and the direct executors of the work and the amount of economic effect obtained from the introduction of the developments. Thus, part of these wages would be paid out of the wage fund, and part-- out of the material incentive fund. The former might represent a fixed value, a guaranteed minimum (around 80 percent of the basic salary), and be paid out from the wage fund over the extent of the entire work period. The latter should be paid to the work executors with consideration for the course of completion of their assignments, and a certain portion--after completion of the drafts with consideration for the obtained effect. Then, upon conclusion of the labor agreement, the worker would be guaranteed a minimal salary, and the bonus to it may be received only in the case of highly effective labor.

In the Basic Directions for Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period to the Year 2000 presented to the 27th Party Congress, one of the proposed means for further improving the management of the national economy is to improve the exchange of leading experience in planning and management with the CEMA member states. We believe that the experience of these countries in developing economic stimulation of scientific-technical activity may be beneficial in implementing measures for increasing the responsibility of scientific organizations in our country for the level of research and development, and for their most complete application.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

'DISINFORMATION' BY U.S., WESTERN MEDIA, CIA TIES ALLEGED

U.S. Press Cooperation With CIA

Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 22 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by political observer Vadim Kassis under the "From Abroad" rubric:  
"Ideological Subversives. A Look at Events"]

[Text] As is noted in the resolution of the 27th CPSU Congress regarding the political report of the CPSU Central Committee, "under present conditions imperialism poses a growing threat to the very existence of mankind. Its most monstrous manifestation is militarism, which is attempting to subordinate the entire political machinery of bourgeois society to its influence and interests and to bring spiritual life and culture under its control."

One of the most important elements of this political machinery is bourgeois propaganda. The American journalist and writer Lincoln Steffens, who visited our country as far back as 1917, quite frankly characterized American bourgeois propagandists. "They," Steffens underlined, "deafen the public with sensation, and not with the truth." A great deal, of course, has been learned in the West in the decades that have passed, but the principle of subversive ideological action has remained the same. What is more, in the capitalist countries during recent times, the mass information media have become openly allied with the intelligence services. The present chief of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, W. Casey, has repeatedly called upon his colleagues to more actively influence the country's foreign policy and to wage a more refined struggle with communist ideology. He has emphasized that more intensive "psychological warfare" against the socialist countries is not the concern of the propaganda organs of the USIA (U.S. Information Agency) or the press alone, but is first of all of a matter for the intelligence services.

What are the mechanics of this kind of work? In the first place, CIA agents gather classified political information about the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist commonwealth. Then they sort and analyze this information within special elements of the Agency's headquarters and pass it on to the organs of the press.

Secondly, workers of the intelligence stations at American embassies in the socialist countries seek out information which could be used for purposes of ideological sabotage. For these same purposes, the intelligence services also enlist the services of reactionary emigre organizations. The results of such "research" are also passed on to the press after an appropriate "sauce" has been added.

Third, the intelligence services themselves prepare imaginary information for subversive radio stations and bourgeois press organs with the aim of mounting subversive propaganda actions in the socialist countries. It is sufficient to recall the operations in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. It turned out that the program series "The Truth" ("Istina") and "Democracy" ("Demokratiya"), which were widely heard, offered very real directions to people of antisocialist orientation, instructions of a subversive character.

It is characteristic that the "Truth" series -- this clear example of lies and falsifications -- was by no means a new creation but had been borrowed from the arsenals of the "cold war" times. As early as April 1950, President Truman gave a "green light" to a broadscale subversive operation "The Truth", directed against the countries of the socialist commonwealth.

The reader surely is already familiar with the term "black" propaganda. We all recall its essence: this is a principle for the use of information in the West's "psychological warfare" against "unwelcome regimes" in which the true source of the information is not revealed. This is how American psychological specialists themselves characterize "black" propaganda, emphasizing its distinction from "white" propaganda, when the source is identified, and from "gray" propaganda, when it is possible only with difficulty to guess the source. "Black" propaganda was widely employed by fascist ideologists back in Hitler's Germany, and later this approach was adopted and has been used with no less success by the Americans. The Americans are no slouches here.

The American scholar Fred Landis has pointed out that disinformation lies at the basis of the collaboration between the CIA and the mass information media and that, historically, this is CIA's most commonly employed secret operation. As former CIA employee F. Agee has noted, a little under 2,000 CIA officers and agents are working in contact with the mass information media, half of them outside the United States. Revealing the techniques by which the workers of the "cloak and dagger" department maintain these ties with the press, F. Agee emphasized: one or another section of CIA sends a fabricated or concocted news item to a CIA employee abroad, whose mission includes propaganda. An article is prepared on the basis of this document. Then they give it to a particular organ of the local press. And as soon as the article appears somewhere, CIA agents in other corners of the world grab it and try to reprint it in their local organs.

Thus, "information" fabricated in Langley about the USSR and other socialist countries wanders from one bourgeois newspaper to another. And this production line continues to operate. Diplomats of a particular profile are working on it. We won't speak without supporting evidence. A short time ago the French newspaper LIBERATION printed the text of a document from the US Embassy in Paris, which was prefaced by the following commentary: "Confidential reports are for the diplomat the same thing as fuel is for an automobile. The diplomat is a person who takes notes and who continually compiles corresponding reports and sends them on to whomever appropriate. This is done in full secrecy. Sometimes there are leaks, which do not bring pleasure to anyone, because they

concern things that everyone would prefer to keep secret..." "Does this mean that information leaks occur in Washington?", the French asked employees of the American Embassy in Paris with surprise. And immediately they explained: yes, of course. Sometimes there is an information leak, but an intentional one, very necessary to Washington.

The modern practice of ideological subversion includes other methods as well. We will give a specific example. At the end of June 1985, a xerox copy of a "Top Secret report" arrived at the offices of leading American legislators with the postscript: The leadership of the CIA poses no objection to discussion of this report at open hearings of the two Senate committees. Pay attention: this is a "Top Secret" document, and suddenly it is to be "discussed openly". What's happened? It turns out that the report concerned the Soviet Union which allegedly had "jumped ahead" of the United States in the development of intercontinental missiles. In the Senate, as the news agencies reported, this frightening document did not produce any particular reaction. The only exception came from legislators on the extreme right. Moreover, it became known that the order to declassify the document had come from ...the White House. The purpose? According to the testimony of one Pentagon official, they resorted to this trick in order to enlist support for White House demands that allocations for military purposes be increased during the next fiscal year.

It is not by accident that Washington considers USIA to be its most important weapon in "the struggle against communist ideology." Since March 1981 the agency has been headed by Charles Wick -- a personal advisor to the president regarding preparation of the anti-Soviet concoctions which are being disseminated every day, not only in America but also in Western Europe, Africa and Latin America.

The custodians of ideological diversion and their executive agents still frequently resort to classical actions as well -- to the dispatch of spies into the socialist countries disguised as scientists, students, musicians and, of course, as diplomats and tourists. The Soviet press reported not long ago that a second secretary at the U.S. Embassy, Paul Stombauch, had been declared persona non grata and was expelled from the USSR for espionage activity. Literally a few days earlier, still another espionage operation mounted by U.S. Intelligence against the Soviet Union had been broken up. On 10 March, American Embassy Second Secretary Michael Sellers had been caught red-handed during a clandestine meeting with a recruited Soviet citizen, and was also declared persona non grata. West German citizen P. Humeniuk, who was visiting Poland as a tourist, was thrown out of that country. Both the "tourist" and the "diplomats" had been caught in the act.

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress notes that, even today, the right wing of the monopolistic bourgeoisie in the United States looks upon increased international tension as a justification for military expenditures, for global pretensions, for interference in the affairs of other countries, and for tramping upon the interests and rights of American workers. The report points out further that: "The policy of total confrontation, of military confrontation, has no future. An escape into the

past is not an answer to the challenges of the future; rather it is an act of despair. But the existing situation does not become any less dangerous because of this."

However, all attempts to rewrite history and to erase socialism from it are doomed to failure. No provocations and tricks or threats and intimidations, whatever their source, can halt the forward movement of the countries of the socialist commonwealth. Noone has any intention of giving in to ideological subversives and provocateurs.

### Emigre Publishing House 'Posev'

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 13, 25 Mar 86 p 8

[Article by S. Yermolayev in response to a question received from Yu. Ilina in the city of Perm, who asks: "What does the anti-Soviet activity of the Posev Publishing House consist of? Who works there? Who finances it?"]

[Text] When one speaks about foreign publications or a foreign publishing house, the first questions should be -- whose is it, to whom does it belong, what purposes does it serve? The Posev Publishing House is an organ of the NTS (National Labor Alliance). This is a foreign, terrorist, notoriously anti-Soviet organization. Its openly proclaimed goal is the overthrow of Soviet power in the USSR, the destruction of socialism and the restoration of capitalism. The fact that this goal is unachievable is evidently clear even to the ringleaders of NTS, but it is not clear to their overseas bosses. NTS is on the financial dole of the U.S. CIA and is fully dependent upon it.

The CIA is engaged in active anti-Soviet activities, among other things in the field of propaganda. It supports dummy firms and subsidizes individual publishing houses, authors, and an entire army of paid hack writers. A part of this network, exposed throughout the entire non-socialist world, is the Posev Publishing House, established in 1945 and based in Frankfurt-am-Main, West Germany. It has been assigned a clearly prescribed role -- to write anti-Soviet literature in the Russian language. Posev puts out the journals POSEV, GRANI and FORUM and the newspaper VAKHTA.

As could be expected, the Posev Publishing House has published or, more correctly, republished a great many works by writers, philosophers and publicists from the past (primarily White Russian emigres) with an anti-socialist, counterrevolutionary, and anti-Soviet orientation. The ideological center of balance of the publishing house, however, is not in the past but in the present. One after another, Posev publishes the works of renegade writers -- Maksimov, Kopelev, Sinyavskiy, Brodskiy, Vladimov and others.

