

255054

JPRS 83782

28 June 1983

USSR Report

MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1777

COMMUNIST OF THE ARMED FORCES

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
Approved for public release
Distribution Unlimited

19971229 108

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 6

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NOTICE

This is the first issue of COMMUNIST OF THE ARMED FORCES [KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL] to be issued as a subtitled report under the USSR REPORT: MILITARY AFFAIRS series. Future issues of this publication will appear as subtitled reports under this series. For the tables of contents and selected articles from KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL Nos 1, 2, and 3, see the following issues of the USSR REPORT: MILITARY AFFAIRS:

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"	"	" No 2,	Jan 1983: JPRS 83311
"	"	" No 3,	Feb 1983: JPRS 83665

29 June 1983

USSR REPORT
MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1777

COMMUNIST OF THE ARMED FORCES

No. 4, February 1983

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the Russian-language semi-monthly journal KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, No. 4, February 1983, (signed to press 3 February 1983).

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CREATED BY LENIN--NURTURED BY THE PARTY

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 4, Feb 83 pp 3-8

[Editorial]

[Text] The Soviet people's love for their Armed Forces, vigilantly guarding the conquests of October, is profound, immeasurable. They send their best sons to serve in the army and navy and provide them with the most modern of weapons and combat equipment, with everything necessary for the fightingmen to receive productive and political training, to fulfill in an exemplary manner their constitutional duty to reliably defend the socialist homeland and remain in a constant state of combat readiness ensuring an immediate rebuff to any aggressor.

The fate of the homeland and that of its Armed Forces are one. Together with all the Soviet people, the fightingmen have shared the joy of the nation's enormous successes in the building of socialism and the brilliant victories achieved in the struggle against numerous enemies who have attempted to halt the advance of the world's first socialist state toward the cherished goal of communism. Today, on the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy, a day which has become a national holiday, the Soviet people are mentally tracing that glorious path, a path illuminated by victories, which the Armed Forces have traveled under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Indestructible and legendary.... This is what a poet has called the Soviet Army. This is what all our people call it. Behind those words lie an enormous amount of work performed by V.I. Lenin and the Communist Party to create a new type of army, to indoctrinate commanders and political workers, to enhance the combat readiness of the forces. Let us recall how it all began....

The young socialist republic was caught up in a fiery ring of the combined forces of international imperialism and internal counterrevolution. They thirsted for its destruction. They had fallen upon it with all their strength in an attempt to smother it, to destroy it. A military organization, an army, was needed to defend the people's revolutionary conquests. During that period V.I. Lenin, having developed and scientifically validated the military program for the proletarian revolution, the doctrine on the homeland's defense and the basic principles underlying the development of the military organization of the victorious proletariat, exercised direct supervision over the creation of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, precisely defined its tasks and ways to continuously improve it, and laid the foundation for Soviet military science.

The young Soviet Republic's new army was created as an army of workers and peasants. It was this which determined its fundamentally new, truly popular social role and the significance and importance of its work. It was the direct opposite of the bourgeois army, which served and continues to serve the interests of oppressors, which is used by them to suppress the working masses of its own country, masses struggling for their rights and for social liberation, and it is the main tool used for enslaving and robbing other peoples, for suppressing the national liberation movement and exporting counterrevolution. The Soviet Nation's army had nothing in common with that bourgeois army, which always has been and still is a force of the capitalist state hostile to the workers. V.I. Lenin called it a tool of reaction, the servant of capital in the struggle against labor, the oppressor of national liberation.

From the first days of its existence the army of the revolutionary proletariat appeared to the world as a new type of army, differing from all the armies of the exploitative states. It was the first army in world history not to turn its weapons against the people. It used those weapons to defend the people, to defend the workers' historic conquests, used them not to seize the territory of others but to defend the homeland against the encroachments of its enemies. This most just and noble purpose naturally generated and continues to generate mass heroism among fightingmen of the socialist army, and its victories are a natural outcome of this.

In all the stages of development of our homeland's Armed Forces the Communist Party has concerned itself constantly with maintaining them at a high level of combat readiness and striven persistently in all circumstances to turn the objective preconditions and potentialities for victory into a reality. It has served as the organizer and inspirer behind the routing of the enemies and has instilled profound political awareness in the Red Army and Red Navy men. The political organs and party organizations created by the party in the army and navy have strengthened the morale of the fightingmen, explained their missions to them, tempered the fightingmen and commanders ideologically and indoctrinated them in a spirit of infinite devotion to the socialist homeland. "And it was due only to the fact that the party was on guard and was extremely strictly disciplined," V.I. Lenin stated, "and because the party's authority united all departments and institutions, because tens, hundreds, thousands and ultimately, millions, proceeded as one to the slogan provided by the Central Committee, only because unprecedented sacrifices were made--only because of this did the miracle which occurred, in fact occur. Only because of this were we in a condition to achieve victory, despite campaigns, twice, thrice, four times, by the imperialists of the Entente and the imperialists of the entire world."

Yes, the young Soviet Nation was victorious! It stood fast in a fierce encounter with an extremely powerful enemy! The Communist Party knew, however, that the imperialists would not accept the existence of the world's first state of workers and peasants, in which man's exploitation of man, national inequality and the power of the pocketbook had been destroyed. It understood that the most vigorous steps would have to be taken to strengthen the fatherland's political, economic and military power, to enhance the combat capability of its Armed Forces. The successful implementation of socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture and a cultural revolution--this is what could transform the nation. And this goal was achieved. Within a historically brief period of time the Soviet Union became a mighty industrial power.

The party's predictions proved to be accurate. The imperialists carried out acts of armed provocation and attacks against the USSR more than once. They wanted to test the strength of our borders, the power and strength of our state's Armed Forces in the military conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway, in the battles at Lake Khasan, on the Khalkhin-Gol River and on the Karelian Isthmus. The enemies received a devastating rebuff, however, everywhere and always.

The homeland of Great October matured, developed, gained strength and increased its prestige in the international sphere. The Armed Forces also improved along with the nation. Although busy with their peaceful, creative labor, the party and the Soviet people never for a moment forgot about preparing the army and navy for new trials. And the trials were approaching. Ominous clouds of war were gathering over the world.

The steps taken by the party to enhance the combat capability of the Armed Forces made it possible to create the conditions necessary to route fascist Germany, which treacherously attacked the Soviet Union. This was the most difficult of the wars which our homeland has experienced. The well-trained and well-armed fascist hordes set themselves the goal of destroying socialism's conquests in the USSR, of seizing all our national wealth and placing the yoke of slavery upon the workers, after first destroying millions of people. Guided by and at the appeal of the party, the peoples of the multinational Soviet Union rallied for a sacred war for the honor, independence and freedom of their socialist homeland.

The glorious Communist Party led the struggle against fascism's invasion, as it had led the struggle during the years of civil war and intervention. It inspired the Soviet people to deal the enemy an organized rebuff and launched a gigantic military-organizational, military-economic and ideological-political campaign, mobilizing all our forces to route the German fascist invaders and then the Japanese militarists. Through its efforts the nation was turned into a unified battle camp. Every Soviet individual lived with one thought during that period--"Everything for the front, everything for victory"!

The best sons of the party were at the forward edge of the battle against fascism. With their personal example, passionate word, optimism, confidence that victory would be achieved and unshakable revolutionary spirit, the communists inspired the homeland's defenders to perform heroic feats, united their ranks and led them. History has never known other examples of such mass heroism as were demonstrated by our fightingmen, commanders and political workers on the field of battles fought with the German fascist invaders and the Japanese samurai'.

The Soviet people and their Armed Forces are proud of the victory won over a powerful and treacherous enemy. They are proud of the fact that they bore the brunt of the struggle against fascist aggression and saved mankind from Hitlerite tyranny. At a cost of enormous sacrifices our people, led by their wise party of the communists, defended the socialist conquests, the most progressive social and state system, their liberty and independence. The victory, which was not just military but also political and economic, graphically demonstrated socialism's superiority over capitalism and represented a triumph for the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism and the inviolable friendship of peoples of the USSR.

The Great Patriotic War convincingly demonstrated once more the fact that there is no force in the world which could crush socialism or bring to their knees a people loyal to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, devoted to the socialist homeland and united round the Communist Party. It confirmed once more the wisdom of Lenin's words: "They will never conquer that people in which the majority of the workers and peasants recognize, sense and see the fact that they are defending their own Soviet power--the power of the workers--that they are protecting that cause, a victory for which will provide them and their children with the opportunity to enjoy all the benefits of culture, all the creations of human labor."

The real worldwide historical importance of the USSR's victory in the Great Patriotic War lies in the fact that the Soviet Army liberated the peoples of Europe and a number of Asian nations from foreign enslavement, and the peoples of the entire world from the threat of fascist enslavement. The victory over fascism was a historic landmark in the destiny of all mankind. The successes being achieved today by world socialism, the steady growth of revolutionary forces and the achievements in the struggle for a lasting peace on earth are its far-reaching consequences.

The war's outcome serves as an awesome warning to all newly-appeared pretenders to world domination. And all attempts by the Soviet Nation's foes to belittle the Soviet Army's crucial role in the defeat of fascism and Japanese militarism, to downplay its service to mankind are doomed to failure. No sort of slander can obscure the truth about the valorous Armed Forces of the USSR or defame their brilliant victories.

All the postwar years have been a period of persistent and tireless struggle for peace by our party, a struggle which has always been merged with a high level of political vigilance and constant concern on the part of the CPSU for the homeland's defense and enhancement of the Armed Forces' combat readiness. This was necessitated and is still made necessary by the complex international situation and the aggressive course pursued by American imperialism, the policy of which especially blatantly exhibits adventurism and a readiness to place the vital interests of mankind on the line for its narrow, mercenary goals.

Spreading the myth of the "Soviet military threat," leading circles in the USA have stepped up the political, ideological and economic pressure on socialism, on the national liberation movement. They are attempting to undermine detente and endeavoring to seize the "right" to command some and "punish" others.

The USA's claims to world hegemony are supported by an unprecedented arms race and by the all-round development of its war machine in general. The USA's European NATO allies are also traveling the arms race route. NATO's decision to deploy around 600 new American medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe is especially dangerous. Its implementation would upset not only the existing balance of power in Europe, but also the balance of strategic power between the USA and the USSR.

The imperialists see the Soviet Union as their main obstacle to the achievement of their adventuristic goals. This is exactly why the USSR has been declared to be "enemy number one" of the United States. It is precisely for this reason that President Reagan has proclaimed a "crusade" against the USSR and other socialist states.

Joined together with the peoples of the other socialist nations by bonds of fraternal friendship, however, the Soviet people cannot be intimidated with military force. We have something to defend and something with which to defend it!

The CPSU and the Soviet Government constantly concern themselves with maintaining the Armed Forces at a high level of combat readiness and are doing everything possible to thoroughly strengthen the unity of the army and the people and its combat concord with the armies of the socialist nations, to see that the fightingmen are in a state of readiness to protect the communism being created in the Soviet Nation at all times. It cannot be otherwise. It was stated at the 26th CPSU Congress that we will never neglect the security of our nation or that of our allies. The Soviet Union's defense capability must be adequate to ensure that no one infringes upon our peaceful life.

At the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee the party confirmed its unshakable course of maintaining the nation's defense capability at the proper level and the Armed Forces at a high level of combat readiness. "Imperialism's aggressive intrigues are forcing us, together with the other fraternal socialist states, to concern ourselves, and concern ourselves seriously, with maintaining the defense capability at the proper level," Comrade Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stated in his speech at the plenum.

Our Armed Forces now possess the very latest in weaponry and have everything they need to reliably defend the interests of the Soviet homeland. This has been the main result of the CPSU's constant efforts with respect to providing the nation with a good defense capability. "We have never made a secret and are not now making a secret of the fact that the Soviet Union's military strength is adequate, that its Armed Forces are outfitted with the latest weapons and combat equipment and are capable of performing any mission," Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade D.F. Ustinov, USSR minister of defense, stated at a meeting of the party aktiv of the Order of Lenin Moscow Military District.

The combat strength of the Soviet Armed Forces is also due to the fact that the modern weapons and equipment are in the hands of ideologically strong, skilful fightingmen, devoted to the homeland and to the Lenin party. They are the continuers of the glorious combat traditions of their fathers and grandfathers. They devote all their strength, their knowledge and energy to the job of improving their combat skills and are thoroughly preparing themselves for any sort of test. They are proud of the fact that they are entrusted with the great and honored job of defending the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, the happiness and prosperity of their beloved homeland.

Initiative, creativity, the aware handling of the assigned job and a desire to devote oneself totally and entirely to the training--this is what is most typical of today's fightingmen. This has made it possible for the personnel of subunits, units and ships to achieve significant successes in the socialist competition, to greet the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR with new achievements in the mastering of the equipment and the strengthening of discipline. Their participation in large-scale exercises and their performance of difficult missions have shown that the personnel have improved their field, air and naval training.

Not to stop at what has been achieved, to move constantly forward and conquer new heights in the combat and political training--this is the principle applied by the Soviet fightingman. Socialist competition with the slogan "Enhance vigilance and reliably ensure the homeland's security!" has developed even more successfully in the new training year. It was initiated by the fightingmen of outstanding units and an outstanding nuclear-powered, missile-carrying submarine. The fightingmen's efforts

are focused on the continuing fulfillment of decisions coming out of the 26th CPSU Congress and its instructions on defense matters, and the demands set by the USSR minister of defense that they constantly maintain the combat readiness at the proper level and improve organization and discipline.

Many units, subunits and ships are bringing joy to the homeland with their good achievements in the performance of the tasks set for the collective, in the improvement of their combat skills and the enhancement of organization and discipline. These include personnel of the units in which officers A. Gerasimenko and V. Kulakov serve, and of the large ASW ship "Tashkent." The number of higher-level specialists and masters of military affairs has grown considerably there, and the fightingmen demonstrate a good level of preparedness and put forth maximum effort in the classes, drills and exercises. Consistently good or excellent results are typically achieved in the combat and political training and in the improvement of discipline in these and many other collectives. It has become the inexorable rule there to move constantly forward, from one frontier to the next, to increase the successes in the socialist competition from one day to the next.

A high level of responsibility on the part of every officer, warrant officer, petty officer, sergeant, soldier and sailor for the assigned job, a profound understanding of their military duty and an indomitable will to make their own contribution to the common cause--that of improving the combat readiness--therein lies one of the important wellsprings of achievement for personnel of the outstanding units and ships. The commanders, their deputies for political affairs, party and Komsomol organizations keep every member of the collective in the focus of their attention, influence them in a substantive way and strive persistently to see that Lenin's precept with respect to studying military affairs seriously is their guide to action and is incorporated in their lives.

To be vigilant, always on the alert, in a state of combat readiness--this task remains the most important task in the life of the fightingmen of the units, subunits and ships. Its successful accomplishment depends greatly on a high level and precise organization of professional training, firm discipline, the ability to value every minute of training time and persistence in the struggle to fulfill the socialist commitments. A desire to move unwaveringly forward in the competition, to keep achieving more, without fail, permits the fightingmen to become real masters of military affairs, to learn to handle the weapons and military equipment with excellence.

While demonstrating constant concern for maintaining the Armed Forces at a high level of combat readiness, the Communist Party has always attached and continues to attach enormous importance to party-political work, and strives to raise the level of that work. The CPSU demands that the commanders, political organs, political workers, party and Komsomol organizations vigorously and meaningfully influence the minds of the fightingmen and mobilize them to successfully accomplish the tasks facing them. The CPSU Central Committee's decree "On the Further Improvement of Ideological, Political and Indoctrinational Work" states that the development in the Soviet people of a scientific world outlook, selfless devotion to the party cause and communist ideals, love for the socialist homeland and proletarian internationalism has been and remains the core element in the ideological, political and indoctrinational work. Fulfilling this demand, the commanders, political organs, party and Komsomol organizations strive persistently to make the indoctrinational work effective, work vigorously to develop in the homeland's defenders profound ideological conviction, loyalty to the ideals of

communism, love for their people and their homeland and a burning hatred for its enemies, and focus the efforts of the personnel on the successful accomplishment of the tasks set by the USSR minister of defense for the new training year.