The publishing house disseminates forgeries designed to convince the reader of the existence of real anti-Soviet forces in the USSR. An article published in one of the issues of the journal POSEV in 1984 is characteristic in this regard. It contains a letter with anti-Soviet content, allegedly written by a young Soviet officer. But it pays to look a little more closely and, at once, it becomes clear -- we have before us a forgery. There is no way, in fact, that a Soviet officer would call the "Za otvagu" (For Courage) medal the "Za khrabrost" (For Bravery) medal, or in place of "zvaniye" (title) would write "chin" (rank), or make the distinction of "Slav soldiers" in the Soviet Army or, without rhyme or reason, introduce at a military academy, from out of thin air, the position of "school commandant". One clearly senses here the handwriting of "has-beens" or their heirs!

It also is necessary to say that Posev has published the books of good, well-known authors too (for example, of Anna Akhmatova and Marina Tsvetayeva), but in the process has selected far from the best, mistaken and decadent works from the creative heritage of these complicated writers and has supplied the editions with malicious and lying anti-Soviet commentaries and prefaces. Posev puts out such books with the aim of "more subtly" deceiving the readers (on the theory that a person won't be tempted by the renegades and buy them) and as a cover for their basic activity.

Where are Posev's books and journals distributed? The door is closed to them in the USSR -- both by law and by the lack of desire on the part of Soviet people to import ideological poison from abroad. However, a certain number of copies does nonetheless slip into the country -- mainly thanks to the efforts of foreigners who bring this cheap literature into the USSR for pay on assignment from the NTS.

But this is an extremely insignificant quantity. Most of what Posev publishes remains unsold and undistributed. Even in emigre circles, publications with the "Posev" label move very poorly. The NTS, sullied by its cooperation with the Gestapo in the past and with the CIA at the present, has such a bad reputation that people avoid taking its products in their hands.

It is characteristic that the works of Posev's authors are not translated into western languages. The "disinterest" of western publishers is understandable: the writings of the renegades are without literary or other merits and there will be no demand for their "creations" on the book market. And the publisher would soon go broke. Posev, however, does not go broke, although it certainly does not cover its own expenses. The secret is simple -- CIA subsidies allow it to retain its staff, to put out books and journals, and to stuff its warehouses with them. It should be noted that the NTS does everything it can to conceal the unprofitability of its publishing house. Deceiving the easily fooled, the

NTS understandably does not admit that it is subsidized by the CIA. NTS personnel say that the organization is supported by members' dues and income from its publishing activities. This is why it is necessary for them that books with the "Posev" label can be glimpsed "everywhere"

Finally, Posev serves as a good feeding trough for the tight circle of NTS "management personnel". At the present time, for example, the publishing house is headed by the son of the White Russian emigree Zhdanov (born in 1946). He was placed in this position only because he is married to the daughter of the former chairman of the NTS, Artemov.

It remains to add that the subversive activity of the Posev Publishing House contradicts the spirit and letter of the Helsinki agreements, on which the signature of West Germany also stands.

13032  
CSO: 1807/275

1 July 1986

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

## ALLEGED U.S. VIOLATIONS IN MICRONESIA AIRED AT UN MEETING

## Nuclear Testing

LD132338 Moscow TASS in English 2259 GMT 13 May 86

/Text/ New York 14 May TASS--TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev reports:

The neverending pain and suffering of the generations of Micronesians, the stories of their unhealing nuclear wounds filled on Tuesday the chamber of the UN Trusteeship Council which continued to examine the developments in the trust territories of the Pacific Islands.

The petitioners from Bikini, Enewetak, Palau and other territories told the world body about the horrors of the blatantly inhumane and cruel nuclear testing programme conducted by Washington which had cynically turned the trust territory into a nuclear weapons testing ground and the population of Micronesia into guinea pigs.

Jonathan M. Weisgall, legal counsel to the people of Bikini, told the Trusteeship Council that the soil of Bikini Island remains contaminated even today after the scores of atomic and hydrogen bombs the United States tested there between 1946 and 1958. A cleanup and resettlement is not even close to reality. Indeed, the budget for fiscal 1987 sent by Present Reagan to Congress provides no funds for these programs. This year marks the 40th anniversary of the removal of the Bikinians from their homeland and of the first postwar atomic tests there. Forty years later, Bikini Island is still not fit for habitation and the Bikinians remain exiles from their homeland. The story, sadly, has no ending.

Glenn H. Alcalay from the National Committee for Radiation Victims noted that when military planners in Washington had chosen Bikini as an atomic sacrifice area it was the Bikini people themselves who were the very last to learn of the decision to turn their atoll and lagoon into a nuclear battleground. Only in 1978, 20 years after the cessation of nuclear testing, the Bikini islanders succeeded in forcing the United States to conduct a radiological survey of the northern Marshalls. The survey concluded that the radiological contamination of the Marshall Islands was far more extensive than had been previously revealed as a result of the 66 (announced) atomic and hydrogen bomb tests. According to the Department of Energy report, all 14 atolls and islands surveyed had received fallout.

Whether the U.S. Government actually planned in advance to intentionally use the Marshall islanders as human "guinea pigs" in studies of radioactive fallout effects may never be fully disclosed, Glenn Alcalay said. However, the fact that the United States did not take adequate and humane precautions to prevent the possible irradiation of human beings was certainly the order of the day.

Speaking on behalf of the people and Council of Enewetak Atoll, David Anderson of a Washington, D.C. law firm, said that the nuclear test program of the Pentagon had damaged the atoll so much that it would never be the same as before the day when the United States took it to use for thermonuclear tests in violation of the trusteeship agreement. He emphasized that the United States had yet to be fully accountable for this act of high international trespass.

William Butler, representative of the Minority Rights Group, denounced the U.S. striving for altering the political will of the people of Palau--the only Micronesian state with a nuclear-free constitution. This runs counter to the norms of international law and commitments of the trusteeship agreement. He pointed out that the U.S. militaristic nuclear plans in the Pacific were at variance with the ever stronger demands of the population of that region that the Pacific Basin be turned into a nuclear-free zone.

#### U.S. Accused of 'Annexation'

LD171648 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1645 GMT 16 May 86

/Article: "United States Wants to Swallow Micronesia"/

/Text/ New York, 16 May. TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev reports: The United States has committed an outrageous act directed at actual annexing of Micronesia, openly and grossly violating the UN Charter, agreements on trusteeship and the declaration granting independence to colonial countries and peoples. V. Walters, U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations, suggested today that the UN Trusteeship Council suspend the agreement, according to which the United States became the administrating power in the trust territory of Pacific Islands in 1947.

They intend to replace the agreement on trusteeship with pseudo-independence of Micronesia, which was tied up by Washington behind the back and bypassing the United Nations through a number of enslaving "agreements," perpetuating the U.S. domination in practice. The "independence" which was allegedly prepared for Micronesia by U.S. "trustees," has nothing in common with the right of peoples for self-determination and is a rude outrage against it. The only field in which the United States has been successful in Micronesia over almost 40 years of its administration, is in the country's militarization, causing the injurious exploitation of its population and economic resources. The nuclear tests on the Pacific atolls, which have turned many of them into deserts, unsuitable for life, and the plans for transforming Micronesia into the most militarized area of the Pacific, which are being intensively implemented exemplify the almost 40 years of Washington's domination over the territory under its trusteeship. It is trying to immortalize this through the maneuver of "suspending trusteeship."

The American act is directed at putting its hands on this UN trust territory and forever depriving Micronesia of its independence, said the USSR representative Ye.G. Kutovoy to a TASS correspondent. This patently contradicts the 83d clause of the UN Charter, according to which any change to the status of a strategic trust territory, and this is precisely what the Pacific Ocean islands are, may take place only with the decision of the UN Security Council. The annexationist plans of Washington toward Micronesia, and the intention to turn it into a major military and strategic bridgehead of the United States are creating a serious threat to the security of the whole of the Asian and Pacific region. Thus the goals, dangerous for the whole world, of the policy of neoglobalism, are being implemented in practice. It is the duty of the United Nations and the whole of the international community not to allow the world to be presented with the fait accompli of Micronesia being swallowed up by the Pentagon.

#### Draft Resolution Assailed

LD281145 Moscow TASS in English 0911 GMT 28 May 86

/Text/ New York 28 May TASS--TASS correspondent Vyacelslav Chernyshev reporting:

A draft resolution on the trust territory of the Pacific islands submitted by France and Great Britain to the current session of the UN Trusteeship Council Tuesday can be regarded only as a mockery of common sense, a violation of the spirit and the letter of the trusteeship agreement and of the declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples. Acting on the instructions of the United States, its partners suggested that the council terminate the term of the UN trusteeship over Micronesia under the pretext that the United States, as the authors of the draft maintain, carried out its commitments under the agreement on trusteeship in a satisfactory manner. It is proposed that the term of trusteeship be ended in view of the so-called agreements on "free association" and "community," imposed by Washington on individual parts of Micronesia, coming into force.

For nearly 40 years of rule over Micronesia its overseas "trustees" succeeded only in militarizing the Pacific Islands, turning them into the Pentagon's fief, and in hindering, deliberately and artificially, their economic and political development. As a result of such policies the population of Micronesia is now to be even less self-sufficient than before the United States began to administer that UN trust territory.

The purpose of U.S. maneuvers with respect to Micronesia is to appropriate it and deprive it for good--and in violation of the UN Charter--of the hope to achieve independence.

Washington's plans cause profound concern among the international public. This will be seen from a huge number of petitions addressed to the UN Trusteeship Council, including petitions sent from the United States, Britain, Australia and many other countries.

Their authors call for shielding Micronesians from the U.S. encroachments and for preventing the situation whereby the world would be faced with the accomplished fact of the annexation of the last trust territory on this planet.

Vote on Palau

LD070655 Moscow TASS in English 0542 GMT 7 Jun 86

/Text/ Washington 7 June TASS--The Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives has endorsed by voice vote an agreement on Palau Islands' so-called "free association" with the United States. Earlier similar agreements were imposed upon two other trust territories--the federated states of Micronesia and Marshall Islands. The voting in the House Foreign Affairs Committee is yet another step towards final enslavement of Palau, as has already virtually happened with Micronesia. By a decision of the UN organization, which granted a mandate to the United States in 1947 for the administration of the territory, the United States was to prepare the population of the islands for the gaining of independence. However, Washington ignored the demand of the international community and used the mandate for virtual enslavement of the trust territory and for its conversion into a U.S. military-strategic staging area.

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CSO: 1812/129

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

UN COUNCIL ON TRUSTEESHIP MEETS ON MICRONESIA

U.S. Military Presence Assailed

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 19, 18 May 86 pp 12-13

[Article by A. Usvatov]

[Text]

On May 12 the U.N. Trusteeship Council is to begin discussing the situation in the U.N. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, or Micronesia. Administration of the territory was entrusted in 1947 to the United States, which has no intention of allowing the islands, spread over vast expanses of the Pacific, to become a united independent state. Washington is out to perpetuate its rule over these islands, to pocket them.

The Trusteeship Council is now receiving a great many petitions from public organizations in different countries protesting against the perpetuation of U.S. domination over Micronesia. A letter from an Australian anti-nuclear organization, for instance, points out that under the U.N. trusteeship agreement the U.S. is obliged to restore political stability on the islands and return their economic independence to the Micronesians. "But this has not been done," the letter says. "The present situation in Micronesia is a disgrace." The British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has sent in a protest against the actions of the U.S. military, who are constantly exposing the population of Micronesia to deadly nuclear radiation.

Yesterday it was nuclear tests on the Bikini and Eniwetok atolls, whose former inhabitants to all practical purposes will never be able to return to their native parts. Today it is test launchings of MX and Minuteman missiles from California into the lagoon of the Kwajalein atoll, which has been turned

into a missile testing ground. It has already been announced that it will be used in "star wars" preparations. The forcibly expelled Kwajaleinians have had to seek shelter on neighbouring islands. The outlook for tomorrow is that in conformity with the agreements imposed by Washington on the various archipelagoes the islanders will be deprived of large areas of land which will be used as sites for U.S. military installations, and not least of all for storage facilities for nuclear weapons. This will in effect make the island dwellers hostages to Washington's adventurist policy.

Speaking on Guam on April 29, President Reagan called the island "America's flagship in the Western Pacific" lying "within easy range of virtually every city in East Asia." Washington takes the same view of the archipelagoes of the Micronesian trust territory.

The President is proud of his "flagship." According to a report compiled by the U.N. Secretariat, there already are on Guam 368 nuclear artillery shells and aviation and depth bombs. The same fate of becoming a nuclear springboard is being prepared by the Washington neocolonialists also for adjoining Micronesian archipelagoes.

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How is this being done? By using the standard arm-twisting methods against the small nationalities inhabiting the Micronesian islands. Bribery of certain groups of the islanders styled as "representatives of their peoples" is also resorted to. The agreements on "free association" with the U.S. concluded with four parts of Micronesia, which have been illegally given the semblance of separate states, came into being in this way. For the sake of appearances, referendums and plebiscites were staged. But these could hardly be called a free expression of will or a sign of self-determination, considering that they were conducted under the thumb of the trustee power. In Palau, for instance, six referendums had to be held before the neocolonialists got what they wanted by pressuring the population. The outcome ran counter to the aspirations of the local people, who do not want to live on mountains of American nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

Having fragmented Micronesia and forced upon its various parts fettering agreements, the U.S. is now out in effect to annex the territory. This it would like to do on the quiet, bypass-

ing the Security Council, in violation of the U.N. Charter, the trusteeship agreement of 1947, and the U.N. Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples.

All the "agreements" with the Micronesians were engineered by Washington behind the back of the United Nations, for which the territory is being held in trust and whose responsibility it is to uphold the interests of the Micronesians until they achieve genuine independence.

Thus, termination of U.N. trusteeship over Micronesia, the ending of the world organization's responsibility to the peoples of the Pacific islands, is out of the question.

No change in the status of this strategic trusteeship territory can be made unilaterally by the trustee power. The U.N. Charter stipulates that such changes can be made only by decision of the U.N. Security Council. It is the duty of the United Nations to enable the people of Micronesia to exercise their inalienable right to truly independent, unified statehood.

### Trusteeship Violations Alleged

LD210847 Moscow TASS in English 0650 GMT 21 May 86

[Text] New York, 20 May (TASS)--TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev reports:

Famine, privations, epidemics--such is the lot of the native population that has been driven from the best lands for the sake of turning Kwajalein into a U.S. nuclear range, said chairman of the parliament of the Marshall Islands Senator Adaji Balos. He spoke at the meeting of the UN Trusteeship Council during the discussion of the situation in the Pacific Islands Trust Territory which has been under the United States administration for nearly 40 years now. The documents he provided attest to gross violation of human rights, humanitarian principles, the norms of international law and the trusteeship agreement by the United States, the administering country.

The Soviet Union's representative Y. G. Kutovoi called the attention of the international community to the fact that the United States tries to decide Micronesia's "future" bypassing and in violation of the fundamental documents--the United Nations Charter, the trusteeship agreement, the declaration

on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The United States seeks to face the United Nations organization with an accomplished fact of Micronesia's annexation. The "agreements" imposed on its separate parts have been drawn up behind the back of the United Nations, in conditions when the administering state has been preventing the United Nations from protecting the interests of the Micronesian people.

/9274

CSO: 1812/128

EASTERN EUROPE

POLISH YOUTH UNION HEAD INTERVIEWED

PM011324 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 86 p 3

[Interview with Jerzy Szmajdziński, chairman of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth Main Board, by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's Warsaw correspondent M. Botyan in Warsaw: "Tomorrow Begins Today"--no date given; first paragraph is a KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The 10th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] falls on 28 April. On the eve of the jubilee our own correspondent in Warsaw interviewed Jerzy Szmajdziński, chairman of the ZSMP Main Board:

[Botyan] And so, the first round-figure anniversary in the Union's existence....

[Szmajdziński] Yes, 10 years. A fairly tender age, in fact. Nevertheless, all that the Union has managed to achieve in the time of its existence has already gone down in our motherland's history.

We took over directly from the Union of Socialist Youth [ZSM]. But while the ZSM united only the young workers, the ZSMP organizations have also been established in subunits of the Polish Armed Forces and in the countryside. Furthermore, after the Third ZSMP Congress, we started forming our cells in schools, technical colleges, and higher education establishments. The union has thus become an organization uniting the widest sections of young people.

Please note: One-half of the ZSMP's existence was in the most difficult period of Poland's history. Under the conditions of the crisis in the early 80's, the union's main task was to struggle for socialist Poland. Despite the political enemy's attempts to split the union and break it away from the PZPR, we stood firm. There were, of course, some losses. Many people left the union, but we succeeded in preserving the ZSMP's ideological and political unity, the ties with the party, and the Leninist principles of democratic centralism.

[Botyan] Please tell us about the union's present stage. Which, in your view, are the most important avenues of its work?

[Szmajdzinski] Today we have more than 2 million members. The Union is joined by 200,000 young men and women annually. The average age of the organization's members is 22 years, and therefore the ZSMP has a promising future.

Admission to the party is a test of young people's ideological and political maturity. Last year the PZPR admitted 13,000 ZSMP members. The Union's membership includes 39 Sejm deputies and tens of thousands of deputies on local people's councils and organs of self-management.

The Union's entire activity today centers on preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress, which is due to open at the end of June. This will be a very important forum for Poland's Communists. It will adopt the PZPR Program, whose draft has now been submitted for widespread discussion. What will Poland be like tomorrow? This question perturbs many Poles, which was proved by the Seventh ZSMP Primary Organizations Festival. Some 45,000 meetings were held within its framework. The collective discussion resulted in the elaboration of the "ZSMP's Opinions on Socialist Poland's Key Problems," addressed to the 10th PZPR Congress delegates. This document is entitled "Poland's Future Is Our Future." Our deeds are the best gift to the party congress. The Main Board has recently received quite a few local reports about interesting initiatives by young people. Gdansk's Lenin Shipyard reported a valuable initiative by the enterprise's youth organization, which concluded a contract with the board of directors on sponsoring the construction of two training sail ships for the Soviet Union.

The organization of construction cooperatives, which was recently reported by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, is an important manifestation of young people's social activeness. There are also 47 production cooperatives operating under ZSMP auspices, with young people working in them when not engaged in their main work.

These are just a few brushstrokes toward producing a contemporary portrait of the union. It is impossible to describe everything in a single interview.

[Botyan] It is probably, also impossible not to recall the problems which have to be resolved?

[Szmajdzinski] Of course. There are, unfortunately, quite a few of them. First and foremost one has to remember the fact that our political enemy is far from having laid down his arms. The anti-Polish and anticommunist centers operating in the West and the domestic opposition are trying to poison young people's minds with antisocialist venom. The church is also trying to intensify its influence on young people, using for this purpose, so to say, not quite traditional means of influence: the latest musical and video equipment, and even plans for the creation of computer clubs.

It has to be admitted frankly that some young people at times display political and social passiveness, unconscientious attitude toward labor, and excessive fascination with mass culture emanating from the West.

Quite a few problems. It is, however, an encouraging fact that the ZSMP Main Board and the voivodship and primary organizations are fully determined to overcome them persistently.

[Botyan] Those who are joining the ZSMP today will be taking the fate of the country in their hands at the start of the next millennium. Work for the future must be done this very day. This is obviously the demand of the times. How does the union take it into account in its work?

[Szmajdzinski] The ZSMP organizations clearly see ahead of them important scope for their activity. This applies primarily to young people's participation in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Technical creativeness, particularly in the recent past, has been really captivating young people. The journal BAJTEK, devoted to information technology, was recently inaugurated under the editorial office of the newspaper SZTANDAR MLODYCH. The 200,000 copies of it that are printed disappear immediately from the news kiosk shelves. The country already has 123 minicomputer clubs uniting several tens of thousands of people and operating under the ZSMP's auspices alone. Young specialists are increasingly often responsible for interesting inventions and rationalization proposals.