Blue- and white-collar workers, engineers and designers--all those who create the first-class, the most modern, weapons and equipment--are in single formation with the fightingmen in the struggle to enhance the combat readiness of the Armed Forces. With their determined labor the defense industry workers are making a significant contribution to the nation's defense capability.

Blue- and white-collar workers of the Soviet Army and Navy are commemorating their traditional holiday with large achievements in the performance of their difficult and important tasks. In whatever section they serve, they demonstrate a high level of responsibility and a thorough understanding of their duty, of the importance of the job assigned them and of their role in the improvement of combat readiness in the army and navy.

Mighty, indestructible, legendary! The Soviet Armed Forces have been all these things throughout their history. This is what they are as they commemorate their 65th anniversary. Workers of the other nations in the socialist commonwealth and all progressive mankind are celebrating the birthday of the Soviet Nation's army and navy together with our people. They value highly the historic service performed by the Soviet Armed Forces, which totally routed the fascist hordes and saved many of the world's peoples from enslavement. They see in the Soviet Army and Navy a bulwark of peace, the force opposing imperialism's aggressive designs. Soviet fightingmen are honorably justifying those hopes. Demonstrating great vigilance, they are reliably assuring the security of nations in the socialist commonwealth, together with fightingmen of the allied armies.

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IMPROVE THE PERFORMANCE OF PEOPLE'S CONTROL ORGANS--ON THE REPORTS AND ELECTIONS
OF PEOPLE'S CONTROL GROUPS AND POSTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 4, Feb 83 pp 9-13

[Text] The labor pace of our homeland, which has entered the 3rd year of the 11th Five-Year Plan, is increasing with each passing day. Guided by decisions coming out of the 26th CPSU Congress and the November 1982 Central Committee plenum, our party is concentrating the attention of the Soviet people on the continued enhancement of effectiveness in the functioning of all sectors of the national economy, the observance of strict rules of conservation and thrift and the achievement of fuller utilization of resources and reserves of the socialist economy. Rural and urban workers and fightingmen of the army and navy greeted the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR with an enormous sense of optimism and confidence in their abilities.

Establishing the Lenin style of working, which is a tested means of improving the performance of party, soviet and management organizations, of strengthening organization and discipline in all parts of the system, our party regards all-embracing and constant control and verification of performance to be an extremely important component of its political and organizational work.

In accordance with the Constitution of the USSR, important steps are being taken in our nation to improve the performance of all control organs. The Law on People's Control in the USSR and the decree passed by the CPSU Central Committee in 1980 "On Steps to Further Improve the Work of People's Control Organs and to Increase Party Supervision Over Them in Light of the Passage of the Law on People's Control in the USSR" are highly important. The decree passed by the party Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of Control and Verification of Performance in Light of Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress" has also contributed to a considerable improvement of the performance of control agencies. The documents mentioned stress the fact that thanks to the party's attention, people's control has been made into a large state and public force in the matter of strengthening discipline and organization and has become an important element of the Soviet political system. They also contain a specific program of measures, the implementation of which will permit us to make people's control even more vigorous and effective.

Army and navy people's control committees, groups and posts, which function under the supervision of the military councils and the corresponding commanders (chiefs) and

political organs, are a part of the unified people's control system. Democratic centralism is also inherent in their work. Among other things, it requires the election of the largest element of the people's control organs--the groups and posts.

The statute on the procedure by which the people's control organs perform their work in the Armed Forces of the USSR states that group and post reports and elections are to be conducted once every 2 or 3 years.

The elected terms for the people's control organs, as specified in the Law on People's Control in the USSR, elapsed in February-April of this year, and reports and elections of people's control organs are being conducted in the nation's military units and at its enterprises, kolkhozes and institutions.

Political organs, party committees and bureaus are expected to assure that the reports and elections of people's control groups and posts are conducted on a good organizational and political level, in a climate of great demandingness and seriousness. The report-and-election campaign in the people's control organs is expected to contribute to the further mobilization of military and labor collectives of the army and navy for the implementation of decisions coming out of the 26th party congress and the May and November 1982 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, to the fulfillment and exceeding of the state plan for 1983 and the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole, and to the quality performance of combat and political training tasks this year.

Vigorous action by the people's control organs is inconceivable unless the committee, group and post members demonstrate truly militant qualities and combine ideological maturity, principle, objectivity and fairness. This is why the commanders, political organs and party organizations supervising the people's controllers should see to it that outstanding, disciplined servicemen, blue- and white-collar with diversified knowledge and practical skills be elected to the people's control organs, primarily from among the communists and Komsomol members. It is essential for us to increase the responsibility of party members and candidate members in the people's control organs for the performance of their public duties.

We must thoroughly consider all matters pertaining to the improvement of the membership of people's control committees, groups and posts for each field force, formation, unit (ship), military educational institution, military commissariat, scientific research establishment, base, depot, military construction detachment; industrial, agricultural, trade and personal service enterprise; medical and cultural and educational institution. The size of the people's control committees, groups and posts is determined by the appropriate military council, commander (or chief) and political organ, depending upon the numerical strength and disposition of the troops and upon the extent and the nature of the tasks being performed by the troops, installations, military educational institutions, enterprises and organizations.

The resolution of questions pertaining to the numerical and the qualitative makeup of people's control organs should take into account the fact that the committees are formed in military districts, groups of forces, fleets, armies, flotillas and equivalent organizations by decision of the corresponding military councils (political organs) for a period of 2-3 years, that they are made up of servicemen, blue- and white-collar workers, representatives of public organizations, the military press and lower people's control organs.

The people's control groups of formations, units, ships, installations, military educational institutions, enterprises and organizations are elected for the same term by open balloting at meetings of these collectives. People's control posts are elected in the battalions making up military units and military educational institutions in companies (batteries) and in shops, sections and brigades of enterprises and organizations.

We know that the strength of the people's control organs lies primarily in the fact that they rely upon the constant support of party organizations in their work. It is therefore expedient, as experience has shown, to appoint the deputy chiefs of political organs as chairmen of the committees and to elect deputy secretaries of party organizations as chairmen of the groups and heads of the posts.

In accordance with decisions of the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, we must intensify the work performed by people's control organs in the Armed Forces with respect to verifying the implementation of party and government decisions, Soviet laws, orders and directives issued by the USSR minister of defense and the chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy. We must conduct a determined campaign against all violations of military and labor discipline and persistently eradicate negligence and mismanagement, sham and exaggeration.

The matters mentioned should be at the focus of attention during the reports and elections. The combat readiness of the subunits, units and ships and the political and moral state of the personnel depend directly upon their resolution. While we are conducting the meetings we also need to consider steps aimed at enhancing control over the system for the storage and care of weapons and military equipment and over the organization of their operation and maintenance. We also need to thoroughly analyze the performance of the groups and posts with respect to providing material, trade and personal service, medical and other types of support and cultural services for the personnel.

During the reports and elections it is important for us to summarize everything good accumulated by the people's control members in the monitoring of material and personnel service support for the personnel. In connection with this it should be noted that, along with matters pertaining to combat readiness, the people's controllers of the Moscow, Ural, Leningrad and Odessa military districts are helping to improve the performance of dining halls, cafes, post exchanges, tailoring shops and other communal enterprises.

At the same time, people's controllers, primarily those of the Transbaykal Military District and the Pacific Fleet, frequently react inadequately to violations in this area.

Questions pertaining to the efficient expenditure of materials and money, the thrifty use of fuels and energy, conservation of bread and bakery items, the careful storage of foodstuffs and the development of subsidiary plots maintained by mess halls and galleys should be given an important place in meetings dealing with the reports of groups and posts.

It is important for meetings in military construction units and production enterprises of the Ministry of Defense to include a thorough discussion on the thrifty use of

labor, materials and money, on the identification of internal reserves, the enhancement of production effectiveness and work quality, and the adoption of scientific and technological achievements and progressive know-how in production. The patrol members should regard their task to be that of resolutely combatting violations of state discipline, mismanagement and waste, pilferage, padding and overestimating of jobs, losses of materials and worktime, stoppages and the unjustified alteration of capital construction plans. Commanders, chiefs and political organs can organize effective and systematic control over the state of affairs at construction sites and enterprises, making use of people's controllers, specialists and representatives of the general membership to perform this important job. We must reliably close all channels through which raw and processed materials, finished products and other stocks are being lost.

The people's control organs are expected to bear in mind the fact that their functions also include the review of letters, complaints and claims pertaining to negative incidents. The reports and elections should include a discussion of how to make better and fuller use of information from servicemen, blue- and white-collar workers and the members of their families for combatting violations of Soviet laws and the standards governing socialist communal life, and for combatting manifestations of bureaucracy and red tape.

The public patrol members must be certain that the work they perform to strengthen the Armed Forces will also receive the necessary support on the part of commanders, political organs and party organizations and that individuals guilty of violating Soviet laws and military regulations will be brought strictly to account.

The extensive publicizing of inspection results is one of the effective means of timely prevention of violations and negligence in our work and of establishing exemplary order. The army and navy press, local radio and Komsomol spotlights (prozhektory) have a large role in this work. They are expected to use materials from the inspections for sharply criticizing the shortcomings revealed and for summarizing and disseminating the experience of the outstanding people's control committees, groups and posts. And the right thing to do is to give proper attention at the meetings to questions of publicizing the work of public patrol members.

Methodological materials and aids for planning and organizing the control work in various areas are printed in many districts, groups of forces, fleets, field forces and formations to assist the commanders, political workers, party organizations and people's controllers. Are the public patrol members completely satisfied with these materials and aids, and what sort of additional methodological aids do they need? The questions are also undoubtedly worth discussing during the reports and elections.

The degree of initiative, activeness and militancy in the work of the people's controllers depends to a great degree upon the thoroughness of the planning, which is the organizing basis of all the work performed by the committees, groups and posts. Are the tasks precisely defined for the controllers? Are the controllers' knowledge and experience taken into account for involving them in the inspections? Do all of the patrol members receive assignments, and are meetings of group and post members regularly held? This is also a serious subject of consideration by the commanders, political organ workers and higher people's control organs during the forthcoming reports and elections, especially since a low level of demandingness of the people's controllers

with respect to the performance of their public duties on the part of the appropriate officials is one of the causes of passivity in some people's controllers. It is also due to the fact that possibilities for their presentation of annual reports at personnel meetings are far from always utilized for improving the work of the groups and posts.

In view of the fact that the enhancement of activeness and the development of initiative in the people's controllers are crucial factors with respect to improving the work of the committees, groups and posts and increasing the effectiveness of the people's controllers in general, this matter should be given close attention during the reports and elections. It is important to make certain that the reports and speeches by participants in the meetings thoroughly analyze the work performed by the groups and posts toward the fulfillment of their tasks, to subject shortcomings and negligence in the work to principled and earnest criticism and to outline ways to correct these.

Based on the situation in the military units, educational institutions, enterprises and installations of the Ministry of Defense, it is important for the decisions adopted at the meetings to define specific tasks for the groups and posts with respect to exercising control and checking on performance. It is also essential to specify measures to systematically perfect the work forms and methods of the groups and posts.

The appropriate commanders and chiefs must promptly issue orders announcing the membership of the committees and of the elected groups and posts.

In order for the army people's controllers to function correctly and to feel confident in various, specific situations, they must have a good understanding of the basic Soviet military laws and of the place and role of people's control organs within the Soviet military organization. In order to check on various aspects of the life and work of the troops in a competent manner, they must have a thorough understanding of the demands set with respect to combat readiness for the units and subunits, the procedure for keeping records on the equipment and weapons and for maintaining and operating it and other materiel, the established rations, pay and allowances for the personnel, and a great deal more. In addition, the people's controllers are required to know and skillfully apply the theoretical and practical methods developed for monitoring the work and constantly improve them, seek and apply new methods in their work, based on the specific conditions and the nature of the tasks being performed.

Naturally, as they supervise the people's control committees, groups and posts, the commanders and political workers must also see to it that constant training is organized for their members and that they know how to properly exercise their authority.

The system for training people's patrol members, which includes annual conferences and seminars for committee and group chairmen, seminars for the chairmen of groups and the heads of posts, monthly drills in the military unit for all the group and post members and briefings for the participants in each planned or large-scale surprise inspection, has earned recognition.

We know from experience that this training system is undoubtedly an expedient one. Everything depends upon the content and the quality of the classes. And it is very important during the report-and-election campaign to thoroughly study the effectiveness of the training for the people's controllers, to determine how well grounded

they are in ideology and whether they themselves have a good understanding of the fundamentals of Soviet law, decisions of the party and the government and the demands set forth in orders and directives issued by the USSR minister of defense and the chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, and how well they explain these to the personnel.

The reports and elections of people's control organs should be publicized in the army and navy press, and the work experience of the outstanding committees, groups and posts should be actively disseminated. The main attention should be given to the in-depth study of the work of public patrol members and to the job of mobilizing them for the successful accomplishment of their tasks.

The military councils, commanders (chiefs), political organs and party organizations are expected to give the necessary assistance to the newly formed and elected people's control organs with respect to the planning and the performance of their work. It is their duty to help stimulate the work of the people's control organs in the army and navy and to provide practical assistance with the realization of the CPSU Central Committee's demand that the public patrol members perform with vigor and aggressiveness.

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CSO: 1801/186

IN THE INTEREST OF INTENSIFYING THE COMBAT TRAINING

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 4, Feb 83 pp 40-45

[Article by Col. V. Sumarokov, chief of the division political section]

[Text] One of the battalions in the tactical exercise, which involved field firing, was commanded by Major V. Starodubtsev. The other was commanded by Major A. Fedotov. Although the battalions were operating in approximately identical tactical situations, the fightingmen did not achieve the same results in the performance of the missions assigned them.

Major V. Starodubtsev's battalion attacked swiftly. Supported by attached subunits, it penetrated the "enemy's" first line of defense and advanced into the depth. A hypothetical problem was suddenly introduced. The "enemy" had used "toxic substances." This did not slow the pace of the offensive, however. The motorized riflemen rapidly donned their gas masks and protective clothing, and continued the "battle."

This was not the last hypothetical problem, however. The battalion was attacked several times by aircraft, and artillery also attempted to halt it. This was in vain, however. The personnel were prepared for any surprises.

The training battle developed differently in Major A. Fedotov's battalion. After forcing a water barrier, the companies deployed in battle formation, attacked the "enemy's" strongpoint, and while the attached and supporting subunits were crossing over the bridge which had been erected, they rushed forward. They were unable to develop the success, however. Moving up reserves, the "enemy" counterattacked the battalion on the flanks, which won the "battle" for it.'

One would naturally want to know what caused this abrupt turn of events. We became convinced there at the site of the events that it was primarily due to the fact that the battalion commander did not direct the forces in the best possible manner. He was late in assigning the mission to an artillery brigade supporting the motorized riflemen and did not see to the timely replenishment of the ammunition. The most important factor, however, was the fact that the personnel proved to be poorly prepared to operate in an abruptly changing combat training situation.

These blunders and omissions were carefully analyzed in the critique of the tactical exercise and were discussed several days later at a meeting of the unit party committee.