The 27th CPSU Congress became for us an example of daring, innovative approach, and realism in defining future prospects, as well as a real lesson in truth. There were quite a few discussions on its materials among us, and we devoted to it a "round table discussion" by ZSMP voivodship board secretaries. The congress emphasized yet again that the implementation of the gigantic plans of the Land of the Soviets is possible only under peaceful conditions and confirmed the USSR's determination to struggle for the liquidation of nuclear weapons.

We express solidarity with young people in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Libya, and Angola which are being attacked by imperialism, and protest against the apartheid regime in South Africa. Our young people resolutely condemn the U.S. Administration's policy which does not support the USSR's proposal for a mutual ban of nuclear tests. We want no "star wars." We want to live and work under peaceful skies, for the benefit of the socialist fatherland.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

BAY OF PIGS INVASION, U.S. ANTI-NICARAGUA ACTION CONTRASTED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 86 pp 4-5

[Interview with Flavio Bravo Pardo, chairman of the Cuban National Assembly of the People's Government, by Yev. Bay; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] During these days, the people of Cuba are observing the 25th anniversary of the victory over the forces of imperialistic mercenaries at Playa Giron. The devastating destruction of the aggressors on Cuban soil a quarter of a century ago showed that no mercenaries can defeat a nation that has won its freedom. This should be remembered by those who are now trying to repeat military adventures against other countries courageously defending their independence and national dignity.

The conversation of IZVESTIYA's own correspondent Yev. Bay with Flavio Bravo Pardo, chairman of the Cuban National Assembly of the People's Government, is about the lessons of Playa Giron.

[Question] Comrade Bravo, in April 1961, you were one of those directly in charge of military actions at Playa Giron. How do you remember those days?

[Answer] As you know, the prelude to the intervention was the barbaric bombing of Cuban airports by the aircraft of the mercenaries. At that time, I was at one of the bases subjected to attack from the air and we were able to save a few military aircraft. Unfortunately, we could not prevent the loss of people. I will always remember the crowded meeting at the funeral of the bombing victims. It was precisely at that meeting, under the conditions of the threat of intervention hanging over the country, when Comrade Fidel Castro proclaimed the socialist nature of our revolution.

The first failures, I remember, just gave us determination. We figured out that the intention of the interventionists was to entrench themselves on the shore, set up a puppet government there, and then turn to the United States for military assistance. It was necessary to act quickly to foil this plan and we succeeded in doing so. In less than 72 hours, the interventionists were totally defeated. Part of them were driven back into the sea and others were forced into the swamp. They got no help either from the American warships just a mile off shore or from the American aircraft circling over us.

To what could the victory be attributed? It was above all due to the courage of the people--the warriors of the insurgent army, subdivisions of the revolutionary people's police, and battalions of militiamen. All of us understood that by retreating even a step, we lose everything....

[Question] The same courage is not being shown by the defenders of Nicaragua standing up to the detachments of thousands of cutthroats trained and armed by the CIA.

[Answer] It may be that the situation in Nicaragua is even more complex than that in Cuba in 1961. The country has land borders with neighboring countries. Honduras has long since become a springboard for aggression against Nicaragua. About a dozen airfields have been built on the territory of this country and centers for the training of mercenaries, bases for pirate boats, and many other things have been established. There is no end there to the Pentagon's military games, the purpose of which is to intimidate the Sandinist government. Now, for example, more than 17,000 American soldiers prepared to initiate direct aggression at any moment are taking part in regular exercises.

[Question] But in contrast to 1961, the Latin American countries are coming out against the military adventures of the United States in the region....

[Answer] That is quite right. This position was demonstrated especially graphically at the recent session of the Latin American parliament dedicated to the situation in Central America. Parliamentarians from 18 countries and representing more than 50 political parties firmly declared: the interference of the United States in the affairs of the countries of the region must be stopped immediately and Washington is obligated to sit down at the negotiating table with the Sandinist government to settle the conflict on a peaceful political basis. In the summary document, it was stated that in the event of a direct intervention the peoples of Latin America will be on the side of Nicaragua. I think that the holding of a forum of parliamentarians in Guatemala, in which the Cuban delegation also took part, was a great success for democratic forces and demonstrated the high degree of Latin American unity against the aggressive policy of President Reagan.

[Question] The participation of Cuba in the work of representative regional organizations revealed the complete failure of the policy of isolating the island and the collapse of the blockade set up by the United States shortly after Playa Giron.

[Answer] The policy of the blockade is indeed falling apart. If there is still a boycott of Cuba in Latin America, it is on the part of such anachronistic organizations as the OAS. For our part, we are not striving to participate in the work of this Yankee "ministry of colonies." In our opinion, there is no place for the United States in the OAS. In its present form, it is not capable of resolving any of the pressing problems of Latin America.

Last year was important for the consolidation of the positions of Cuba on the continent. Uruguay established diplomatic relations with us and economic ties

were worked out with Argentina and other countries. With the support of most of the states, Cuba became an equal member in the Latin American parliament, which is now starting to play an increasingly active role. The parliamentarians of the countries of the region are coming out in a single front in favor of the abolition of the oppressive foreign debt, for the preservation and consolidation of peace, and against imperialist intervention. In 1961, the United States organized aggression against Cuba with the support of puppet regimes. Latin American countries are now coming out against all forms of aggression. They stigmatized the intervention of the United States in Grenada, expressed their solidarity with Argentina during the events in the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), and are demanding an end to the dirty war unleashed against Nicaragua.

[Question] The rout of the mercenaries at Playa Giron had great international significance. At the same time, those heroic days were a lesson for Cuba's young generation.

[Answer] There is no doubt whatsoever that today's younger generation will demonstrate the same courage and heroism in the event of aggression against our country. The spontaneous enthusiasm of the masses in the past has now become a profound political consciousness. We now have a united party and tens of thousands of young people have been baptized in fire in Angola and Ethiopia, having fulfilled their international duty with honor.

[Question] "Production and Defense" remains one of the main slogans of the Cuban people. It is perfectly clear that only having established a solid economic base can one resist the aggressive policy of imperialism....

[Answer] At the present time, the working people of the republic are actively discussing the decisions of the Third Party Congress that are of historic importance for the fate of Cuba. Our fundamental task is the industrialization of the country and the establishment of up-to-date competitive economic sectors that could work for export. We are striving to achieve the greatest possible efficiency and strict economy of energy and raw materials. On this path, the utilization of the experience of the Soviet Union is of tremendous importance for us; the course taken by your country to accelerate social and economic development met with interest and attention in Cuba.

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CSO: 1807/252

LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

RADIO MARTI SEEN 'INEFFECTIVE' AFTER ONE YEAR OF OPERATION

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 May 86 p 5

[Article by A. Kamorin: " 'The Electronic Equivalent' of Aggression"]

[Text] Exactly one year ago, on 20 May 1985, the U.S. opened a new front in the undeclared war against the Republic of Cuba. The "military actions" began by taking into account the element of surprise: public opinion and the U.S. press did not even know that on that day, at 5:20 A.M., transmitters with a 50 thousand watt capacity on Cape Marathon in the state of Florida "fired" into the airwaves the first call signs of a new affiliate of "Voice of America"--"Radio Marti".

The anti-Cuban radio sabotage began, of course, not just a year ago. Immediately after the overthrow of the pro-American dictatorship of Batista, one after another of these subversive radio centers began to appear in Florida. Formally, their owners were considered to be those minions of the former dictator who fled from Cuba. But this whole motley "radio association" was financed and directed by the U.S. CIA. The majority of these stations, discharging into the airwaves foul language, threats and instructions for saboteurs infiltrated into Cuba, in time completely discredited themselves and happily disappeared into oblivion. The remaining stations beguiled the hearts of the "Gusanos" who lived in Miami. In any case, the strategists of the American administration understood that their influence on the Cuban audience had fallen irrepressively. Some kind of "new approach" was necessary.

This was done right after the accession to the post of president of R. Reagan, based on the recommendation of the ultra-conservative "Sante Fe Committee". The calculation was as such: the new radio station should provide all of the same kind of counterrevolutionary propaganda but in a "proper" covering, giving it the "respectable" status of a U.S. government institution.

The devaluation of "respectability", in truth, began even before the appearance on the air of the new "voice"--with the name of the radio station. Experts on propaganda from Washington were not able to understand that the use of the name Jose Marti was a cynical insult to every Cuban patriot. But the propensity for "wit" and the pursuit of propaganda effect were irresistible to Washington.

Advertising in Congress the idea of creating a new anti-Cuban radio station, the experts of the Washington administration stated that its function would include "dissemination of objective and balanced information about the U.S., the situation in Cuba and international events." In the past year the "information about the U.S." on the frequency of this radio station came down to an unrestrained advertisement for consumerism and the American way of life. Information on "the situation in Cuba" to put it mildly, was out of date. When WASHINGTON POST correspondent Cody decided to conduct an informal poll on the station's broadcasts he received from one of his Havana respondents this very eloquent answer: "It seems to me that all these people have the ideology and world view of the 1950's, that these programs were written 25 years ago."

Here is only one example of such a "frozen" way of thinking. In the radio center's broadcast of the melodrama "Esmerelda", one of the characters is a contemporary Cuban peasant. Here his wife, according to the writer, dies mainly because the hero cannot find on the island--a doctor. And this is in Cuba which has far surpassed other countries of Latin American in guaranteeing medical personnel for the population!

The history of the situation in "Esmerelda" is connected with events of completely long ago. In May of this year Minister of Health of the Republic of Cuba Julio Tejas and three well-known Cuban doctors were supposed to participate in an international congress in the American city of Atlanta. They intended to share with their colleagues the experience of the fight against infant mortality--an area in which Cuba has achieved world recognized successes. Curiously, former president of the U.S. J. Carter, appearing in the role of a patron of the congress, invited the Cuban doctors. The State Department refused the Cuban representatives permission to visit the U.S. This is "impartiality" Washington-style.