During the critique the formation commander indicated that the sharp contrast in the preparation of two battalions operating under approximately equal conditions was due, among other things, to the fact that Major Starodubtsev skilfully employes the comprehensive training method, while Major Fedotov obviously underestimates its importance. The party committee members, the regimental commander and his deputy for political affairs applied principle for assessing the improper attitude toward the new and effective method of training and indoctrination--the combining of various types of combat training--on the part of Major A. Fedotov, a communist, and the battalion party organization.

This method has long since gained recognition in the forces. It permits us to make the combat training more intensive and productive, to thoroughly and rapidly prepare the personnel for modern combat. Given the current high degree to which the subunits and units are outfitted with weapons and equipment, the fightingmen naturally need to know a great deal and be able to do many things. They must have good technical military training, moral-psychological and physical conditioning. Because of this, there is always a shortage of time for acquiring knowledge and skills and for developing good moral qualities and fighting efficiency. By combining certain training areas with tactics, the commanders squeeze more into the time available, as it were, and achieve greater results from the same number of training hours.

Why were the battalion officers making unsatisfactory use of the effective method? Communist Fedotov said in answer to this question: "We were cautious. We wanted to see how it would turn out for the others."

An earnest and principled discussion at a party committee meeting convinced Major Fedotov that the true and reliable way to eliminate deficiencies is to intensify the training. In the tactical training drills he began to run through possible situations which might arise in actual combat. He made them simple at first and then more complicated, saturating the training with hypothetical, sudden and unexpected actions by the "enemy," by its tanks, aircraft and artillery, and the employment of weapons of mass destruction.

A few months of employing the new method in the battalion improved the combat training. The motorized riflemen began performing more confidently and competently when events in a "battle" developed in an unexpected direction, and their tactical and fire skills improved.

Speaking of ways to improve combat readiness in his report at the 6th All-Army Conference of Secretaries of Primary Party Organizations, Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov, USSR minister of defense, stressed the fact that the "weapons and combat equipment can only produce the proper effect when they are in skilfull and dependable hands, when the training with the weapons and combat equipment and the training in methods of employing them in combat are combined with the continued improvement of the field, air and naval training of the fightingmen, with the development of tactics and operational art and the combat coordination of the subunits, units and ships."

Experience has shown that the employment of the comprehensive training method contributes to the accomplishment of these tasks. This is only true, of course, when, as they prepare to conduct any exercise in a complex tactical situation, whether it involves vehicle operation, firing or tank gunnery, the officers give thought to the effect it will have upon the fightingmen, the effect it will have with respect to developing in them the moral qualities and fighting efficiency essential for victory in modern

combat. It is true only if the commanders and political workers, party and Komsomol activists work each day to develop in the personnel an aware attitude toward the overcoming of real difficulties in the combat training and a thorough understanding of the enduring truth that the more difficult the training, the easier will be the battle.

Our personal experience has convinced us that many factors must be taken into account for employing the comprehensive training method. First of all, it is necessary to know whether the units and subunits completely understand what it means to combine combat training classes, and if all commanders and political workers, all the party and Komsomol activists understand that this method, as one of the areas for intensifying the training, demands that organizational and indoctrinational work be stepped up.

We brought these and other questions at service conferences for the officers, considered them in officer training groups and discussed them at party and Komsomol meetings in the subunits and units. It should be pointed out that everyone acknowledged the progressiveness of the new method and the vital need to adopt it. After its merits were recognized, many collectives set to work on it. The commanders, political workers and party organizations in the battalions of Majors V. Skorodubtsev and V. Domodyko and the companies of Captains I. Kos'yanenko and V. Govorushchenko, among others, demonstrated commendable responsibility, persistence and a creative approach in organizing the intensive training. From one day to the next they worked together to combine the classes in fire, technical, engineer and special training with tactics, and taught the officers and sergeants how to get the most out of the training time, marches to the field and the artillery firing facility. A complex, dynamic and rapidly changing situation was created in the classes and exercises, and concomitant drills were conducted, as a result of which the personnel of the above collectives distinguished themselves markedly with respect both to the quality of their field training and their tactical fire skill and to their preparedness to perform missions coming up unexpectedly in a battle. These include protecting themselves against weapons of mass destruction, combatting airborne landing forces and diversionary groups, negotiating areas of radioactive contamination, and so forth.

Certain subunits, however, did not go beyond the point of discussing the benefit of combining the different areas of the training. Certain party organizations did not come up with good ways to use their existing work forms and methods to promote its practical application.

This was equally true of the party organization of the formation staff. Not all of the communists understood right away that the combining of combat training classes only produces the full effect when it is carefully conceived and thoroughly prepared. As an example, Lieutenant Colonel N. Mingazov and Majors N. Kalachikov and L. Zheleznoy, party members and officers in the formation directorate, did not demonstrate adequate earnestness and persistence with respect to accomplishing these tasks and providing the subunits with the advanced know-how.

Disturbed by specific instances, we thoroughly analyzed the progress being made in the adoption of this effective method at an officers' conference, and asked ourselves once more why, despite the fact that literally everyone was praising the method, certain commanders were in fact approaching it with wariness. In short, we had a serious and substantive discussion. I shall not relate the entire discussion, but I would like to

mention two problems which we could clearly recognize. In the first place, it was apparent that there was a large number of significant failings in the work performed to publicize the comprehensive training method. In the second place, the sluggishness demonstrated by certain officers was due both to their inadequate preparation for its practical employment and to a disinclination to take on additional work. We all know, after all, that preparations for any comprehensive exercise involve numerous organizational questions pertaining to material and technical support and the coordination of the operations of the various subunits and services with respect to time and place, not to mention the mobilization process and the achievement of proper morale in the men.

What sort of adjustments did we have to make in our work as result of this? At the formation commander's instruction, staff workers and workers with the political section conducted special briefings on methods for the officers and technical military conferences in the units, at which the participants were acquainted with the experience accumulated by ourstanding subunits in the combining of combat training subjects. The formation commander cautioned the officers against going to the extreme and becoming carried away with the idea of increasing the number of training subjects in a tactical training class or exercise, as an example, and failing to thoroughly work out the main training task. He reminded them that moderation and a sense of expediency are needed, that the capabilities of the junior commanders and the soldiers and their training have to be taken into account.

As we publicized the progressive method, we also stressed the process of revealing progressive know-how existing in the formation. Agitation with facts is the most convincing kind of agitation, especially, when those actually conducting it are sharing their own experience. Under an assignment from the division political section, Lieutenant Colonel G. Andreyev addressed assemblies of unit commanders and told them how the officers are taught methods for combining classes, with the officers' training hours, critiques of exercises and mainly, individual work with each battalion and company commander right at the training facility and in the field, used for this purpose.

Captain I. Kos'yanenko's talk at a meeting of subunit commanders was also instructive. He not only described the substance of and methods of conducting the most expedient concomitant drills and comprehensive classes, but also told how they could work together with the deputy commander for political affairs and the party and Komsomol organizations to mobilize the fightingmen for intensive military work. And it was not just the soldiers and sergeants, but certain officers as well, who sympathized with Kos'yanenko's subordinates, thinking that the latter must really have it hard. The commander, however, told the fightingmen: "It's going to be even harder in a war, should one break out. If any of you is not capable of carrying the load, don't be bashful. Speak out. I can arrange to have you transferred to an administrative subunit." He also read the motorized riflemen excerpts from the memoirs of fighters who fought on the front, which illustrated the fact that those who exerted themselves the most in preparing for battle achieved with fewer losses. Incidentally, not a single soldier expressed a desire to leave the company, and the fighting efficiency of its personnel was better than that of any other subunit. This is perhaps the most convincing argument.

The folk saying that a picture is worth a thousand words is a valid one. Taking this into account, we conducted demonstration comprehensive classes for the battalion and company commanders, using Major V. Starodubtsev's battalion and Captain I. Kos'yanenko's

company as the basis for the classes. Party activists and members of the unit methods councils helped to set them up, along with the commander and staff officers. Naturally, the personnel of those subunits performed in a smoothly coordinated manner, with optimal intensity and effectiveness. The commanders undoubtedly learned a great deal from the progressive methods of the experienced officers.

We know that for various reasons even new and progressive things which we see for ourselves and recognize as valuable are not immediately adopted and implemented. In one case the process is held up by the habit of sticking to the so-called "beaten path"; in another case, we do not know to apply the know-how as applicable to the subunit's specific conditions; and in other cases, we have an incorrect attitude toward a specific type of training. Striving to establish new things means digging into the real causes of failings in each specific case, helping to eliminate them and coordinating the process at the practical level. The formation commander, the political section, the staff officers and the party aktiv oriented the units and subunits in this direction. This was also demanded of the commanders, political workers, staff specialists and unit party organizations. I shall cite a specific example to back this up.

For several years in a row the company commanded by Captain S. Gavrilov was one of the best in the regiment with respect to fire training. The fightingmen themselves set up a firing facility and outfitted classrooms with operating mock-ups and visual aids. They should have had everything they needed to perfect their combat skill. Classes were conducted in the company in the old way, however, without taking into account today's increased demands and the significant changes which have occurred in the combat equipment. The fire training there was poorly combined with the tactical training, and the fightingmen were not trained to perform competently in a complex situation. In exercises involving the firing of organic ammunition, the inspector had only to make the conditions as nearly as possible like those which could develop in an actual battle, and gaps in the tactical training immediately became apparent and firing effectiveness dropped. The company barely "brought itself up" to a satisfactory rating.

Officers of the division staff and political section V. Bragin, S. Bukhtiyarov, G. Zarutskiy, Yu. Ivanushkin and B. Stel'mashuk, together with the regimental leaders, made a careful study of the reasons for the situation. A certain complacency on the part of the fightingmen because of their previous successes was apparent, as was the fact that they had not kept up with modern requirements. The situation was also due to the inability of Senior Lieutenants B. Pliskun and N. Antonov and Lieutenant S. Gutnikov, platoon commanders, to combine the fire training with tactics. The young officers were given help in filling in the gaps in their knowledge. Steps were defined at a conference of officers and at party and Komsomol meetings for changing the moral climate in the collective, and these were then implemented by the commander, the communists and the Komsomol activists. In order for the others to benefit from this company's failings, a scientific and practical conference was conducted in the regiment on tactical fire preparation for modern combat. With the assistance of senior comrades, the company began combining classes on an extensive basis, and in time it regained its best-company status.

The party can support the efforts of commanders to adopt this method in many different ways. First of all, the party organizations can become more demanding of the communists. They should be told that each of them must be an actual champion of the new, set an example for his colleagues with respect to overcoming the difficulties, participate actively in the ideological and indoctrinational work and explain to the fightingmen that in the current tense international situation, when the threat of war on

the part of imperialism is increasing, they need to give their full effort to the training. This is done at party meetings and during the presentation of reports and statements by the communists at meetings of the party bureaus and party committees.

We are attempting to take fuller advantage of the possibilities of socialist competition for increasing the intensity of the combat training. The young officers are accepting commitments to master the comprehensive training method, and the experienced commanders are helping them. The actual combat preparedness and the moral-psychological readiness of the personnel for combat, which are determined in tactical exercises involving field firing, is used as the main criterion when the competition results are summed up in units. The commanders and political workers provide moral incentives for performing the intensive military work and achieving a high level of combat skill. There is a formal flag-raising ceremony in honor of the winners, and the challenge Banner imeni Geroy Sovetskogo Soyuza V.P. Mayborskiy, who is listed on the roster of one of the companies in perpetuity, is presented to the outstanding subunit. Special news bulletins, talks and radio programs are devoted to the outstanding participants.

Our Samaro-Ul'yanovskaya, Birdechevskaya Zheleznaya, order of the October Revolution, thrice Red Banner, Orders of Suvorov and Bogdan Khmel'nitskiy Motorized Rifle Division has a glorious combat history and extensive combat experience. The division veterans give us a great deal of help with the task of mobilizing the personnel to accomplish the intensive training. What they say has been verified in fierce battles and always carries weight. More than anyone else, the frontline fighters thoroughly understand the real value of all-round military training. The convincing words of the veterans prompted the personnel of one signal company, for example, to reconsider its attitude toward the fire training.

This subunit is known for its well-trained specialists. Assuming--and this is generally true--that their main task is to provide command with reliable, uninterrupted communications, the fightingmen applied themselves to the training in their specialty. They set up a signal training area, which makes it possible to combine drills in their specialty with a number of other tasks. They spent a great deal of time receiving and sending radiograms, sometimes even to the detriment of the other combat training areas. They felt that the ability to fire their personal weapons and toss grenades accurately was a secondary matter for them: They were not motorized riflemen, after all. In one of the inspections the company received a poor evaluation for its fire training.

A meeting with veterans was conducted in the regiment immediately after the inspection. The political worker informed them of the poor situation which had developed in the signal company. He asked them to use their influence. And they did. As though incidentally, without appeals or emotional statements, several of the former frontline fighters told about cases in which signalmen themselves had been forced to take up their weapons and enter into hand-to-hand combat with the enemy in order to protect their signal equipment. They casually provided the following food for thought: "At the front the word 'fighter' meant an individual prepared for combat in every respect." Naturally, other indoctrinational and organizational measures were also carried out to assure that the signalmen regarded the fire training with the same sense of seriousness as they did the special and other training areas. The talk by the veterans set this change in motion, however.

The combat training program is the sum total of various subjects. They are all important and necessary in their own way. The formation's commanders, political workers

and party organizations are working together to assure that all the disciplines are mastered both in their sequence and in intelligent combination, that they are combined in the classes and exercises. The above examples and facts describe only a part of this multi-faceted work.

Not everything is as we would like it to be, of course, and there are still weak elements and shortcomings in many sectors. Recently, for example, we discovered gaps in the medical and drill training in a number of subunits. And if the drill training is not supplemented by the absolute observance of the requirements set forth in the Drill Regulations throughout the structure of military life, and if the few hours allocated for medical training are not supplemented with practice in rendering first aid, hauling out the wounded and so forth, in the exercises, then these shortcomings will not be eliminated rapidly. If we do not engage in a basic campaign against simplifications and indulgences and against attempts by certain officers to make the situation appear better than it actual is, then the comprehensive training method will produce absolutely no results. A frank discussion was recently conducted on this subject at a meeting of the communists in the division directorate. Their resolution contained the following point: "It is absolutely inadmissible to use obsolete and unprogressive training methods for mastering the new equipments and weapons. These are those very simplifications and indulgences which the communists are obligated to combat with determination."

In accordance with the party's demands and instructions from the USSR minister of defense, we are attempting to see that the orientation toward action and not toward impressive words becomes increasingly well established in the work style of the officers. We are doing this by improving the indoctrinational work conducted with the command and political cadres, by being more demanding of them and stepping up verification of performance in all areas. Our main job is that of maintaining the subunits and units and the formation as a whole at a high level of combat readiness. The intensification of the combat training and the campaign to establish the comprehensive training method in the training practices are intended to help achieve this.

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CSO: 1801/186

THE MATURITY OF INTRA-PARTY RELATIONSHIPS

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 4, Feb 83 pp 46-53

[Article by Col Gen I. Mednikov, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the Red Banner Baltic Military District]

[Text] The 6th All-Army conference of Secretaries of Primary Party Organizations stressed the fact that the substance of the internal life of party organizations and the maturity of the intra-party relationships, which require the consistent and undeviating implementation of the demands set forth in the party Program and Charter and in instructions from the 26th CPSU Congress, are the crucial condition for the development of initiative, activeness and principle in the party organizations. Still apt today are V.I. Lenin's words defining relationships among party members, relationships between party members and the party itself and conversely, between the party and its members: "We must not forget that every party member is responsible for the party and /the party is responsible for every member."/

Fulfilling the principles defined at the 26th CPSU Congress in the area of developing intra-party relationships and decisions coming out of the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the political organs and party organizations in our district consider it especially important to enhance activeness, initiative, principle and organization in the communists' work. All the district party collectives are systematically implementing the recommendations issued on this matter at the 6th All-Army Conference of Secretaries of Primary Party Organizations. At a seminar/conference conducted by the district political directorate for the secretaries of party organizations, there was a substantive discussion of ways and means to improve intra-party relationships in the collectives of the communists and to make their work more active and aggressive. Recently, at an assembly of the chiefs of district political organs, we analyzed the situation with respect to the fulfillment of decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the November Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and recommendations provided at the all-army conference. The results showed that more initiative, activeness and principle are being shown in the work of the primary party organizations.

Take, as an example, the party organization of the Guards motorized rifle regiment in which Major N. Makhinya is one of the party committee members. The Guards motorized riflemen ended the anniversary year with an overall good rating. What role did the party organization play in the achievement of the success? All the intra-party life

of the collective was devoted to assuring that the unit was at a high level of combat readiness and to improving the training of the personnel. These matters were always at the focus of attention of the communists and were frequently discussed at party meetings. For example, one of the meetings included a discussion based on principle about how the party members and candidate members were helping their colleagues to improve their fire training and master the combat equipment and weapons. Other meetings thoroughly and self-critically considered the topics "On Each Communist's Personal Contribution to the Strengthening of Military Discipline" and "On the Avant-garde Role of Party Members and Candidate Members in the Socialist Competition." The nature of intra-party relationships, relationships of principle, demandingness and frankness, is demonstrated not only by the agendas for the meetings but also by the practice of hearing reports from the communists at meetings of the party committees and party bureaus and that of conducting individual and group discussions, and by the acute reaction which even the slightest shortcomings receive. Stricter party demandingness is being exercised there with respect to those who do not keep their word, who are not doing enough to improve their professional expertise, who tolerate indulgences in the combat training and failings in the performance of the service duties, do not refine their organizational abilities and behave in an unfitting manner in their personal lives.

Once, for example, it was noticed that the tactical fire training was lagging in the unit. A study of the causes of this situation showed that certain CPSU members and battalion and company leaders were not always assessing the state of affairs objectively, that they sometimes exaggerated the results achieved and were not fulfilling the training plans. Many of these failings existed in the battalion commanded by Captain V. Tretyak. The party committee had a discussion about what steps would have to be taken to increase the responsibility of party members and candidate members for improving the tactical fire training of the personnel. The discussion was demanding and earnest, and the decision adopted was a constructive one. Among other things, it called for the presentation of reports in the subunit party organizations by the CPSU members, whose names were mentioned at the party committee meeting among those guilty of lowering the level of the fire training for the fightingmen. Captain N. Tsvetkov reported on his personal contribution to the subunit's fulfillment of its socialist commitments; Lieutenant V. Putintsev related what he was doing to make the fightingmen more responsible for improving their fire training; and Captain A. Barmin spoke about whether he was setting an example for his subordinates in the performance of his service and party duties. Specific deficiencies in the performance of their service and party duties were pointed out to each of these communists. They were also given advice as to ways to rectify the situation and what forms of party and public work to use for this purpose. Among other things, it was recommended that they be more self-critical in assessing what had been done and what had been achieved.

These and other measures had a most direct effect with respect to establishing mutual demandingness and relationships based on principle among the party members and candidate members in the party collective, and improving the personal example they set in the service and the training. The number of communists among the experts and rated specialists increased significantly in the unit this past training year.

The main indicator of the state of intra-party work in each organization is, first and foremost, the activeness of its members, their ideological conviction, discipline and the degree to which they strictly observe the CPSU Charter. It should be said that the

vast majority of communists in our units and formations set the tone in the service and in the discipline. This past training year, for example, around 85% of the CPSU members and candidate members received excellent or good evaluations in the main areas of the training, almost 50% are experts and more than 90% are rated specialists. The combat skills of the communists, of all the personnel, is continuing to improve in the winter training period. Political organs and party organizations have stepped up their efforts to see that party members improve from one day to the next the personal example they set in the service, in the discipline, in the mastery of the modern combat equipment and the undeviating implementation of one of the slogans for the current training year--"A Higher Level of Mastery of the New Equipment!". The party organizations take a demanding approach to the assessment of each communist's performance of his service duties and regard his personal contribution to the combat readiness as an objective indicator of party maturity.

It must be admitted, however, that this is not the case everywhere at all. There are party organizations which neglect the most important thing in their work, the need to assure that the party members and candidate members take an avant-garde role in the accomplishment of the combat and political training tasks. A battalion tactical exercise in the unit in which Captain V. Mikhaylov is one member of the party bureau, for example, showed that certain communists were not on top of the demands made by modern combat. They were not skilful in directing subordinates, did a poor job of organizing interaction with attached subunits and did not set a good personal example of combat activeness. The party organization should have derived a lesson from what happened and assessed the actions of every communist from a standpoint of principle. It did not, however. And maturity in intra-party relationships, after all, calls for the uncompromising assessment of good and bad points in the work of each individual and the application of all means available to the party collective for eliminating deficiencies.

The life of the party organizations is presently characterized by the increasing development of earnest, principled criticism and self-criticism. The communists see in this that tool which helps in the struggle against deficiencies reducing combat readiness even to a slight degree, the struggle against sham, the abuse of one's service position, simplifications in the combat training and non-regulation relationships. Criticism and self-criticism help to assess what has been achieved with exactingness, to approach the resolution of problems in the combat training and the military service from the state's position, to forestall all attempts to make the situation seem better than it actually is and to resolutely combat simplifications and indulgences.

The All-Army Conference of Secretaries of Primary Party Organizations pointed out that all negative incidents and developments, all shortcomings in the training and indoctrination of the personnel and in the combat readiness of the subunits, units and ships are to be assessed from a standpoint of principle. We need to be bolder in correcting those communists who do not react to criticism and do not take the steps necessary to eliminate deficiencies which turn up. All of the force of criticism and self-criticism must be directed toward improving the combat readiness of the army and navy.

We shall frankly state, however, that intra-party relationships characterized by broadly developed criticism and self-criticism have not yet been established in all the party collectives by far. At meetings of the party organization in which officer G. Dzyubenko is one of the party committee members, one rarely hears a comment or a reproach addressed to specific individuals at fault. Last year, for example, questions

pertaining to discipline were brought up twice for discussion by the communists. The shortcomings were discussed as though they existed of and by themselves, however, and were not the result of errors and failings on the part of specific individuals. Furthermore, when the comrades there detected certain failings, they did not always try to define ways and means of eliminating the shortcomings.

Our party attaches great importance to the development of criticism and self-criticism. The November Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee set an example of a critical approach to a matter. Taking into account the demands set forth at the plenum, the district political directorate analyzed the state of criticism and self-criticism in a number of primary party organizations. It then brought up this subject at a scientific and practical seminar conducted for secretaries of unit party committees (party bureaus), senior instructors in the party-organizational work of political sections and the secretaries of party commissions under the district political organs. Comrades M. Pis'mennyy, A. Solov'yev and K. Sharayev, who spoke at the seminar, stated that the exchange of opinions in the party organizations had become more frank and pointed, that criticism and self-criticism had undergone further development. Still today, however, a number of party organizations, especially the staff party organizations, sometimes do more talking about the benefits of criticism than actually applying it in the campaign against the specific failings of specific individuals.

We know that the party meeting is a real mirror of the communists' intra-party relationships. If the discussion at the meeting is substantive and principled, if the people have a clear concept of the essence of the matter being discussed, if they assess the successes from the party standpoint and also see the shortcomings, if they submit specific proposals to correct the matter, then the situation in the unit or subunit improves. There is also the other kind of situation: If complacency and boredom reign in the meetings, if the individual communists "keep their silence in an important debate," so to speak, in almost all cases this indicates that the party discussion is not very effective. There are cases of this, however, and far from isolated cases.

There are no ready formulas for preparing communists for a meeting, naturally, nor can there be. It is important to bear in mind, however, the fact that things cannot be left to simply flow along on their own, and this has sometimes been the case recently. "I have concluded from my own personal experience," Major V. Panasenko, a participant in an assembly of party organization secretaries, said at the assembly, "that some people are afraid of 'formalism' in their work and therefore permit preparations for meetings to simply take care of themselves, thereby engaging in the worst kind of formalism. They take the main significance out of the party work, that of indoctrinating and mobilizing the people to successfully accomplish the vital tasks." One has to agree with this opinion. As the decree passed by the CPSU Central Committee "On the Practices Employed for Conducting Party Meetings in the Yaroslavl' City Party Organization" states, we must raise the importance of party meetings as the highest organ of the primary party organization. We must do everything possible to see that they have a decisive influence with respect to the further development of intra-party democracy and the establishment of the Leninist principle of collective functioning in the work.

Naturally, the meetings can only perform this role, if the decisions adopted in the meetings are undeviatingly implemented. And the implementation of decisions is directly convergent with control. It is multifaceted and includes the rendering of assistance to those responsible for the implementation, the summarization and application of

progressive experience and the development in all the communists of a sense of responsibility for the oneness of words and deeds. In other words, control is inseparable from the organizational work performed to implement that which has been accepted, approved and planned. And returning to the subject of our discussion, intra-party relationships, we might remind ourselves that competent, focused and objective control helps to strengthen performance discipline in the party collective and increases the communists' personal responsibility for the assigned section of the work, for the common success.

Speaking self-critically, verification of performance is still a weak spot in the work of a number of our party committees and party bureaus. And the shortcomings frequently stem from the absence of a precise public control system. Verification of performance is sometimes reduced to a matter of simply recording failings. This also applies equally to the performance of certain political organs. The political section in which officer Ye. Kolesov serves, as an example, worked in the party organization of an anti-aircraft artillery regiment five times last year. It detected cases in which the influence of the communists upon the discipline and the training of the antiaircraft artillerymen was lowered. The political section did not go beyond simply stating the fact that certain things were not being done or were being done poorly in the unit, however. It did not provide the party organization with assistance and did not monitor the implementation of its recommendations. As a result, the desired changes for the better did not occur in the regiment.

When we speak of mature intra-party relationships, we frequently ask ourselves whether they have been established, first of all, among our large party aktiv. It is the aktiv, after all, which creates the moral climate in a party collective, an atmosphere of friendship, comradeship and demandingness. It should be pointed out that the matters we are discussing are regularly considered in the political organs, party committees and party bureaus. A procedure has been set up for informing the aktiv of party and government decisions. A training system for the aktiv has been developed and is being constantly improved. While the political organs previously conducted assemblies and seminars only for the secretaries of the party organizations, we now try to take into greater account all the members of the elective party organs. Workers with the political directorate also take part in their briefings. They are speaking more and more frequently in seminars for the low-level aktiv. Greater attention is being given to its theoretical preparation. V. Krumin' and M. Raman, deputy chairmen of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, academicians of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences P. Gulyan, V. Shteynberg, E. Yakubaytis and V. Savchenko, deputy chairmen of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, and others have recently addressed the secretaries of party organizations and members of party committees and bureaus. The practice of using outstanding party collectives as the base for training the elective aktiv has been developed. We conducted an assembly for the secretaries of district party committees in a training motorized rifle regiment. At times the political directorate has conducted seminars for the party aktiv of the units of missile troops and artillery, antiaircraft missile troops and subunits of chemical defense and engineer troops. Seminars/conferences for the secretaries of primary and company party organizations have become traditional.

We constantly concern ourselves with increasing the party influence there at the lower level. This means companies, batteries and equivalent subunits. We strive to see that the political organs thoroughly understand the life of the party organizations

and the processes occurring there and solicitously help to develop and indoctrinate the aktiv. The urgency of this task is constantly increasing. The company is that element in the army organization, where success in the training and indoctrination of the personnel is determined. Party organizations or party groups now function in most subunits. This is having a perceptible effect upon the combat training of company and battery personnel and upon the indoctrination of the men. The thorough analysis of the state of affairs in the subunit party organizations, the hearing of reports from their secretaries and the distribution of materials summarizing the experience of the outstanding party collectives to local party organizations are becoming more and more firmly established in the work practices of the political organs. The political directorate thoroughly studies the performance of the company and battalion party organizations and attempts to participate in all the seminars for the secretaries of these collectives. The section for party organizational work has summarized experience in the development of public-political and service activeness in the communists at the lower levels. All of the party organs and party committees and the general aktiv were familiarized with this material.

Unfortunately, the work of the company party organizations and party groups is still not receiving the attention it deserves. Weak collectives are to be found alongside the strong and efficient collectives. When one talks with the communists in charge about why certain low-level collectives have fallen behind, instead of an in-depth analysis of the causes one sometimes hears ready-made explanations: They have become conceited. They have become complacent. They have overlooked something. An investigation, however, will show that the people most frequently do not know what steps to take to improve the situation. The heads of the political organs, the deputy regimental commanders for political affairs and the party committee secretaries rarely visit the companies and are not doing enough to teach the aktiv. At one of the report-and-election party meetings in an artillery battery of a training artillery regiment, the communists said that representatives of the political organs only visit them when the report-and-election meetings are being conducted, that they "stew in their own juice" the rest of the time.

Naturally, we cannot accept such a situation. We know, after all, that intra-party relationships begin to take shape at the lower party level. This is where the communist undergoes his initial public-political tempering, receives his first assignment, becomes familiar with the traditions and gets to know the standards governing party life. The district political directorate and political organs see their task as one of making a significant improvement in the leadership of company and battalion party organizations and systematically implementing the Leninist rule that there should be fewer meetings and paper work, and more vital, practical work among the masses. This is the sure way to further increase militancy in the party organizations.

The improvement of intra-party relationships is inseparably linked to the ideological-indoctrinational work of the party organizations. In accordance with decisions coming out of the 26th CPSU Congress and the decree passed by the Central Committee on 26 April 1979, steps are being taken in the district to restructure a number of areas of ideological work, to enhance the role of the primary party organizations in this matter. The latter make up the party's foundation and the political nucleus of the collective, and it is there that the Soviet fightingman shapes up in the process of intense combat training. The primary party organization has therefore been made the center for the daily ideological-indoctrinational work. We focus the efforts of our large aktiv

on the primary party organization. Today, around 50% of the mass agitation measures are carried out in the company, the battery, the squadron. The practice of conducting general political days has become firmly established, with active participation by communists from the district directorate and staff. Members of the district military council, deputy commanders, chiefs of districts directorates and workers from the political directorate took part in a political day devoted to the results of the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The campaign for the effective training and indoctrination of the personnel calls for the further enhancement of organization and discipline in the units and subunits. More is achieved and the success is more consistent where the commanders, political organs, party and Komsomol organizations constantly focus attention on matters pertaining to the exemplary performance of combat, guard and internal service, the precise fulfillment of training plans and the daily schedule, on maintaining regulation interrelationships among the personnel, on their lives and the intelligent organization of their leisure time.

Unfortunately, we still encounter violations of discipline and the moral standards governing the life of our society, of the requirements set forth in regulations and in the oath in our units and formations, that is, incidents indicating that the political and indoctrinational work is not very productive in certain collectives. I believe that one of the causes of this situation is the fact that certain political organs and party organizations do not deeply analyze the functioning of that complex mechanism which turns knowledge into convictions and behavioral motives, deeds and actions on the part of the personnel, that they conduct the indoctrinational work on a general level, do not respond promptly and effectively to daily events and do not concern themselves adequately with the task of enhancing the effectiveness of party work.

In order to accomplish the bigger tasks now facing the troops, we must reinforce the ideological work by improving organization and order at all levels of the military organization, by making sure that the needs of the personnel are met and that the communists, especially those in charge, set a good personal example with respect to the observance of Soviet laws and our moral standards. The political organs and party organizations use all means of propaganda and agitation to condition the fightingmen ideologically, to enhance their political vigilance and to develop in them class self-awareness and the ability to actively oppose acts of ideological diversion on the part of imperialism.