To say even a word of truth about Cuban reality on the frequencies of the station means a change in the subversive goals of its creation. On the other hand, to tell people lies about their everyday life is also useless. What remains for the radio saboteurs? Only gossip and disinformation, which make up the basic volume of broadcasts sent into the Cuban airwaves almost around the clock.

However, the obvious ineffectiveness of such broadcasts does not embarrass its organizers. The draft of the budget sent by the president to Congress proposes an allocation for the maintenance of the anti-Cuban "voice" of 11.6 million dollars in 1987--a million more than in the past year.

The anti-Cuban radio center is hardly the "spoiled child" of the American administration, but only one link in the global chain of subversive activities, called by the U.S. "a program of democracy and public diplomacy". The WASHINGTON POST, in an editorial called the activity of

all these "voices" a "completely legal form of international intercourse." It seems that the newspaper in this instance is calling a wish a reality. In addition to disinformation disseminated in its channels, the "voices" are involved in openly subversive actions, plainly contrary to the norms of international legality. Thus, on the night of 14-15 April of this year the Arabic-language service of "Voice of America" 15 times broadcast an appeal to the Libyan people, calling for the overthrow of Muammar Qadhafi. On the same night American bombers dropped bombs and missiles on Tripoli and Benghazi.

In the beginning the word then the bombs and marines--this is the American policy signifying the translation into the language of concrete matters that those who are not "convinced" should be destroyed. This state terrorism is the reverse side of the "program of democracy and public diplomacy." It was not without reason that a year ago a member of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, Henry Gonzalez, called the startup of Radio Marti the "electronic equivalent of the armed intervention of the U.S. in the Bay of Pigs".

This comparison is very accurate. A month ago the Cuban people solemnly marked the 25th anniversary of the victory over Washington's mercenaries at Playa Giron. The failure of the adventure in the Bay of Pigs should serve as a lesson to the White House strategists--a quarter of a century is sufficient time for reflection. But, as is evident, neither the lamentable failure nor the consistent policy of the Cuban government, calling for normalization of relations between the two countries, has profited the American administration. It intends, as before, to continue the undeclared war against the Cuban revolution. This is a war as immoral as it is hopeless.

CSO: 1807/296

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

USSR-INDONESIA: PROTOCOL TO ESTABLISH TRADE-ECONOMIC COMMISSION

Moscow SOBRANIZE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SSSR in Russian No 3, 1986 pp 44-46

[Protocol on the establishment of a mixed Soviet-Indonesian commission on trade-economic cooperation]

[Text] PROTOCOL between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia on the establishment of a mixed Soviet-Indonesian commission on trade-economic cooperation.

For the purpose of the further strengthening of their friendly ties and the development of trade and economic cooperation on the basis of mutual advantage, noninterference in internal affairs and full respect for the sovereignty of both countries, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia agreed on the following:

Article 1

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia establish a mixed Soviet-Indonesian commission for trade and economic cooperation, hereinafter referred to as the "Commission."

Article 2

The tasks of the Commission are:

- a) review of the course of the implementation of the Soviet-Indonesian agreements in the area of trade and economic cooperation;
- b) review of the possibilities for the further development of trade and economic cooperation and preparation of the corresponding recommendations for their presentation to the competent authorities of both countries;

c) review of other questions related to the development of trade and economic cooperation.

### Article 3

The Commission will perform its work on the basis of the statute that is an integral part of this protocol.

### Article 4

The present protocol becomes effective on the day of its signing.

Each government can terminate the effect of the present protocol by sending a written notification of this to the other government 3 months in advance.

Executed in Jakarta 29 October 1985 in two original copies, each in the Russian and Indonesian languages, whereby both texts have equal force.

For the Government of the  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

For the Government of the  
Republic of Indonesia

Ya. Ryabov

Ali Vardana

### Addendum

Statute on the mixed Soviet-Indonesian commission on trade and economic cooperation

The mixed Soviet-Indonesian commission on trade-economic cooperation is established in accordance with Article 1 of the protocol between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of Indonesia on the establishment of a mixed Soviet-Indonesian commission on trade-economic cooperation.

### I.

In accordance with the mentioned protocol on the mixed Soviet-Indonesian commission on trade-economic cooperation, hereinafter referred to as the "Commission," the following tasks are set forth:

a) review of the course of the implementation of Soviet-Indonesian agreements in the area of trade and economic cooperation;

b) review of the possibilities for the further development of trade and economic cooperation and preparation of the corresponding recommendations for their presentation to the competent authorities of both countries;

c) review of other questions related to the development of trade and economic cooperation.

## II.

The Commission is composed of Soviet and Indonesian parts. The chairmen of both parts are appointed by their respective governments.

Both sides will inform one another of the composition of their delegations prior to the start of each meeting of the Commission.

## III.

The Commission will meet once every 2 years or in accordance with the mutual agreement of the sides. The meetings of the Commission will be held in the Soviet Union and in Indonesia under the chairmanship of the head of the part of the Commission of the host country.

Each side may invite consultants and/or experts to take part in the meetings of the Commission.

## IV.

As far as possible, the heads of both parts of the Commission will agree on the holding of a meeting 1 month prior to the holding of the meeting and will coordinate its tentative agenda. At the beginning of the meeting, additional matters may be included in the agenda by mutual consent.

## V.

The work of the Commission will take place in the form of plenary meetings. For the examination of individual specific questions, working groups may be established that will present their proposals at the plenary meetings of the Commission.

A coordinated protocol of each meeting of the Commission in the Russian and Indonesian languages will be signed by the heads of the delegations.

## VI.

Each part of the Commission will appoint its own responsible secretary to perform organizational functions relating to the work of the Commission.

The responsible secretaries will remain in continuous contact with each other.

VII.

The expenses associated with the holding of Commission meetings, including conferences of the working groups, will be borne by the host country.

Living and transportation expenses will be borne by each of the sides.

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CSO: 1825/67

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

NEW ZEALAND FOREIGN, DOMESTIC POLICIES SURVEYED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 May 86 p 4

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent O. Skalkin: "You Can't Sink a Rainbow: From the New Zealand Notebook"]

[Text] The main street of Auckland goes right down to the harbor. The gulfs are visible from the high points of the city--if not one, then the other, between which are compressed the central districts of New Zealand's largest city on a narrow isthmus. The rear of Auckland faces on Manukau Gulf. Over it are aircraft flying in from the Tasman Sea, coming in for a landing. The front of the city is turned toward Hauraki Gulf, an enormous expanse of water enlivened with little green islands. Maritime shuttles course between them and the city continuously.

On fine days--and such days occur more often in Auckland than in Wellington, which became the talk of the town due to rains, winds and earthquakes--the gulfs are animated from the multitude of sails on the waves, and it seems as if migratory flocks have come down to the water... At such moments, it seems, photos should be taken for tourist brochures--picturesque, attractive. Of the 300,000-plus tourists that visit New Zealand each year, the majority step onto its land here, in the city on the gulfs. It has many faces, bustles in a manner uncharacteristic for New Zealand and is instructive of almost every facet of life in the country "at the edge of the world."

Located here is the chief industrial base of New Zealand, and the trade-union activity of the country is concentrated here. Farms--sheep farming, milk and dairy products, combined--are supplied from here with necessary equipment and chemicals. The major portion of the products produced here pass through the Port of Auckland. The agrarian sector brings in 80 percent of export income and remains the backbone of the economy. It is, however, gradually losing its one-sidedness, acquired over decades of orientation toward the demands of English tables and factories.

Not one of the New Zealand cities can compare with Auckland in the mixed character of the population. The proximity of Polynesia is felt especially here, whence at one time ocean-going canoes with the first discoverers and settlers of the country--the Maori--sailed to the green islands of New Zealand. Several of the districts of Auckland and its environs bear their names--Arava, Aotea, Tainui. Many islanders of Western Samoa, the Kingdom of

Tonga and the Cook Islands come here to work and, ever more frequently in recent years, to study. The presence of Polynesians has a discernible effect on social affairs, as well as on the political situation.

There is in Auckland what I would call a fixed route for demonstrations. It is comparatively short, this section of the city center, hardly more than one and a half to two kilometers. It begins in Victoria Square near the central post office, stretches upward along Queen Street for its entire length and ends in Aotea Square, not far from the municipal building. As often as I visited Auckland, I almost always observed a demonstration or a meeting there. They reflect, as a rule, not only local problems, but also the socio-political mood of the country. That is why they are interesting.

Imprinted in my memory, for example, are the protests that rocked the city in March of 1984. At that time, an American military squadron called in the Hauraki Gulf with the Queenfish nuclear submarine armed with nuclear missiles. The antiwar impulse united dozens of various organizations reflecting all the colors of the New Zealand political spectrum. The Laborites of New Zealand owe their victory in the parliamentary elections of July 1984 to an enormous extent to the fact that they correctly perceived the antiwar sentiments of the people and responded to them. The conservative National Party, insisting to the end on a nuclear union with America, was left no better off than before. The incompatibility that the masses perceived of the national interests of the country with subordinating its fate to those who are unwinding the nuclear arms race and dragging their allies into it, along with their unease over the fate of peace, became the decisive factor in New Zealand politics. And it continues to have an active influence on the course of affairs and events today. Legislation was submitted for the consideration of the New Zealand parliament on declaring New Zealand a nuclear-free zone and on disarmament and the monitoring of armaments.

"Some members of the American administration simply cannot understand that a policy of banning nuclear vessels from calling at New Zealand ports precisely reflects the aspirations of the majority of New Zealanders and is the will of the people," said General Secretary of the Labor Party of New Zealand [LPNZ] Tony Timms at a meeting with us. "And not only the Laborites, but the Social Credit Party and the New Zealand Party adhere to an anti-nuclear position, but the National Party, which is threatening to lift the ban, is undergoing difficult times."

The indicators of public-opinion polls confirm these words. According to the data of one of these, for example, 56 percent of voters are ready to give their vote to the LPNZ as before, and the National Party is the preference of 38 percent of those polled. Nonetheless, the United States continues its political siege of Wellington, begun long before the anti-nuclear platform of the Laborites was developed as a specific policy with the ascent to power of David Lange. Now the purpose of the siege is the disruption of parliamentary discussion and approval of the anti-nuclear law.

Several prominent businessmen of New Zealand in particular are coming out as sponsors of this policy. More than half of the gross national product of the country is produced by their companies. They returned from a recent visit to

the United States with the intention of diverting their government toward concessions to the Americans and immediately set to work. The money-bags are afraid that "New Zealand's trade relations with the United States will suffer." There are many other advocates of the nuclear ambitions of the United States. The forces of the anti-nuclear camp, however, are more powerful. Included in it are the massive and influential New Zealand Federation of Labor--the center of organized workers in the country. At the latest conference of the Labor Party, notwithstanding the objections of the representatives of its right wing, a resolution was adopted that demanded the removal of New Zealand from the ANZUS bloc, the rupture of all military ties with nuclear states, and the adoption of a policy of non-alignment and neutrality. And although the resolution is not considered binding for the government in Wellington, this document reflects the prevailing sentiments in the party and the country. The hopes for a peaceful future, as a rainbow, illuminate the New Zealand sky.

"You can't sink a rainbow," goes the inscription on a pin issued by the Greenpeace organization in commemoration of the tragic incident with the ship Rainbow Warrior. About a year has passed since the day when, at the Marsden berth on the Auckland shore, saboteurs of the French secret service put the flagship of the anti-nuclear protest of the Pacific Ocean to the bottom of the harbor. This unprecedented act was especially painful and alarming. It is generally known that the New Zealand government is a staunch opponent of nuclear weapons testing conducted by France on Mururoa Atoll.

Since that time, a trial has been held in Auckland for French citizens Dominique Priere and Alain Mafar, members of the demolition team that were unable to hide themselves. Each was sentenced to ten years in prison, and the French government expressed an official apology to New Zealand. But for the New Zealand public, the issue is not settled and hardly forgotten. If the organizers of the attempt on the Rainbow Warrior were figuring on demoralizing the anti-nuclear movement, the reverse occurred.

This was also told to me by Henk Haazen, a Dutch engineer from the Rainbow Warrior. Together we looked over the vessel, which had been raised from the bottom. From its stay under the water, the hull was pitted with rust. We went down into the engine room, smashed by the explosion. A second charge was under the living compartment. A member of the crew perished there--Spaniard Fernando Pereira.

Even though the Rainbow Warrior is not in view today, much of interest is found here at the reserve berths of the cargo port. Students, tourists, port workers--one group of people approaches, behind them another. The first book dedicated to the Rainbow Warrior epic has appeared. Soon, according to newspaper reports, a film about the Rainbow Warrior should appear on the screens of Auckland. The vessel, which will never see the ocean again, remains among the ranks of the warriors for peace.

What I saw on the "demonstration route" this time related to the country's internal problems. Bank employees have gone on strike in Auckland and in other cities. Picket lines were set up every morning in front of the Australo-New Zealand Bank building on Queen Street. The strikers stood with

placards in their hands on which were spelled out their demands. At the same time, the trade-union members among the office employees left their workplaces: many state institutions and business offices were lacking in personnel. Several times a day the columns of employees marched along Queen Street. The specific causes of the strikes were varied, but both the one and the other advanced the demand for higher wages and an improved standard of living for the workers.

These strikes were not, possibly, quite typical of the workers' movement of New Zealand, for they did not affect the trade unions that determine its character. But even they are a sign of the complex and contradictory times that the country is now experiencing, when many social attainments fall under the blow of capital. The economic policies of the New Zealand Laborites, in contrast to their foreign policy, does not have universal popular support. On the contrary, strong arguments are being waged around it, and a sharp struggle is underway within the Labor Party itself, and outside it. The government's economic course has been christened with the term "deregulation." It signifies the elimination of any controls over capital in the country, and first and foremost monopolies, and the building of market conditions with an omnipotent arbiter in matters of industrial development and agriculture. Unlimited access has been opened to the economy for foreign banks. With the introduction of a "floating rate" for the New Zealand dollar, its value will be determined in the exchanges of the financial capitals of the world. Tariffs that protected the local industry from the competition of imported goods are being rescinded. The influx of the latter into the New Zealand market has been eased. Farmers have lost state guarantees that provided a minimum income for produce grown.

The measures that are now being executed signify a redistribution of the national wealth of the country in the interests of big capital. Therefore, they are rubbing their hands with satisfaction in monopolistic circles and are waiting as the processes are distributed to the labor market, which will permit them to finish off the right won by the trade unions to protect the vital interests of the workers. The workers' staffs are speaking out for the preservation of real wages and are demanding the transfer of the burden of taxes to the well-off.

Thus, the New Zealanders will have to deal with the realities of capitalism: inflation has increased sharply in the country, high prices have grown, taxes are going up, civil construction is being curtailed. For a family with a bread-winner at low-wage work, the typical situation is where 40-60 percent of wages go to rent housing. For 10-12 percent of the farmers, "deregulation" signifies a forced parting with the land.

In this regard I am frequently reminded of Tony O'Connor, on a dairy farm near the town of Para-Parumu that I had occasion to visit. His dairy farm had only just gotten onto its feet, and the percentage payments for loans and the mortgage were most alarming. How are things turning out for him and his family in the current trying times "on the edge of the world"?

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CSO: 1807/272

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

BRIEFS

LAOTIAN DELEGATION IN KAZAKHSTAN--A delegation from the Association of Laotian-Soviet Friendship (OLSD) is visiting Alma-Ata. In its composition are party and government workers and directors of provincial branches of the OLSD. They will take part in the yearly seminar of activists from friendship societies of socialist countries which will take place in Moscow. Discussions took place in the Alma-Ata obkom of the Kazakh Communist Party where the OLSD representatives learned about the social-economic and cultural development of the oblast and the work of the oblast party organizations in realizing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 16th Congress of the Kazakh Communist Party. The members of the delegation visited the production association "Kyzl Tu"--a primary organization of the Soviet-Laotian Friendship Society. They met with Laotian students studying at the Kazakh State Univeristy imeni S.M. Kirov and the activists of the Kazakh Friendship Society. [Excerpts] [Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jun 86 p 3]

CSO: 1807/302

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

DEMCHENKO VIEWS INTERNAL CONFLICTS OF PLO

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 20, 13-19 May 86 p 6

[Article by P. Demchenko: "At the Request of Readers: The Palestinian Resistance: Difficulties and Problems"]

[Text] The Palestinian freedom movement is now passing through a difficult period. Evaluating everything that is occurring in it, one comes to the conclusion that, in the first place, the leadership of this movement has clearly weakened and, secondly (this, possibly, is more important), the purpose of the struggle itself has eroded. This situation, on the one hand, was reinforced by the tendency toward appeasement in the bourgeois circles of the Palestinian bosses, and on the other, by such desperate acts as individual terror, flight further from the Near East, etc. that have arisen among the lower echelons.

What happened? Has the Palestinian problem itself disappeared? No, it is acute and inflammable as before. The essence of it is the aspirations of the Palestinian people, now numbering more than 4.5 million people and scattered among many nations as a result of Israeli aggression, to obtain the right of national self-determination and to have their own state.

After 1964, the force heading the struggle for the achievement of this aim became the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), recognized by all Arab governments and later by the United Nations and many other states as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Gradually, practically all other Palestinian organizations, which had arisen legally or illegally in various Arab countries on the basis of the Palestinian refugee camps of the Palestinian minorities existing there, united around the PLO.

Notwithstanding the complexities and conflicts that arose, the Palestinian resistance gathered strength. The staff headquarters of the PLO was located first in Cairo, and then, after the Israeli aggression of 1967, became partially accommodated in Amman, but was later based in Beirut. The majority of the PLO organizations moved their bases to Lebanon as did, as a matter of fact, all Palestinian armed forces.

The strike delivered by Israel against Lebanon in 1982 was taken on first of all by the Palestinian combat detachments. They fought bravely and defended

Beirut along with progressive Lebanese forces and a Syrian brigade for 80 days, but in the end they were forced to quit the city along with the leading organs of the PLO and its constituent organizations and were scattered among eight countries. This created difficulties in and of itself. The staff headquarters of the PLO was based in Tunis, almost 2,500 kilometers from their homeland, and far from the centers of the active struggle of the people.

At first it seemed that this fragmentation was temporary and would gradually be eliminated, but events took another turn. At first, a wave of criticism arose against the leadership style of Y. Arafat among the Palestinian fighters that remained in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley along with Syrian troops. Then the matter grew into an open conflict that touched both on the major Palestinian organization Fatah (also headed by Arafat) and on a number of others. The situation was complicated by sharp disagreements between the PLO leadership and several Arab governments, including Syria and Lebanon. As a result, the major portion of the organizations that had earlier been united under the banner of the PLO diverged from it and refused to subordinate themselves to its leadership.

All of this was tied up in the convocation of the 17th Session of the Palestinian National Council--the highest organ of the PLO. When it assembled in November of 1984 in Amman, only 257 of its 384 members went there. Arafat was once again elected the chairman of the executive committee of the PLO. In response, the Palestinian Front for National Salvation was created on a temporary basis in Damascus in March of 1985. The National Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Al-Sa'iqah, the Front for Palestinian Struggle, etc. joined it. The creation of this front was interpreted, in particular, as a reaction to the rapprochement of the PLO leadership with Jordan, and the conclusion of the Amman Agreement between King Hussein and Arafat.

This agreement was regarded as a repudiation of an independent Palestinian state and a decline in the role of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. On the basis of this agreement, an attempt was undertaken to enter into negotiations with the United States and with Israel, but it ended unsuccessfully. King Hussein announced that he no longer considered himself bound by this agreement, ruptured his ties with Arafat and cut short his hopes of moving the base of part of the PLO apparatus from Tunis to Jordan.