Purposive ideological work by commanders, political organs, party committees and bureaus guarantees the successful accomplishment of tasks set for the armed defenders at the 26th CPSU Congress. At seminars and assemblies of the aktiv we extensively publicize all of the best experience accumulated in this work in the outstanding collectives, that which helps to make the communists more active. The political directorate gives its attention to the ideological-political indoctrination of the cadres in charge. The performance of the workers is now being analyzed more thoroughly, and their personal contribution to the accomplishment of the tasks facing the units is being assessed more objectively. The political directorate is requiring that the political organs and party organizations exhibit greater concern for the Marxist-Leninist training of the officers, for developing in them the essential qualities of a skilful organizer and indoctrinator of subordinates. Many good things have been noted in the leadership in

this section of the work by the political sections of the district staff and the district directorates, the district VVS[Supreme Military Council?] and the political section in which officer A. Kozlov serves. The political directorate has prepared a survey of advanced know-how in the organization of Marxist-Leninist training and has acquainted the officers with the political organs and the propagandists of the formations and units with the survey.

Some of the political organs, party committees and bureaus are still not working persistently and purposively to improve the ideological work, however. In some cases this work is being conducted without a thorough investigation into the life and training of the fightingmen. As a result, people turn up now and then, who place their personal interests above the public interests and are not conscientious in the performance of their party and service duty. For a long time, as an example, former party member A. Kolomiyets conducted himself in an unfitting manner in his personal life, abused his service position and insulted his subordinates. His decline began when he withdrew from active ideological life, stopped engaging in political self-education and stopped taking part in the ideological-political indoctrination of the personnel. This incident is further proof of how important it is for every member and candidate member of the party to be a real political fighter in the party organization, to improve his ideological level. The party has numerous means of intra-party work for achieving such a situation. They include the discussion of these matters at meetings, the hearing of reports from the communists and the conducting of personal talks with them. It is important to use these intelligently, bearing in mind the fact that the development of a scientific, materialistic world outlook, selfless devotion to the party cause and to the communist ideals and a high level of vigilance in the CPSU members has been and remains the core of the ideological, political and indoctrinational work.

As we discuss the maturity of intra-party relationships, we must not fail to include the problem of perfecting the party information system. It is an important means of studying the moods of the people, of making the work of the party collectives more active. An information group has been created and is actively functioning in the political directorate, and every political organ has a worker assigned responsibility for information. All political organs and party committees have produced a system for monitoring implementation of everything planned. We derive information on the moods and demands of the servicemen from their letters and complaints. In addition, the political directorate obtains essential information from the primary party organizations themselves, which send in informational cards. The party committees and party bureaus provide the superior political organ with information on meetings and sessions of the elective organs, on the growth of party ranks, on the theoretical training of the communists, the example they are setting in the service and with respect to discipline, and on a number of other matters. The information is actively supplemented by the personal impressions of workers from the political directorate and political organs who visit the sites, of course. In short, we are attempting to do everything possible to see that the communist is firmly confident that his voice will be heard, his opinion considered and his valuable suggestions carried out.

The political organs have the primary role with respect to improving intra-party relationships. Their authority is increasing, and their work style is improving. Life is forever bringing out new tasks, however, and demanding that the political organs work even more purposively to improve intra-party relationships which develop in the party organizations and help to regulate them. We are aware that interrelationships

among the communists, their principles and initiative and their conduct in their personal lives, conflicts, and many other things which characterize the life of the collective sometimes remain outside the field of attention of certain political sections. The task of acting more vigorously against shortcomings in intra-party relationships and helping to eliminate them was brought forth by this situation.

The political directorate attempts to systematically raise and resolve the more important, key issues pertaining to intra-party work. Last year we made a study of the work performed by 12 primary organizations to fulfill their role as the political nucleus of the troop collective. A number of political organs, party committees and bureaus performed a substantive survey of matters pertaining to the tasks of enhancing activeness, initiative and principle in the work of the party organizations, the development of criticism and self-criticism, the training of the elective party aktiv and the indoctrination of the young communists. The results of the survey and the conclusions derived became the basis for reports by the political directorate at assemblies for the chiefs of political organs, deputy regimental commanders for political affairs and party organizational workers, and for a number of survey reports and other documents. The political directorate provides the political organs with quarterly reports on how the growth of party ranks is being regulated and how the personal affairs of the communists are reviewed. The political directorate took into account accumulated observations and experience recently, when it conducted a substantive discussion with the secretaries of unit party committees and party bureaus on the results of the reports and elections of party organs and on the current tasks to be performed as we strive to further develop activeness, initiative and principle in the work.

The report-and-election party meetings showed that a climate of real collective functioning, demandingness and principle is being established in the primary organizations, that the path of all-round development of the democratic principles is being actively followed and that discipline is being strengthened. All of this is having a most immediate effect with respect to making the performance of the party organizations more effective and increasing their influence upon the life, the training and the conduct of the personnel.

We see our task as one of continuing to improve intra-party relationships, enhancing the responsibility of the communists for the state of affairs in the unit and subunit, resolutely combatting indulgences and lack of organization and doing everything we can to further enhance the vigilance and the combat readiness of the forces.

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THIS 'ISOLATED CASE'

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 4, Feb 83 pp 60-65

[Article by Maj N. Zubtsov]

[Text] It is a pity, but the following is still sometimes a part of things. The eye is caught by something which deserves criticism--not something typical today, but something just of the moment, so to speak--and there comes the hackneyed rationalization: "What is there to discuss? It was just an isolated case." Just think, this rationalization is sometimes used as a panacea for all kinds of trouble. A single instance, not worth discussing. An isolated case is just that, an isolated case.

The cost of one "isolated case" is just what I want to tell about.

The V-shaped formation of cranes glided away beyond the silhouette of a grove of blue spruce in the distance. Shading his eyes with his hand, Senior Lieutenant Rashid Abdeyev instinctively lost himself in admiration of the departing flock of cranes. For a time the officer's attention was drawn to one of the birds, flapping its wings alone, slightly behind the rest. The distance between the lagging bird and the formation gradually increased, however. "It's going to fall behind," Abdeyev thought, with a feeling of concern for the winged traveller. "It's surely going to fall behind." A second later, however, he was glad to see that he had been wrong. Several of the birds left the flock and formed a ring around the lagging crane. It began flapping the wings which had begun to droop, more and more forcefully.

"Isn't that the way it is with people?" it occurred to Senior Lieutenant Abdeyev, secretary of the battalion Komsomol organization. "Just leave a person alone, and he will fall behind. Offer him a hand, and he will catch up, keep pace with the others." This is what Rashid thought, and like a flash of light, the name "Korotkov" became clearly etched in his mind.

Sergeant Nikolay Korotkov... He had not simply been left alone. People had emphatically turned away from him. We know, though, that when we turn away from a person, others turn to him, to that person, as though to the flame of his troubled soul....

The members of a religious sect in the small Russian village were truly disturbed. Their "brother in Christ" Nikolay was leaving to serve in the army. What is worse, he was rejecting God. Neither "soul-redeeming" talks nor open threats were having any effect.

"Well," sniffed the elder of the sect in desperation, "the Lord will find you, you God-forsaker. You will have no peace. You are of no use to anyone but us."

He said what he had said more than once in such situations. He had said it to those who had strayed at first and then returned to the straight, bright path. He said it with anger, in perplexity, off the top of his head. And wouldn't you know, for a time he actually proved to be prophetic. This "prophesying" was helped to come true, intentionally or not, by the Komsomol organization of unit "X."

In the beginning Nikolay Korotkov's service career could not have gone better. He received one expression of gratitude after another. He received his first sergeant's stripes there in the unit, without going to a training subunit. And the pontoon section which he commanded was invariably among the best.

Trouble was waiting for Nikolay during a tactical exercise. The full battalion was on its way to the designated area. The multi-ton KrAZ vehicles had made it up a long incline and were now rumbling along smoothly and steadily. When the road began to descend, Sergeant Korotkov also stopped worrying. The last difficult section of the march was behind. From then on it was just the ordinary job for him. Not far below glinted the ribbon of a small, swift stream, which was where the pontoneers were to perform their job.

Unfortunately, Sergeant Korotkov had breathed his sigh of relief too soon. The pontoneers performed their assigned mission poorly, and Korotkov's section was far from incidental in the platoon's poor performance. The adjacent section's operations were not brilliantly coordinated, to be sure. In fact, it was more the latter's fault than not that Korotkov's pontoneers had failed. While "giving it to both," at the critique of the exercise, however, the platoon commander leveled the sharpest criticism against Nikolay Korotkov. "They've overpraised you." "You've got the bighead." "You're used to resting on your laurels."--these were not the most offensive of the comments made. Most bitter of all, however, was the fact that the commander of the adjacent section, a colleague and friend, who was no less to blame and perhaps more so, than Korotkov, remained silent.

The commander of the adjacent section did not say a word about what had really happened, what the platoon commander, a recent graduate of a military school, had not noticed because of his youth and inexperience.

Nikolay suddenly returned for a moment mentally to the sect. He recalled a certain incident. One of the visitors to the house of prayer had stuck his hand into the treasury. He soon confessed, however, and repented to the leader of the sect, who predicted all the punishments of heaven for the culprit. Like a pinch of salt on a freshly healed wound, the following thought stung Nikolay: "God's judgment is awesome. When you do something wrong, you have to repent. There is no judgment for such as these, though" (and he looked toward the commander of the adjacent section).

During those bitter moments it did not occur to him that he was simply dealing with a person for whom there was no judgment from his own conscience.

The resentment had passed, it seemed. As they say, though, when it rains, it pours. Passions had barely cooled following the meeting of the Komsomol bureau to which Korotkov had been invited to discuss the events, when there was another bungle.

Sergeant Korotkov had learned his bitter lesson from the previous tactical exercise and he focused his attention on those who had let the subunit down the last time.

...The KrAZ vehicles, motors rumbling, descended to the river, just as they had the other time. The pontoneers camouflaged the equipment. Intelligence delivered the required information, and the fightingmen prepared to lay the bridge.

"Novikov, keep to the left! To the left!" Korotkov said, signalling vigorously with his hands. He remembered Private Novikov's recent blunder.

As it sometimes happens, however, you give too much attention to one thing, and overlook something else. This is just what happened to Sergeant Korotkov. Looking after Novikov, Korotkov failed to pay attention to what Private S. Danish and certain others were doing.

This time the volley of criticism leveled against the sergeant was of far larger caliber. Even this would not have been so bad, but the emphasis was clearly misplaced. Nikolay's second mistake was now being depicted as a pattern, and his recent successes (consistent successes, we point out) as just happenstance. Now this grated on the sergeant's pride with a pain he had not known before. And the past once again took hold of his mind, this time with an even more tenacious grip. "Maybe it's true," Nikolay recalled the words of the sect members, "maybe no one needs me. Where is the justice, if two slips are enough to reverse everything"? And the hasty conclusion struck him with a vengeance: "No one needs me. No one!...."

And Korotkov's already complicated tangle of interrelations with his superiors and his subordinates became more and more confused from one incident to the next, reaching the point at which it would have been incredibly difficult to unsnarl them alone. The wall of alienation between Korotkov and his colleagues grew markedly. Stung by insults from all sides, Nikolay imposed penalties right and left, absolutely refusing to listen to anyone's objections. Restrained when communicating with his superiors before, he now became unrecognizable. And a comment which the sergeant seemed to make in passing totally surprised the platoon commander. It surprised him, we would emphasize, but did not alert him.

"I look at you, Sergeant Korotkov," the platoon commander once said, "and I wonder when you are going to let me down the next time. I have no confidence, no faith in you, do you understand"?

"Yes, it's hard to be without faith," the sergeant uttered, almost as a challenge, "especially when you're down...."

The platoon commander snapped his eyes angrily, regarding it all as only a bad joke.

For almost the next 6 months one rarely heard humorous word from Korotkov--any kind of word, for that matter. And the men in the platoon had forgotten when they had last seen Korotkov smile.

The sergeant was forgotten in the subunit. In "civilian life," however, there at the house of prayer, they remembered him. It is simply beyond understanding how the

"fishers of men" manage to find out about people's troubles. Sergeant Korotkov soon received a letter, though, from which he learned (this was cleverly put in, as though in passing) that at a difficult time, so it said, the kolkhoz board had refused to help out Nikolay's mother with transportation to haul in the winter's hay for her cow. The "brothers" helped the solitary woman, however. Later there was another letter in the same handwriting, which told a similar story. And once again there was an example taken from the life of his native village. Then the postal service brought Nikolay an envelope containing a religious tract, from which, following instructions, he made several copies. Now the correspondence became a two-way thing.

The secretary of the company Komsomol organization did not walk, but rather ran into the office of Senior Lieutenant Abdeyev, secretary of the battalion Komsomol organization.

"You know, Korotkov received a letter from his brother and has become even more withdrawn. You can't get near him now...."

"Wait a minute," Abdeyev cut in, "you told me yourself that Nikolay doesn't have any brothers."

"I did say that. Everybody thought that. But yesterday, I know it was wrong, but I looked over Nikolay's shoulder while he was reading the letter and I could read the first line: 'Our brother...'"

"Brother!?! That's what it said--'brother'!?!"

It was as though Abdeyev had been knocked off his feet.

"Don't you understand what sort of relationship they're talking about?"

"I have to admit, I don't."

Abdeyev looked up, startled.

"Just one thing," Abdeyev said with warning in his voice, "no one is to know about this except us. Just imagine, they might check on us from the Komsomol section of the group of forces, and, low and behold, we have a Komsomol member who believes in dear old God....It would be a shame, just because of an isolated case, to be the 'heros' in reports at meetings of the aktiv all year long. So that, we'll take care of this ourselves."

Later, when the whole affair had ended well and Senior Lieutenant Abdeyev had calmed down and cooled off, he asked himself flatly several questions. In the first place, why had he decided to act on his own, when the situation required the efforts of the entire collective? Secondly, why had he not gone immediately for help to the deputy battalion commander for political affairs, since he was aware of the experience and the intellectual tact of Major Grigoriy Danilovich Peredera? In the third place, why had he so frivolously decided that the problem could be so easily dealt with?

These were approximately the thoughts which went through Abdeyev's mind. But not until later, after the events. At the time, though, elated by his triumph (He had

guessed what sort of "brothers" the letter referred to, had he not?), Rashid rushed into battle. That evening he went to Korotkov's platoon, and when the time was right, he tried to get Nikolay to open up.

"They say that you take God seriously. Is that so?"

"They say," Korotkov answered in the same sarcastic tone of voice, "that it's wrong to peek at other people's letters. Why haven't you explained this to our company Komsomol secretary"?

Abdeyev was taken aback. He was absolutely unprepared for this turn of events, because he had not known that the company Komsomol secretary had also taken it into his head to launch an effective attack and, for a beginning, had informed Korotkov that he had glanced at the latter's letter and guessed what sort of "brothers" the letter referred to.

"He's not the one who guessed," Abdeyev cut Korotkov off, not understanding where the latter was leading.

"I am not interested in who guessed," Korotkov attacked again with even greater vehemence. "I would like to know by what right they infringe upon the privacy of letters in our platoon."

It was only then that the senior lieutenant really understood what a blunder had been made. It was a serious one, if it turned the accusers into the accused. They could not retreat entirely, though, could they? Was there really nothing they could do? Were they actually going to have to shrink away from this unfortunate matter, and only an isolated case at that? Absolutely not!