As we see, the PLO is in a labyrinth of complex problems, to which have been added financial difficulties: a number of governments (for example, Kuwait) have sharply reduced or altogether halted the deduction of funds for its budget.

In analyzing the situation of the Palestinian resistance movement and its individual links, it is not difficult to notice that the organizational and political demarcation in it reflects both social processes that are now occurring in the Arab world, including the Palestinians as well, and the atmosphere of disagreement and dissension that exists among the Arab states. As a result of the policies of the Israeli powers, a schism is felt between the Palestinians in exile and those who remained in the occupied lands.

The reality is such that, according to official statistics, approximately 2 million Palestinians are in the refugee category, dragging out a miserable existence on very modest rations from the United Nations and other international organizations. Others are occupied as unskilled laborers, making up the lowest-paid level, at construction sites and in communal services (garbagemen, laundry workers etc.) and in agriculture.

At the same time, a quite considerable vanguard of intelligentsia is taking shape (teachers, engineers, journalists, employees of the state apparatus) who are extremely highly paid in the Persian Gulf countries. Finally, in recent years the bourgeois layer has strengthened noticeably among the Palestinians (for example, in Jordan and Saudi Arabia): there are major bankers, entrepreneurs, tradesmen. The interests of their hapless countrymen have been postponed to the distant future for them, and the revolutionary wing of the Palestinian resistance movement has become "unacceptable." Although many deduct money for the PLO fund or for other organizations, strong threads have bonded them to the countries where they are now located.

All of this, naturally, increases the complexity of achieving the unity and cohesion that is so necessary for the Palestinian movement. The more so as the Arab governments have begun to have a noticeably more calm attitude toward the Palestinian problem. The Iran-Iraq war, civil strife in Lebanon, American strikes against Libya, subregional conflicts and internal difficulties have absorbed all of their attention. It is no secret that the United States and Israel are trying to complicate the situation in the Palestinian movement and to sharpen disagreements within it, using them for their own political purposes. Both of these countries do not recognize the PLO and do not conceal their desire to eliminate it.

However tangled the situation in the Near East, however great the difficulties which the Palestinian movement has encountered, all of this does not change in any way the very essence of the Palestinian problem itself--the aspirations of a people, deprived of a homeland, to be rid of Israeli occupation and to implement the right of self-determination. Historical experience shows that settlement of the long-lasting Near East conflict is impossible without taking into account the national interests and rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

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CSO: 1807/270

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

PAKISTANI SUPPORT FOR SIKH TERRORISTS ALLEGED

PM231523 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 May 1986 Morning Edition carries on page 5 a 1,600-word article by V. Skosyrev under the heading "Storm over the Golden Temple." Skosyrev recounts the events at the golden temple of Amritsar in 1984 and the background of the campaign for an independent Sikh state of Khalistan. Today, Skosyrev says, an "external environment which fosters extremism" still exists in Punjab. The Indian border guards, he notes, have "seized many terrorists" whose evidence has shown the methods used by Islamabad to form a "fifth column" against India. He goes on to assert that there is "no real basis historically or ethnically" for the Khalistan idea, and to examine the "political polarization on religious and communal grounds" which exists in Punjab. He also notes that "in Jammu and Kashmir clashes have been provoked, not without the participation of Pakistani agents, between Hindus and Muslims," and that "the federal system of the Indian state is being subjected to severe trials." However, he goes on to warn against exaggerating the crisis and to express confidence that "the Khalistan slogan is alien to the masses of Sikhs" and that "Indian patriots" are determined to "mobilize the masses to defend the country's unity and integrity."

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CSO: 1807/295

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

BRIEFS

INDIAN WOMEN'S DELEGATION IN ALMA-ATA--A delegation of leaders of Indian women's organizations is visiting Alma-Ata. They arrived in our country at the invitation of the Committee of Soviet Women. The delegation included president of the All-Indian Women's Conference Ashoka Gupta, Indian parliament member and general secretary of the All-India organization "Mahila Congress" Sudha Joshi, president of the Young Women's Christian Organization Omana Abraham and secretary of a branch of the National Federation of Indian Women in Assam Pritvi Barua. The delegation was received in the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet and met with Presidium Supreme Soviet secretary Z.Zh. Kadyrov. At the House of Friendship there was a meeting with activists of the women's section of the Kazakh Society for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries. [Excerpts] [Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 May 86 p 3]

CSO: 1807/301

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

BURKINA FASO'S REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL, COMMITTEES DESCRIBED

Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 16, 11-17 Apr 86 pp 12-13

[Article by Viktor Onuchko: "Burkina Faso: A New Time Reading"]

[Excerpts] Burkina Faso, formerly called the Republic of Upper Volta, is a West African state with an area of 274,200 square kilometers and a population of 6.7 million people. Sharp social and economic problems are characteristic of this former French colony just as of many developing countries in Africa. The primary causes of these problems are the difficult colonial inheritance and the country's continuing dependence on the world capitalist market. The situation is aggravated by periodic droughts that inflict enormous losses on the country. Under these conditions, the National Revolutionary Council has developed a broad program of social and economic reforms which has been called upon to bring about the revival of the national economy and the improvement of the workers' situation. These undertakings by the authorities are finding active support among the population which is united in the Committees To Defend the Revolution that have become an important support for the new authorities.

Outlining A Program of Action

There are a lot of problems which the revolutionary authorities must solve. The level of illiteracy in the country is more than 90 percent; this is one of the highest in Africa. There are 5,600 hospital beds in the entire country, whose population is 6.7 million people, and it is not worthwhile to talk about the quality of medical care. The average life expectancy of the people of Burkina Faso is 39 years. The state budget deficit was approximately 15 billion African francs (50 African francs equal one French franc) in 1983, and the foreign trade deficit was 71.4 billion African francs. The shortage of jobs forces more than 1.5 million citizens of Burkina Faso-- mainly young people -- to look for work outside the country. The increase in agricultural production-- which comprises 90 percent of national production-- significantly lags behind the rate of growth of the population. Moreover, the protracted drought in the Sahel is having a serious effect on the condition of agriculture: The grain shortage reached 120,000 tons at the end of 1983.

The "Basic Directions in the Activity of the National Revolutionary Council" program was published in Ouagadougou in October 1983. The transfer of power from the hands of the bourgeoisie to the working people was proclaimed to be its immediate goal. The program posed as its maximum goal the construction of a "people's democratic state." Thomas Sankara wrote in this basic document of the Burkina revolution: "Until now, the exploiting classes have implemented an anti-democratic and anti-people dictatorship in Upper Volta. The main goal of the revolution is to tear power from the hands of the bourgeoisie and transfer it to the people. This popular democratic power will become a firm base of revolutionary power. The state machinery with its laws, administrations, tribunals, police and army-- which had been adapted to defend the egoistic interests of the reactionary classes-- will be completely restructured on this base."

The main directions in the activity of the new authorities in the field of economics and culture were also outlined in this document. The army is regarded as an active participant in the development of the national economy.

I had occasion to be in Ouagadougou while the country was celebrating the second anniversary of the adoption of this action program. Meetings were taking place throughout the country in support of the revolutionary reforms. I participated in a meeting not far from the city center devoted to the unveiling of a bronze memorial on the occasion of the start of construction of a railroad "to the Sahel's heart." This 375-kilometer-long railroad will extend from Ouagadougou to northeast Burkina Faso-- to the borders of Mali and Nigeria. It will be a continuation of the Abidjan-Ouagadougou railroad and, according to the plans of the government, will help to connect the country's economic centers with the regions that have traditionally suffered from natural disasters -- drought and floods -- whose consequences are aggravated as a result of the absence of the necessary lines of communications to provide immediate help to the suffering population.

The construction of the railroad pursues another no less important goal. The interior of Burkina Faso contains significant reserves of gold, phosphates, uranium, copper, and manganese. Their industrial processing, however, can only be started after the establishment of a modern infrastructure and a ramified transportation network in these regions. This task is still beyond Burkina Faso's power at this stage.

It was no accident that Minister of National Defense Jean-Baptiste Lingani, speaking at a meeting of several thousand people that was held on the same day in Revolution Square, called the "battle for rails" the first of the revolution's main construction projects.

When speaking about the path that had been covered during the two years, Lingani pointed out that the people of Burkina Faso, relying on the National Revolutionary Council's action program, had overcome quite a few obstacles on this path and had begun deep reforms. Specifically, the military command, police, customs, and security service had been reorganized; a purge of the state apparatus is taking place and the more reactionary attuned administrative employees are being dismissed from it; and a struggle has been unleashed

against protectionism, bribery and mismanagement. Many highly placed figures in the former regimes, who were guilty of appropriating or illegally embezzling large monetary sums, have appeared before people's revolutionary tribunals. In the minister's opinion, the revolution has achieved definite success thanks to a significant degree to the fact that the National Revolutionary Council was able to find new organizational forms of power at the local level that were responsive to the requirements of the time -- the Committees To Defend the Revolution (KDR).

The National Revolutionary Council views the Committees to Defend the Revolution, which had been established throughout the country--in institutions, production areas and residential districts -- as its main support. In the opinion of the Burkina Faso leadership, the Committees To Defend the Revolution have been called upon, on the one hand, to resist the intrigues of imperialism and counterrevolution and, on the other hand, to solve the concrete tasks in establishing a new economy. The army has been assigned the task of teaching soldiers to read and write and to involve them in socially useful work. The army had been isolated from the population for more than two decades and enjoyed special privileges. An arrogant attitude toward the people had been implanted in servicemen. The task has now been posed to bring the army and the working masses as close together as possible. The Committees To Defend the Revolution are working steadfastly to solve this task.

The Committees to Defend the Revolution see their main role in the village to be participation in the solving of the food problem.

#### Bilbambili Yesterday and Today

Despite the mass of problems which the country is experiencing, life in the capital is, of course, easier than -- for example -- in the areas that are directly suffering from drought. There are sufficient difficulties here also, however. Ouagadougou has not escaped the trend toward a swift increase in population, which is common to all African capitals. There were 47,000 inhabitants here in 1957; and today, there are approximately 340,000. More than 60 percent of the capital's population live in blocks of so-called "wild" buildings. These are a disorderly conglomeration of mud structures lacking any services and elementary amenities. The areas of "wild" buildings are breeding-grounds for malaria, dysentery, and other diseases.

The National Revolutionary Council is devoting a great deal of attention to putting the city economy into good order. Specifically, a number of important city building projects have been planned and have already been partially implemented on its initiative. First of all, there is the so-called "revolutionary settlements"-- new modern planned blocks in the capital. The "First Year of the Revolution Settlement" and the "Second Year of the Revolution Settlement" have already been constructed. Territory for the construction of the third settlement on the site of the former Bilbambili block was cleared before my eyes.

One of the members of the Committee To Defend the Revolution -- he was the information officer of this campaign -- told me: "If you are interested in city building projects, go to Captain Tyusse"

"All told, 188 new houses have been built during the two years. They have the minimum required amenities. A moderate rent has been established; within the limits of 25,000 African francs a month. The state SOKOZHIB Society directs the construction. Private owners have also been invited to participate in the financing of this enterprise. After the debt to them is paid off, the rent will go to the state treasury. Part of the work is being carried out on social principles with the participation of the Committee To Defend the Revolution. Similar construction is already taking place in Bobo Dioulasso also. We are providing without fail for the construction here of schools, medical stations, etc."

I interrupted the captain:

"Incidentally, what has become of the inhabitants of Bilbambili?"

"When the selection of the territory to build the 'Third Year Settlement' fell on Bilbambili, we conducted widespread explanatory work among the inhabitants of the block with the help of the Committee To Defend the Revolution. We called upon them to regard this important measure with understanding and to live with their relatives or friends temporarily -- for approximately 10 months. The first two settlements were constructed in about this same period."

"Will all of the inhabitants of the former block return to their place?"

"Not necessarily. Those, who can pay the established rent for housing or construct their own house in the future settlement, will, of course, return to the old place. The state will compensate the losses of those who are not able to pay even the moderate rent. These people will have the right to occupy the houses of those who leave old housing in other blocks and move to the 'Third Year Settlement.' The authorities will offer free building plots in other places to those who do not wish to remain here."

With the Cooperation and Under the Control of the Workers

The state meat-packing plant in Ouagadougou is a completely modern enterprise. It is located on the outskirts of the capital in the Kossodo area. Even if you do not know the road to the plant well, the flocks of scavenger vultures will point it out to you.

During the process of becoming acquainted with the operation of the plant, I became interested in the question of the mutual relations of the administration and trade union with the Committee To Defend the Revolution. I was introduced to Isidore [Uedraogo], the secretary of the Committee to Defend the Revolution-- a thin, well-proportioned young man with pleasant features.

A buro composed of five people directs the committee. The chairman of the Committee To Defend the Revolution-- the worker Isidore-- is the plant's deputy chief bookkeeper.

"Does it happen that the Committee To Defend the Revolution undertakes to solve a problem that is not within its competency and can it inflict damage on production as a result of this?"

Viktor [Nebye] says: "This has already been observed in some enterprises. We have had nothing like it as yet. Our Committee To Defend the Revolution, which is elected at a general meeting of the collective, helps me as the director to resolve matters concerning discipline, savings and efficient production. Sometimes the workers see what I do not see or do not have time for. For example, the Committee To Defend the Revolution helped the administration to solve the age-old problem of cleaning the cattle pens of manure, suggesting that it be sold to the owners of gardens who themselves would carry this valuable fertilizer from the plant. You say that it's a trifle? For us, it was an important task."

Despite his youth-- he is only 25.--Isidore [Uedraogo], the secretary of the Committee To Defend the Revolution, carefully weighs each word.

"Our main task now is to consolidate and defend the revolution's accomplishments. That is why we are exercising control over how the decisions of the National Revolutionary Council, which expresses the people's will, are being implemented in the enterprise. It is not without reason that the 'Main Directions in the Activity of the National Revolutionary Council' program calls the Committees To Defend the Revolution the strong points of the popular masses. It is very important to struggle decisively against mismanagement, the main evil of previous regimes, and it is necessary to conduct political work with the masses in order to involve them in energetic activity. We conduct assemblies and meetings during which we explain to the workers the meaning and significance of this or that instruction from the National Revolutionary Council and we familiarize them with the most important political documents."

In meetings and the local press, the subject continuously concerns the other developmental problems which face Burkina Faso. Among them are the achievement of self-sufficiency in food, the establishment of a modern infrastructure, and the struggle against illiteracy. I had occasion to hear repeatedly about the campaign that is called the "three forms of struggle" here. There is the triune task of combatting the advance of the desert-- a task which is of fundamental importance for the country: The struggle against fires in the savanna, the struggle to curtail the use of wood as fuel, and the struggle against the unorganized pasturing of cattle which causes damage to fields and cultivated plots. The rural Committees To Defend the Revolution have been called upon to play a very active role in solving this task.

Generally speaking, the new authorities are attaching especially important significance to agriculture. One of the main difficulties here is the shortage of ground water. Only a tenth of the land suitable for cultivation

is being used because of this -- and its area is constantly decreasing because of the periodic droughts and desertification. You see, Burkina Faso could supply itself with grain with a sufficient amount of precipitation: Up to 1.4 million tons of grain, that is, as much as is required to feed the population for a year, is harvested during rainy years. Therefore, the solution to this problem can only be found with the help of irrigation agriculture, and this requires enormous capital investments.

The plan for the country's economic and social development during the years 1986-1990, which is being widely discussed by the people of Burkina Faso, regards the agrarian problem as being of paramount importance. It is proposed that agricultural production be sharply increased by 1990 so as to come as close as possible to the goal of self-sufficiency in food. The leadership rightfully regards this as the main condition for strengthening the country's genuine independence. The task-- to put it frankly-- is an extremely difficult one. Under these conditions, the authorities are trying with all their efforts to bring the main idea to the masses: The indispensable condition for raising the living standards of each person is the work of everyone for the common good.

#### Concern For the Peasants

Different steps are being taken to realize this slogan. Army subunits are themselves tilling the fields in order to provide food for themselves. Measures are being developed to shift agriculture to a modern track. A dam, which has permitted more than 15,000 hectares to be irrigated during its first stage, has already been constructed on the Suru River. Different forms for organizing farming are being stipulated to exploit the land in the Suru valley. First of all, there are the individual peasant allotments. In addition, "communal farms" are being established. These are a distinctive form of self-managed cooperatives supported by the state and called upon to raise production, achieve the profitability of the farm and deter the migration of the population to the cities by introducing very simple technical systems. Finally, large private owners are being invited to cultivate enormous territory with the help of modern agricultural equipment.

Cooperatives, the so-called "village associations", existed even before 4 August 1983. They dragged out a miserable existence, however, because of the primitive ways to cultivate the land and the extremely unfavorable weather conditions during recent years. The government is trying to instill new life in these cooperatives. It is offering on credit very simple systems for cultivating the land and is teaching them how to combat soil erosion and build small irrigation systems. The Committees To Defend the Revolution stand at the head of these measures.

The transformations in the social order are also inevitably involving changes in the situation of women. Women perform almost 80 percent of all the agricultural work in the country, and the number of literate women in Burkina Faso is approximately half as many as that of men. The subject now concerns the involvement of women in active participation in the democratic process of transforming the country.

The Committees To Defend the Revolution are primarily contributing to the emancipation of women. An ever larger number of women are working in these bodies of authority at local levels which provide them with an active role in implementing the goals of the 4 August revolution. Women are being drawn into the "Three Forms of Struggle" campaign and in the circles to eliminate illiteracy.

Complex tasks face the revolutionary regime in the area of education. It is impossible to build a new life without literate and educated youth. That is why, despite the multitude of economic problems, the government is trying to democratize the educational system in order to provide the widest spectrum of the masses with access to knowledge. This process is not taking place simply; one often runs into difficulties that are caused by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the instructor staff was formed during bourgeois regimes and many lyceum teachers and university professors were trained in the West. Far from everyone takes the National Revolutionary Council's measures to heart, and the inhabitants of the capital still remember the strike by the teachers in 1984 which was provoked by the reactionary leaders of the trade union.

Soviet instructors are helping Burkina Faso to strengthen its educational system. They began to work in this country comparatively recently. During my first visit during the 1983-1984 school year, there were only several people in the Ouagadougou University. This time, besides higher school specialists, I met teachers who had arrived from the USSR following the Ministry of Education. There are more than 20 of them and they are working for the second school year in a row in Ouagadougou and Bobo Dioulasso.

Many young people from Burkina Faso have already completed Soviet VUZ and are teaching in various educational institutions in their motherland....

The National Revolutionary Council's action program, which was adopted more than two years ago, is already providing positive results. Despite the shortage of resources, the authorities have done everything possible to decrease the cost of medical services and are working on the problem of electrification, public transport has appeared, and a decisive struggle against profiteering is being waged. However, all of this is still only the first step. Very much more still needs to be done. In doing this, the National Revolutionary Council will have to encounter not only objective difficulties but also the open opposition of the reactionary forces.

The enemies of the revolution do not sleep. They are maliciously pecking at the democratic regime and are undertaking acts of sabotage. The short history of Burkina Faso already knows several attempts at state coups. All of this forces the people to be on guard.

The country's leadership recognizes the entire fullness of the responsibility that has fallen to it. Today, the National Revolutionary Council is devoting enormous attention to the five-year plan for 1986-1990, trying to implement it effectively. The majority of the country's population understands that it is necessary to exert quite a bit of effort to carry out these goals.

When you talk with the people of Burkina-Faso, almost everyone continuously points out: "The revolution is not a holiday. The revolution is primarily hard work."