After talking it over with Major Peredera, Abdeyev and the other Komsomol activists prepared a talk for the subunit on the subject "Atheism and Religion." The political worker did ask what had prompted them to choose this subject, it is true, but his question went unanswered.

That evening the members spoke out boldly and "really let the believers have it." There were no believers in the enlisted men's club, however. Also absent was... Nikolay Korotkov. And this was fortunate. Had he been present, he would have withdrawn even more inside himself, and the resentment in his heart would have grown even stronger. The speakers bestowed all sorts of terms upon the believers. They called the latter "doped-up, delirious, lost sheep...." It would have thrown anyone off balance.

Korotkov lay in wait for Senior Lieutenant Abdeyev a short way from the club, on one of the shady paths.

"Well," he asked, "did you make it hot for the devout ones? Now what? Are you going to close up all the churches"?

Undisguised mockery could be heard in the sergeant's voice.

"Listen to me, Korotkov," Abdeyev interrupted Nikolay abruptly, "you are still a Komsomol member...."

"Yes, that's the right term 'still', Korotkov said, not letting the officer finish. "Incidentally, when do you want my Komsomol card? Today? Tomorrow?"

"Suit yourself."

Abdeyev strode vigorously off down the path, with the caustic and offensive words following after: "I'll bring it to you tomorrow.... Tomorrow.... You know, my mother writes that she needed some help. And who helped her? The Kolkhoz? Don't hold your breath.... No one needs me either.... No one but them, my real brothers...."

"What can I do?" Senior Lieutenant Abdeyev thought, not without a sense of disappointment. I'll tell the deputy battalion commander for political affairs everything tomorrow...."

"Yes indeed," Major Pereda said, after hearing the Komsomol secretary's story, "you seem to have bitten off a little more than you can chew. Let's see whether we can straighten things out. To begin with, give me the notes you received that evening at the discussion."

Rashid handed the major three small sheets of paper containing the following questions: "Can you prove that there actually is no God"? "What causes ball lightning"? "Why did the great artists of the Middle Ages paint primarily religious pictures? Does this mean that they believed in God"?

"Can you give me substantive answers to these questions?" the political worker asked the Komsomol secretary.

"No," the latter answered. "And besides, there's no way to convince Korotkov now, in any case."

"The pity is that they understood Korotkov better in the house of prayer than we have. When we think about Korotkov, let's think about the others as well. If we don't answer their questions, those 'brothers' will. They'll answer in their own way, though."

A couple of days later Grigoriy Danilovich assembled the officers, warrant officers and NCOs who were members of the Komsomol aktiv in his office. He told them openly and frankly about Korotkov's situation. He also told them about the mistake committed by Senior Lieutenant Abdeyev, who was present. Grigoriy Danilovich had never before, it seemed, been as concerned about his service performance as he was then. "Comrades," he told those in attendance, "let us not fool ourselves: We have overlooked this man, but let's not let the ugly situation remain as it is and forget about it. This kind of blunder is what those engaged in 'fishing for souls' of people facing difficulties in life are looking for. In Korotkov's case we almost lost the first battle, but it is too early to give up."

At this point the major asked for a little thing. He asked the men to show some concern for Korotkov, not to abandon him with his anxiety and most importantly, to see the good in the man.

That very day Peredera invited Korotkov to his office. "Now I'm going to hear an agitation speech," Nikolay thought, and he prepared himself for it. This time he was mistaken, however.

"Comrade Sergeant," the political worker began, "Nikolay Vasil'yevich"! I want to express my sincere apologies for the tactless way in which you have been treated."

Oh no," Korotkov protested, "no one has encroached upon my freedom of belief yet."

He deliberately emphasized the word "yet," a fact which, naturally, did not escape the major.

"I want to talk about something else," Major Pereda said, standing up behind his desk, "about the fact that your letter was made public."

Grigoriy Vasil'yevich remained silent for a moment, collecting his thoughts, and then added:

"And about your faith, I can only say that it is apparently not too pure, if you yourself keep vacillating. You were a member of the sect, then you broke with the 'brothers,' and now you have turned to them again. I'm not going to try to talk you out of it. I advise you to think it over, Nikolay...."

No, it was a long way from that discussion to Sergeant Korotkov's complete enlightenment. Nikolay left the political worker, unchanged, confident that all his current problems were punishment for his recent abandoning of God. Now, however, in the confusion of thoughts gnawing at him and giving him no peace, he did think about his talk with the deputy commander for political affairs once in a while.

In the meantime, Major Pereda, Senior Lieutenant Abdeyev and the other activists were at work on the matter.

A question-and-answer evening was held in the battalion. There was no catchy heading on the announcement. Just another evening discussion. Sergeant Korotkov was among those attending. He listened with interest as the specialist who had been invited to speak to the men talked in an absorbing manner about how ball lightning had not yet been fully explained, and about other mysteries of nature. An art scholar then took the floor and thoroughly explained why Raphael and his contemporaries painted pictures with religious themes.

Nor was Senior Lieutenant Abdeyev idle. Having made the mistake, he now reminded one of a player whose team had been penalized through his fault. Trying not to be too obtrusive, Rashid never missed an opportunity to talk with Korotkov. Even the slightest success for the sergeant, every tiny achievement, was now written up in the flash reports and news bulletins.

During one of the marches, the Komsomol secretary took a seat in the vehicle in which Korotkov was riding. This is when Korotkov opened up. And this is just what Abdeyev had wanted.

It does not take much time to tell a tale, but one does not do a real job so rapidly. And this was not a tale. This was true story. A story about a real person. And we started from the end, where Rashid Abdeyev thought about what had happened with one of his Komsomol members. He was reminded of it as he observed a crane which had fallen behind the V-formation.

And so, Rashid was watching the flock of cranes and did not notice Korotkov as he approached.

"Comrade Senior Lieutenant"!

Rashid was startled.

"Comrade Senior Lieutenant," the sergeant began with emotion in his voice. "I was wrong. I mean about no one having anything to do with my mother. Here is a letter from her. And in every line she thanks the kolkhoz for its help."

Abdeyev smiled, recalling how he and Major Peredera had first written the kolkhoz chairman, asking him to give as much attention as possible to the soldier's mother. Nikolay Korotkov did not know all of this. And there was no need for him to know it.

"Listen, Nikolay," the officer asked timidly, afraid he would not hear the answer he wanted to hear, "how is that faith of yours now"?

"My faith? Well, I do have faith. Specifically, I have faith in my friends, in Grigoriy Vasil'yevich, in you, in our Komsomol members. As for the other, let's forget about that."

A slight distance away, the combat vehicles had begun crossing the stream, over a bridge skilfully erected by Korotkov's pontoneers...

P.S. This story has a happy ending. For understandable reasons I have changed some of the names. The conclusion from all this, I believe, can be expressed with one sentence: "No matter what isolated cases we encounter, the struggle for the individual must be a common one."

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CSO: 1801/186

THE CPSU--THE AVANT-GARDE OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE¹

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 4, Feb 83 pp 66-72

[Article by Capt 1st Rank A. Plekhov, candidate of philosophical sciences, docent]

[Text] The purpose of studying this subject is to help the students gain a more thorough understanding of the role and importance of the Communist Party as the political leader of the Soviet people, as their guiding and directing force in the struggle for communism, in the organization of the nation's defense and the protection of the workers' socialist conquests against the aggressive encroachments of imperialism. The class will help them to obtain a more complete understanding of the complex and multifaceted work performed by the CPSU in its leadership of the economic, sociopolitical and spiritual life of the mature socialist society and the improvement of its military organization. It will help the fightingmen gain a deeper understanding of the Communist Party's growing role in the direction of the Armed Forces and is designed to orient them toward the exemplary fulfillment of their patriotic, constitutional duty to the Soviet homeland.

A total of 10 hours is allocated for the study of this subject. This time is most effectively used in the following manner: 2 hours for lecturing (narrative), 4 hours for independent preparation by the students and 4 hours for seminar work (discussion).

It is recommended that the following topics be discussed in the lecture (narrative):

1. The CPSU--the Soviet people's guiding and directing force in the building of a communist society; 2. The Communist Party's supervision of the organization of socialism's defense in the contemporary situation.

In a brief introduction the instructor should stress the fact that all the Soviet people's historic victories were gained under the leadership of our glorious Leninist party. Quite recently we commemorated an important event, the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, as a large national holiday. This anniversary was a brilliant and impressive demonstration of socialism's great achievements, of the triumph of the Leninist national policy and the inviolable friendship and fraternity of all the peoples of the USSR. The new-year's greetings from the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers to the Soviet people stressed the fact that the Soviet Nation achieved its prosperity and power under the wise guidance of our party of communists. The CPSU is firmly and steadfastly following the proven Lenin course.

1. Materials for political classes on the subject "The CPSU--the Avant-Garde of the Soviet People, the Guiding and Directing Force of the Soviet Society in the Struggle for Communism."

Our party successfully organizes the masses and channels their energy into the accomplishment of the large-scale, difficult tasks involved in the building of communism. It holds high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism. It is honorably carrying out its historical mission and struggling tirelessly for the triumph of communist ideals.

1. The CPSU--the Soviet People's Guiding and Directing Force in the Building of a Communist Society

When he begins his presentation of the first topic the instructor should remind the students that the 80th anniversary of the Second RSDRP [Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks)] Congress will fall in July of this year. The congress completed the process of forming a truly revolutionary organization of the Russian proletariat, based on the ideological-political and organizational principles worked out by V.I. Lenin. A new type of party was thus created. It differed fundamentally from the social-reformist parties of the West, which had lost all revolutionary perspective. Back at the very beginning of the twentieth century Vladimir Il'ich Lenin prophetically declared: "Give us an organization of revolutionaries, and we will overturn Russia!" ("Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol. 6, p. 127). And such a party was created in the summer of 1903. All of the very best, the brightest and most heroic in the working class, its most courageous sons and daughters, selflessly devoted to the proletarian cause, the very bravest fighters in the revolution, joined ranks in the Lenin party. Created by V.I. Lenin, indoctrinated in the concepts of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary traditions, tempered in the fire of class battles and the process of constructive creativity, our party has traveled a truly great historical path. It has grown from a handful of proletarian revolutionaries into a powerful and united, multi-million-strong army of communists, which stands at the head of an enormous socialist state. The Great October Socialist Revolution was victorious under its leadership, and gigantic revolutionary reforms were carried out, which not only altered the face of our nation but also fundamentally changed the entire course of world history and made the Soviet Union the natural leader of social progress for mankind.

It has now been demonstrated not simply theoretically, but by a lengthy, practical historical period as well, that it is only possible to carry out a socialist revolution and successfully build socialism and communism under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class. Under developed socialism the Communist Party's guiding role is determined by its historical destiny and the place it occupies within the society's political system, organizing and guiding the activities of all the other social and political institutions, both state and public. Just what factors determine its role and significance.

First of all, the fact should be stressed that the Marxist-Leninist party is the creation of the working class, the agent of its communist ideals and interests. These conform to the laws of social development and the demands of social progress and conform to mankind's advance toward the highest forms of social organization. The working class is the main motivating force behind the socialist revolution, the agent of a new and higher system of production. It is the initiator of all revolutionary public reforms and of progressive forms and methods of organizing labor. The working class is linked with mechanized industry and automatic production and is the main producer of the necessities of life. It is therefore the leading social force also during the building

of communism. Its avant-garde naturally has the directing and guiding role in the socialist society's development.

This need arises from the very nature of the new society, which, unlike capitalism, does not form and develop spontaneously, but as a result of aware creativity on the part of the popular masses, according to a plan, purposively, on truly scientific bases. Only an organizer of the highest kind can impart this essence to the constructive creativity of the masses, can properly define the objectives and tasks and direct the efforts of the workers toward their achievement.

The Marxist-Leninist party, the highest form of public-political organization of the working class and all the workers, is its guiding and directing force. Not one other organization could cope with the complex duties of political leader and director. It is the Marxist-Leninist party which expresses the interests not of individual groups and segments of the population but those of all the workers, which has close ties with the popular masses, has experience in political leadership and is in a position to mobilize the masses to accomplish any tasks which come up or which may arise in the course of social development, in the process of building communism. Our all-round and diverse experience in developing the Soviet society has shown that we have no other political force, nor could there be another political force which would be capable of considering, combining and coordinating with such thoroughness and consistency the interests and needs of all classes and social groups, all nations and ethnic groups, all the generations of our society, as the Communist Party does.

This is one important aspect of the matter. Another aspect also needs to be stressed, one which is defined by the nature of the Marxist-Leninist party itself. We refer to the extremely important, substantive features inherent in it as a political organization of the new type. V.I. Lenin saw the party as the avant-garde and created it as such, that is, as the advanced, most aware and organized detachment of the working class. It embodies the unity of will and action on the part of all the communists and is built on the foundation of democratic centralism. The party is armed with a progressive, scientific revolutionary theory, the only true revolutionary theory--Marxism-Leninism--which permits it to master the laws of social development, to foresee the development of events and to properly direct the aware activity of the masses.

The Communist Party functions as the political leader of the working class and the entire nation in a worthy manner. Its directing position in the society is established by law in the Constitution of the USSR. The Constitution states that the party of the communists is the Soviet society's guiding and directing force, the nucleus of its political system, of all state and public organizations. The CPSU exists for the people and serves the people. Armed with Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the Communist Party defines the general plan for the society's development and the foreign and domestic policy line of the USSR, directs the Soviet people's great creative work and gives their struggle for the victory of communism a planned and scientifically based nature.

The party ranks contain the most aware members of the workers, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. Therefore, only the party is capable of increasing the social and political activeness of the general masses and channeling it into the accomplishment of the diverse and complex tasks involved building communism and protecting the new society against aggressive imperialist forces.

When it became the political avant-garde of the entire Soviet nation, the CPSU did not cease to be the party of the working class, a fact reflected in its Marxist-Leninist ideology, its communist goals and interests and its practical work. Today, when the communist ideals of the working class have become the goals of all the people and the broadest masses of workers are struggling vigorously to implement them, all the substance of party policy has a fundamentally class nature, which is at the same time profoundly popular. The CPSU bases all its work on the Lenin teaching that "policy is the actual fate of millions of people" ("Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol. 40, p. 132).

The party's political leadership defines all the areas of its work. It combines a scientific approach with great principle. Scheming, decision-making disconnected from real life and the ignoring of scientific information and practical experience are alien to the Lenin party as a result of its very nature. The party embodies in its work the Leninist principle of unity of theory and practice, science and policy, word and deed. The party develops the theory of scientific communism, concretizes the principles of that theory and extends its cognition of the objective laws and processes in the society, while at the same time persistently perfecting the art of political leadership and control in accordance with specific historical conditions. Our party has a systematic, comprehensive approach to the study of events in public life and to its reform.

When these points are explained, in order for them to be grasped by the students and reinforced in their minds, it is important to thoroughly explain the decisions adopted at the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Our nation has entered the third and central year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The speech by Comrade Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, contains an in-depth analysis of our economy, sums up the main results of the nation's development, describes the plan and the budget for the year 1983 and defines with scientific justification the main trends in our continuing work.

A brilliant characteristic of the CPSU's plans is their dynamism. The Soviet people are accustomed to seeing our nation develop on an ascending path, without any sort of slumps and upheavals like those characteristic of capitalism, of seeing every year and every five-year period multiply the Soviet Nation's material and spiritual wealth and renew and improve the life of its citizens. Decisions coming out of the November Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee demonstrated once again with special force the depth to which the party analyzes vital problems, the concreteness of the party's approach to them, its focus on the future, its orientation toward the long term. It is planned to accelerate economic development rates and increase the absolute degree of growth of the national income, industrial and agricultural output and the volume of retail commodity turnover.

The propagandist must illustrate these points with specific figures and facts taken from materials from the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 7th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 10th convocation, on the results of our performance in 1982 and the plan for economic and social development of the USSR for the year 1983. He should remind the students that the USSR has great economic strength. Industrial output volume for 1983 is planned in the amount of 745 billion rubles, compared with 723 billion rubles in 1982. The national income will grow by 15 billion rubles, which will be greater than last year's growth. Outstripping growth rates are planned for machine building, the chemical and gas industries and industries involved in the realization of the Food Program.

The underlying theme of the State Plan for 1983 is one of steady improvement of the people's welfare. Increasing the consumption fund's portion of the national income will make it possible to increase real per capita incomes. Public consumption funds alone will amount to the impressive figure of 134 billion rubles. The plan also includes supplementary expenditures to improve the Soviet people's standard of living and increase the production of consumer goods. This year, like last year, will be a year in which millions of our nation's citizens will move into new housing, because it is planned to release for occupancy a total of 106.6 million square meters of new housing. Concern for the Soviet individual, for his living and working conditions and his spiritual development, the November Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee stressed, remains the most important principle in the party's program. The USSR is now the world's largest industrial power. We produce more iron, steel and oil, extract more iron, manganese and chromium ore, coal and coke, and produce more cement, tractors, large diesel and electric locomotives, cotton, flax, mineral fertilizers, lumber and other types of products than any other nation on our planet. Such is the mighty stride of developed socialism. Such is the scale of the Soviet people's accomplishments, gained under the leadership of the CPSU. Its grand plans reflect the basic vital interests of the Soviet people. Like mighty accelerators, they wake the energy and increase the strength of the Soviet people, focus them on the main objectives of the great creative work and open up new possibilities and prospects for them. All of this is taking place at a time when the bourgeois world is strangling in the grips of economic crisis, inflation and unemployment. The number of "unnecessary people," who have been deprived of their primary right as an individual--the right to work--numbers more than 30 million in the developed capitalist nations alone.

Socialism, created for the first time by Soviet people under the leadership of their party, has given the people that which capitalism is not capable of giving. This is faith in tomorrow, the guaranteed right to work, the lowest housing costs in the world, free education and medical services and other material and spiritual benefits. The new relationships among people, formed and nurtured by the party and established in our lives, are of enormous social value. They are based on the principles of collectivism and comradely mutual assistance and on active participation by the masses in the management of the affairs of society and the state. The active support given the CPSU's policy by the masses and the mutual understanding and unity existing between the party and the people are convincing evidence of the correctness of the political course pursued by the avant-garde of the working class and the entire society. And if the bourgeois propagandists are especially viciously attacking the CPSU's guiding role as set forth in our state's Fundamental Law, there is nothing new in this. The imperialist ideologists and their revisionist hangers-on have long attempted to slander the Soviet society's vital foundation. The more important and dear a specific institution of the socioeconomic and political system is to real socialism, the more vigorously it is attacked by reactionary forces. The class enemy and its accomplices aim at the very heart of the new society. All attempts to belittle the Communist Party's guiding role in the creation and development of socialism, in the building of communism, are incompatible with Marxism-Leninism and constitute a great danger. V.I. Lenin taught us that the working class cannot possibly carry out its guiding role in the creation and development of the new society other than through the Communist Party.

The CPSU's growing role and the intensification of its influence upon all areas of life, which is an extremely important natural pattern in the development of mature socialism into communism, is a significant feature in the Soviet society's development in the contemporary situation. The 26th party congress stressed the fact that right

now, in light of the Soviet people's impressive achievements, the Leninist formula that the party equals the brain, the honor and the conscience of our era is even more profoundly perceived. V.I. Lenin provided thorough justification for the process of steady enhancement of the Marxist party's guiding role in the building of socialism and communism. The leader of the party and the people stressed the fact that its supervision becomes even more complete and deeply rooted with respect to its substance and to the forms and methods of its implementation.

The growth of the party's role in the contemporary situation was brought about by a number of factors: the expanded scope and the increased complexity of the tasks involved in the building of communism, the increased dynamism of this work, the increased creative activeness of the masses, the continuing development of socialist democracy, the increased importance of developing the theory of scientific communism and the necessity of intensifying the communist indoctrination of the workers. When we add to this a number of social tasks arising as a result of the rapidly developing scientific and technological revolution, as well as international problems demanding immediate resolution, one can clearly see the extent to which the sphere of the party's supervision of the socialist society and our nation's interrelations in the world have expanded and grown. These include the continued development and strengthening of the world socialist commonwealth and the struggle to strengthen the unity and solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces, primarily the international communist movement. The intensification of capitalism's general crises and the existence of ultrareactionary, aggressive forces attempting to push mankind into the abyss of a nuclear war urgently demand that well-considered and determined steps be taken to restrain those who would start a new world conflagration. The ideological confrontation between the two social systems--socialism and capitalism--is becoming more and more acute. This is making it necessary to consolidate all forces for the struggle against bourgeois ideology, against attempts by imperialist subversive centers to turn the ideological struggle into a psychological war against socialism and all progressive forces.

The growth of the Communist Party's role and the degree and extent of its influence upon the classes, upon the life and development of the society, depend upon the level of its political, organizational and ideological work. All party organizations, without exception, must thoroughly improve their performance and step up their work, act more and more vigorously and demonstrate the ability to perform the current tasks involved in social development. This is why the 26th CPSU Congress gave these matters the closest of attention and provided a substantive analysis and an extensive program for further developing the party, strengthening the party organizations, increasing their militancy, perfecting intra-party democracy and improving the system for selecting and distributing the cadres and providing them with ideological indoctrination. The November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee concretized the most important principles set forth at the congress as applicable to the contemporary situation and demanded that we increase responsibility in each sector, monitor and verify performance, resolutely eliminate departmentalism and localistic tendencies, overcome inertia and the tendency to retain the old ways, and eradicate all violations of party, state and labor discipline.

As the propagandist completes his presentation of the first topic he should stress the fact that the unity of the party and the people is growing steadily stronger. The CPSU holds sacred the infinite trust of the workers and finds the highest meaning in its work in serving the people, the cause of communism and peace. The unshakable unity of

the party and the people is the guarantee of continued successes for our socialist homeland. "When we say 'the people and the party are one!', "Comrade Yu.V. Andropov stated in his report "The 60th Anniversary of the USSR," "this is a statement of absolute fact that the goals and tasks which the party has set for itself exactly reflect the aspirations and the needs of the Soviet people. And our multi-million-strong people are implementing party policy with their deeds."

2. The Communist Party's Leadership in the Organization of Socialism's Defense in the Contemporary Situation

The realization of the grand plans for the Soviet Nation's economic, sociopolitical and spiritual development are now especially organically linked with the process of constantly strengthening its security. As we accomplish the creative tasks and perfect the socialist society, it is important to always bear in mind the necessity of reliably defending the revolutionary conquests against imperialism's aggressive intrigues. The CPSU is undeviatingly fulfilling the great Lenin's precept to the effect that our advance toward peace must be accompanied by enhancement of our military preparedness. History has taught us this. The class enemies of the new social order have never missed an opportunity to test its strength with weapons. Twice, their aggressive attempts have led to wars in which the Soviet Nation was forced to defend with weapons its right to liberty and independence. And it always emerged victorious. Today, however, the aggressors are again brandishing their weapons and threatening us with nuclear war. This is why the struggle to prevent war, the struggle for peace, on the one hand, and the campaign to strengthen the nation's defense capability and further perfect its entire military organization, on the other, are priority tasks for the Lenin party.

As he thoroughly developed his doctrine on the defense of the socialist homeland, V.I. Lenin gave a great deal of attention to justifying the Communist Party's guiding role in the strengthening of the nation's defense and in the creation and improvement of the Armed Forces as the Soviet state's main weapon in the struggle against the aggressive encroachments of imperialism and its accomplices. At Vladimir Il'ich's initiative the party's guiding role in military organizational development was established in 1982 in the decree passed by the RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)] "On the Policy of the Military Department ." This decree stressed the fact that the policy of the military department, like that of all the other departments and institutions, is conducted from the precise foundation of general directives issued by the party through its Central Committee and under its direct control.

The CPSU's leadership in the matter of protecting socialism and developing and perfecting the Armed Forces is a natural pattern of Soviet military organizational development. Only the party of the communists, which performs all its functions on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, is capable of scientifically resolving the entire group of complex problems pertaining to the socialist homeland's defense and the theory and practice of military affairs. The CPSU Program states that the Communist Party's leadership of the Armed Forces and the enhancement of the party organizations' role and influence in the army and navy constitute the main principle underlying the military organizational development.

The Communist Party's policy reflects the matters of providing peaceful conditions for the creation of communism, for protecting socialism and for developing and strengthening the Armed Forces.

We can identify several main trends in the CPSU's military policy and the party's guiding role in the area of national defense and the protection of the socialist homeland. First of all, there is the scientific development of the defense program. It formulates the most important goals of the defense work and the means of accomplishing them, defines the focuses and outlines measures to ensure the nation's security. This program reflects the theoretical side of the party's military policy. The development of the socialist state's military doctrine is an important element. It incorporates the system of official guiding principles and views on the essence and the nature of a war and means of conducting a war which might be unleashed against the Soviet Union by the imperialists, and on military organizational development and preparation of the nation and the Armed Forces to defeat an aggressor.

The party's military policy covers the resolution of a large number of other vitally essential and complex matters: creating and developing the materials and equipment base for the socialist state's military strength; strengthening and perfecting the combat capability of the army and navy, and enhancing their combat readiness; developing military science and military art; perfecting the system for mobilization deployment; determining the practical balance in the development of services of the Armed Forces and branches of troops, and outfitting them with modern combat equipment and weapons; training and distributing the military cadres, and providing them with Marxist-Leninist conditioning; developing and implementing scientific principles for training and indoctrinating the personnel, and others.

Relying on Leninist doctrine, the CPSU takes into account the nature of the contemporary era, the distribution of class forces in the world, the characteristics of the foreign policy situation, the level of development of our nation's defense capability, the possibilities of likely enemies, the nature of the conflict between the two opposite social systems, and so forth. Its leadership embraces various areas of the society's life, both those upon which the state's military strength depends and the Armed Forces themselves, which embody this strength. We are therefore talking about an entire system of steps to strengthen the nation's defense capability, beginning with the organization of military equipment production, the development of mobilization measures and the preparation of military cadres, and ending with organizational efforts to improve the Armed Forces themselves. Taken together, they define the main substance of the work performed by state agencies and public organizations in the area of defense.

The CPSU looks at the matter of strengthening the nation's defense capability through the prism of the most urgent problem of the contemporary era, the problem of war and peace. In its work we can clearly see the close unity of its systematic struggle for peace and the effort to maintain a state of constant readiness to provide a decisive rebuff for aggression, no matter where it might originate. The party is successfully accomplishing all these diverse tasks. It takes into account the fact that the job of maintaining socialism's armed defense is becoming increasingly complex. The existence of aggressive forces and their increasing activeness demand great vigilance, alertness, the unerring assessment of international events and exceptional circumspect and at the same time, determined, steps to restrain the initiators of a new world war and put a halt to their dangerous adventures.

Despite the lessons of history, reactionary imperialist circles, especially monopolistic capital of the USA and its military-industrial complex, have not rejected their adventurous plans to destroy socialism with armed force. They are doing everything possible to destroy the strategic military balance of power existing between the two

social systems and to achieve military superiority over the USSR and its allies. In this situation the CPSU, while struggling tirelessly for peace, at the same time considers the matter of strengthening the national defense in every way possible and enhancing the vigilance of the Soviet people and their fightingmen to be its prime task.

The tasks of providing reliable security for the state, developing and perfecting the army and navy in accordance with today's requirements are complex and important ones. This is why the Communist Party's role in the organization of socialism's defense and the supervision of military organizational development is now becoming great. The responsibility of the Communist Party, together with the fraternal parties of the other socialist nations, for providing peaceful conditions for our people's advance on the path of progress and for saving world civilization from militant obscurants is increasing.

Party leadership in the matter of strengthening the national defense and in military organizational development is growing as a result of qualitative changes occurring in weaponry. The CPSU is doing everything possible to provide our Armed Forces with first-class military equipment and weapons for repelling any act of aggression. The November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee stressed the fact that the Politburo has considered and continues to consider the matter of providing the army and navy with everything necessary to be absolutely essential, especially in the current international situation.

While giving constant attention to the work of improving the Armed Forces on the basis of the latest scientific and technological achievements, the CPSU still stresses the fact that man has been and remains the main force and the agent of victory in a war. This means that the importance of spiritual and ideological factors, which are developed in the process of political and military indoctrination, is increasing in the matter of building up the combat strength of the army and navy. The party attaches special importance to the matter of improving ideological work in the forces and developing in the fightingmen unshakable communist conviction, loyalty to the concepts of Marxism-Leninism and to military duty, Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and an inner preparedness on the part of every individual to selflessly protect the homeland and the revolutionary conquests of socialism. It points out the necessity of stepping up the indoctrinational role of the Soviet Armed Forces and increasing the glorious traditions of the army and navy, service in which provides a remarkable school of labor and military training, moral purity and courage, patriotism and comradeship.

The party principles for directing the Armed Forces have undergone further development, and the role and importance of party organizations, political organs and party-political work in the forces have become even greater in recent years. Their influence upon all aspects of the life and work of the personnel has increased, and one-man command on the party basis is growing stronger. All of this is contributing to the improved performance of military and political training tasks, to the strengthening of discipline and organization and the enhancement of vigilance and combat readiness on the part of the units, ships and subunits.

Following V.I. Lenin's precepts, the CPSU, together with the fraternal parties of the other socialist nations, is implementing on the international level a coordinated course of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. At the Prague Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact States

(4-5 January 1983), the USSR and its allied socialist nations countered imperialism's aggressive militaristic line with a consistently constructive course of peace, international security and detente. In the Political Declaration adopted at Prague they advanced realistic proposals, the implementation of which would permit mankind to avoid a nuclear catastrophe.

The CPSU is giving the most serious attention to the analysis of experience in the international of socialism and the work of the military Warsaw Pact Organization. Together with the fraternal parties, it is working out recommendations for the further improvement and development of forms of cooperation among the socialist armies and for the strengthening of their unity. Our nations help each other with military equipment, exchange know-how in military organizational development, the combat training of the personnel and their indoctrination in a spirit of socialist internationalism, and conduct joint exercises and maneuvers in accordance with plans of the Joint Command.

As he concludes his presentation of this subject, the propagandist should stress the fact that the good of the people is the purpose of the CPSU's policy and work. In its projections and its specific measures the party demonstrates concern for satisfying the basic vital interests of the Soviet people, concern for the national security and the defense of the workers' socialist conquests. Our people therefore fervently and unanimously support the CPSU's foreign and domestic policy, support it with their deeds, their glorious labor. Fightingmen of the Soviet Armed Forces have the same high aspirations.

It is the sacred, patriotic duty of Soviet fightingmen to be on the alert, to be in a state of combat readiness to repel any act of aggression. As he explains to the students the importance of this constitutional duty of each serviceman, the propagandist should use examples set by the best fightingmen to demonstrate how they conscientiously serve the homeland and why others should learn from them. It is essential to remind the students that as they participate in the socialist competition, each of them is expected to demonstrate persistence, zeal and industry in learning to handle the weapons and combat equipment, and to fulfill his personal commitments. Each fightingman, Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov, USSR minister of defense, has stated, must constantly ask himself how he has fulfilled that day his duty and the military oath he has taken and whether he has done everything possible to enhance combat readiness, especially now, when the situation in the world is becoming more and more alarming.

Soviet fightingmen are filled with resolve to fulfill the demands set by the party and the people and to continue vigilantly guarding the peaceful labor and strengthening the security of the sovialist homeland.

During their hours of independent preparation it is recommended that the students study sections from V.I. Lenin's works "The State and Revolution" ("Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol. 33, p. 26) and "'Left-Wing' Childishness in Communism" ("Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol. 41, pp. 27-32); the Central Committee's report presented by V.I. Lenin to the 9th RKP(b) Congress on 29 March 1920 ("Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol. 40, pp. 240-241); the section on pages 110-112 of the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (articles 6, 31, 32, 62-63); "Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Current Party Tasks in the Area of Foreign and Domestic Policy" ("Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [26th CPSU Congress Materials], pp.

68-72, 75-79); the speech delivered by Comrade Yu.V. Andropov at the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee (PRAVDA, 23 November 1982); the report presented by Comrade Yu.V. Andropov, "The 60th Anniversary of the USSR"; and Chapter 6 of the training aid for political classes, "Our Goal is Communism."

When the subject is discussed in the seminar (or discussion) the students can be asked the following questions: 1. What are the CPSU's place and role in the political system of mature socialism? 2. How is the Communist Party's growing role in the building of communism manifested? 3. What are the main tasks in the CPSU's ideological and organizational work? 4. How is the party's guiding role manifested in the organization of socialism's defense? 5. What factors account for the CPSU's growing role in the leadership of the Armed Forces? 6. What are the main trends in the Communist Party's work to strengthen the USSR's defense? 7. What is the fightingmen's patriotic duty to the party and the people today?

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CSO: 1801/186

THE EMBLEM, THE FLAG, AND THE ANTHEM--STATE SYMBOLS OF THE USSR

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 4, Feb 83 pp 73-78

[Article by Col A. Nikonorov]

[Text] This subject is studied in political classes for soldiers and sailors drafted in the spring of 1983, before the summer training period begins. The material can be used for talks with other groups of personnel.

The purpose of the class is to help the fightingmen gain a deeper understanding of the essence and the importance of the official state symbols of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics--the State Emblem of the USSR, the State Flag of the USSR and the State Anthem of the USSR--and to develop a sense of pride in our great homeland.

One 2-hour (or 3-hour) class is designated for the study of this subject. It should be conducted in the form of a narrative or a lively, extended discussion. It is recommended that the following topics be discussed during the presentation of this material: 1. The State Emblem of the USSR; 2. The State Flag of the USSR; 3. The State Anthem of the USSR.

The students should be told in a brief introduction that every sovereign state has an emblem, a flag and an anthem, which reflect the social and political and the state structure of the specific nation, its dominant ideology, principles and standards. Over the centuries state emblems and banners have depicted lions with open jaws, eagles with open talons and beaks, dragons grinning evilly, crossed lances and arrows, shields and swords, crosses and cannons, swastikas and skulls.... The once awesome British lion had its paw on five continents, suppressing many peoples of the world with it for several centuries. The bald eagle on the U.S. emblem is younger, but it grips a bundle of sharp arrows firmly in its claws, along with an olive branch.

All of these symbols on the emblems of the capitalist states seem to warn us: Watch out!

The matter of instituting a Soviet State Emblem and State Flag came up immediately following the Great October Socialist Revolution. Unlike the emblems and flags of the capitalist states, the Soviet emblem and flag were to personify the new social order, the new world in which previously unknown relationships of unity and friendship

of free nations and nationalities had triumphed, where laboring man had become the master of his life. The hammer and sickle therefore became the main element in the Soviet Emblem and on the Soviet Flag. They symbolize the peaceful labor and attest to the fraternal, inviolable alliance of the workers and peasants.

The emblem and the flag were first described as Soviet state symbols in the 1918 Constitution of the RSFSR. Officially, we did not have a state anthem at that time. The article on the State Anthem of the USSR was first included in the 1977 Constitution of the USSR. This emphasizes its special importance as the official symbol of the Soviet Socialist State.

The Soviet Emblem, Flag and Anthem reflect the nature of the social and political structure of the USSR, the sovereignty of the multi-national Soviet Socialist State, the triumph of communist concepts and the equality, friendship and brotherhood of the workers of all our great state's nations and nationalities. It also underscores the state unity of the Soviet people and expresses the concepts of international solidarity between the Soviet people and the workers of all the world.

1. The State Emblem of the USSR

The presentation of this topic must begin with a history of the creation of our emblem. In the first design the artist depicted a double-edged sword, a symbol to frighten, along with the hammer and sickle. The design was shown to V.I. Lenin. Vladimir Il'ich looked the design over carefully and said: "Interesting!... The idea is there, but why the sword?... A policy of conquest is absolutely alien to us... and the sword is not our emblem." V.I. Lenin took a pencil and emphatically crossed out the sword.

The first State Emblem of the USSR was approved by the Central Executive Committee of the USSR in June of 1923, and it was described in the 1924 Constitution of the USSR.

Using visual aids, the propagandist tells about the State Emblem of the USSR, about how it depicts a hammer and sickle against a background of the globe, in the sun's rays and framed by sheaves of grain, with the inscription in the languages of the Union republics: "Workers of the world, unite!". A five-pointed star is depicted at the top of the emblem.

The main concepts incorporated in the State Emblem of the USSR are also contained in the emblems of the Union and autonomous republics. It should be pointed out to the students that the state emblems of the Union republics have many identical elements and similar features. They are greatly similar also to the State Emblem of the USSR. The emblems of all the republics depict a hammer and sickle and contain the inscription in the national and Russian languages: "Workers of the world, unite!". At the same time, the emblems of the Union republics also reflect the specific features of each republic, of its economy, its natural conditions, geographic location and so forth. They contain elements of a national decorative design.

The autonomous Soviet socialist republics, which are a part of the Union republics, have based their emblems on the emblems of those Union republics, with the addition of the specific autonomous republic's name.

The propagandist must point out the special significance of the State Emblem of the USSR and of the state emblems of the Union and autonomous republics. They are depicted on banners, stamps, official documents, the buildings housing certain state enterprises, institutions and organizations, on money, stamps and so forth. The emblems are placed on the speaker's platforms of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of the Union and autonomous republics, in the lobby of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, on buildings housing the soviets of workers' deputies and on certain badges. The State Emblem of the USSR is also depicted on our Soviet passport.

As the propagandist completes his presentation of the first topic, he should stress once again the fact that in innumerable situations the State Emblem of the USSR meets the view of every citizen of the Soviet Union. The great symbol of our state, it is found on birth certificates, school certificates and VUZ diplomas and on work record booklets. We see it on the state rostrum of the USSR Supreme Soviet. We see it when we cross the homeland's border and when we stand vigilant guard over its boundaries. It authenticates legislative acts of the USSR Supreme Soviet and numerous international treaties of friendship and cooperation with dozens of the world's states. It was sent to the Moon as a symbol of our power, and it has gone as far as Venus....

The word "emblem (gerb)" is translated to mean "heritage." Our Soviet emblem leaves as a heritage to each citizen and to future generations of Soviet people a great and mighty state, the most humane, a state of free and equal Soviet peoples. It is the sacred duty and a matter of honor for the Soviet people to protect and increase its power and glory. After all, the emblem of the USSR is not just a symbol of a great socialist nation, but also a symbol of the dignity and honor of every citizen of the USSR.

2. The State Flag of the USSR

The presentation of the second topic should be started by reminding the students of the fact that the State Flag of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is one of the main attributes of Soviet statehood, a symbol of the sovereignty of the USSR and the inviolable alliance of the workers and peasants in the struggle to build the communist society. It is especially important in matters of international relations and international law. "The State Flag of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," the Constitution of the USSR states, "consists of a red, rectangular banner with a gold hammer and sickle in the upper corner, near the staff, and above a red five-pointed star with a gold border. The ratio of width to length in the flag is 1:2."

The Red Banner has developed in history as a symbol of workers fighting for their rights. The first such banner waved over the barricades of the Paris workers more than 150 years ago, in June of 1832. It was once again raised high over the capital of France in the days of the Paris Commune in 1871. Since then the red banner has shaded the fighters in all the battles waged by people of labor against their oppressors.

The Red Banner was first raised in Russia in 1861 by the rebelling peasants of Penza Guberniya. In 1876, during the first political demonstration by the workers of Petersburg, young worker Ya. Potapov carried it in front of the column as a symbol of the struggle against the autocracy. Revolutionary sailors of the battleship "Potemkin" carried their actions under the Red Banner in June of 1905, and the first May-day and other meetings of striking Russian workers took place under it. The Red Banner waved

over the barricades of the revolution of 1905-1907. In October of 1917 workers, soldiers and peasants, headed by the Lenin party, accomplished the Great October Socialist Revolution under the Red Banner.

Following the October victory the Red Banner became the state flag of the world's first Soviet Nation. And we can say with pride that our flag symbolically expresses the succession in the struggle waged by many generations of revolutionaries of the entire world for a new life, for the freedom of the workers.

The question of a Soviet State Flag was first discussed at a meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on 8 April 1918, and a decree on the flag of the RSFSR was passed by the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on 13 April. This decree established as the republic's flag the Red Banner with inscription: "Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic." A decision to place the new flag of the RSFSR on the building housing the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in the Kremlin was adopted at a meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on 4 October 1918. Since then the Red Flag of the Soviet Nation has constantly waved over the buildings housing the Soviet state's highest agencies of power.

The Statute on the State Flag of the USSR defines the procedure for raising the flag. The State Flag of the USSR is flown over the building in which a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is being held, for the entire time of the session. The flag is constantly flown over buildings housing the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers, buildings housing the presidiums of the supreme soviets and councils of ministers of Union and autonomous republics, and the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies. The State Flag of the USSR is raised over buildings housing Union and republic ministries and departments, over other state institutions and over residential buildings on 8 March, 22 April, 1 and 2 May, 9 May, 7 October, 7 and 8 November. It is also permitted to fly the State Flag of the USSR over these buildings on other holidays and formal occasions.

The State Flag of the USSR is raised over buildings and means of conveyance for our diplomatic representatives, trade representatives and consular facilities in accordance with instructions issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and approved by the USSR Council of Ministers. The USSR Flag is flown on ocean and river vessels and other means of transportation carrying in an official capacity the chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet or the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other individuals representing the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet or the USSR Council of Ministers, as well as diplomatic representatives and consuls--with the agreement of these individuals.

The State Flag of the USSR is flown on ocean vessels registered with ports of the USSR; on vessels sailing the internal waterways of the USSR; and on ships and vessels of the Navy, in accordance with military regulations.

When the State Flag of the USSR is flown together with the state flag of a Union republic, the State Flag of the USSR cannot be smaller than the state flag of the Union republic.

It should then be explained to the students that all of the Soviet Union and autonomous republics also have their own state flags. They are described in the constitutions

of the republics. The main distinguishing feature of the state flags of the republics is the presence of blue, green or white stripes or stripes of some other color on the flags, and sometimes, a national decorative design. The constitutions of the Union republics define the arrangement, the color and the width of the stripes on the flags, and other elements.

Most autonomous Soviet socialist republics, which are a part of Union republics, have based their flags on the flags of their Union republics, with addition of the name of the specific autonomous republic.

The State Flag of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is well known throughout the world. It flies over the diplomatic and consular delegations of the USSR and personifies our state at political conferences, scientific symposiums, international festivals, trade fairs and international exhibits. It is the banner of the new world, where the ideals of socialism are triumphing.

The standards of military units make up a special category of flags. A unit's standard is a symbol of its military honor, valor and glory and is a reminder to every serviceman in the Armed Forces of the USSR that it is his sacred duty to selflessly serve the Soviet homeland, to protect it courageously and skilfully and to defend every inch of native soil against the enemy, sparing neither his blood nor his very life.

V.I. Lenin, the great leader of the proletarian revolution, foresaw the enormous importance of the standards as symbols of the Soviet fightingmen's loyalty to the cause of defending the conquests of Great October. In his appeals to the troops, he called upon the Red Army men and commanders to hold the standards high, to bear them fearlessly forward and to mercilessly destroy the enemies. Fightingmen of the young Soviet Republic fought valorously beneath their standards, which inspired them to perform heroic feats.

During the Great Patriotic War the homeland's armed defenders repeatedly increased the glory of their standards. The propagandist should tell about the legendary defenders of the Brest Fortress, who wrote on the red banner: "We will all die for the homeland, but we will not give up." The Red Flag, pierced by fragments, waved for 500 days over the Shlissel'burgskiy Fortress, inspiring and increasing the strength of the small garrison of Leningrad's glorious defenders.

The Soviet Guard was borne in the fierce engagements with the German fascist invaders in the fall of 1941. In May of 1942 the Guards Banner with a picture of V.I. Lenin on the face was established for the Guards units and formations. By the end of the war more than 500 units, ships, formations and field forces had earned the Guards title.

During the Great Patriotic War tens of thousands of red banners, symbols of Soviet power, were placed on the main buildings of centers of population liberated from the fascist invaders. On 1 May 1945 the Banner of Victory flew over the Reichstag building. It was raised there by Sergeants M. Yegorov and M. Kantariya, valorous scouts.

The Armed Forces of the USSR have the following official flags, in addition to the standards of the military units: the Air Force Flag, the Navy Flag, the Guards Navy Flag, the Red Banner Navy Flag, the Guards Red Banner Navy Flag, the Order of the Cruiser "Aurora" Navy Flag, the jack or fortress flag, the flags of auxiliary, hydrography and rescue vessels of the Navy, the flags of ships and vessels of naval units of the border troops, and others.

It is the honored duty of every serviceman to guard the State and Navy flags in battle, as well as the standards of the military units (or formations). Upon losing the standard the unit commander or the servicemen directly to blame for this shame is tried by court-martial, and the military unit is disbanded.

Loyalty to the standard of the unit and the ship's navy flag is one of the glorious and heroic traditions of the Soviet fightingmen. It was born in the fire of battles fought for the freedom and independence of our homeland and has been continued in peacetime.

The propagandist should remind the students that the awarding of a personal photograph of a serviceman taken with the unfurled standard of the military unit is one of the most honored rewards for a soldier or sailor for successes in the combat and political training or for exemplary military discipline. At this point the propagandist should name the fightingmen of the subunit who have received this award and tell about their patriotic deeds and achievements in the combat training.

3. The State Anthem of the USSR

The instructor should begin the third topic by reminding the students that we greet and accompany every new day in the life of our homeland with the thrilling and triumphant melody and the inspiring words of the State Anthem of the USSR. After this, if possible, the anthem should be played for the students, using technical propaganda equipment. The instructor reads the words of the State Anthem of the USSR:

Unbreakable Union of free-born Republics
Great Russia has welded for ever to stand
Thy might was created by will of our peoples,
Now flourish in unity, great Soviet Land!

Sing to our Motherland, home of the free,
Bulwark of peoples in brotherhood strong!
The Party of Lenin, the strength of our peoples,
To Communism's triumph lead us on!

Through tempests the sunrays of freedom have cheered us
Along the new path where great Lenin did lead.
To a righteous cause he raised up the peoples,
Inspired them to labour and heroic deeds.

Sing to our Motherland, home of the free,
Bulwark of peoples in brotherhood strong!
The Party of Lenin, the strength of our peoples,
To Communism's triumph lead us on!

In the victory of Communism's deathless ideals
We see the future of our dear land,
And to her fluttering scarlet banner
Selflessly true we always shall stand!

Sing to our Motherland, home of the free,
Bulwark of peoples in brotherhood strong!
The Party of Lenin, the strength of our peoples,
To Communism's triumph lead us on!

The instructor then briefly explains the history of anthems, their role and significance. The word "anthem (gimn)" as translated from the Greek means "festive song." There are state, revolutionary, party, military, youth and other anthems. National anthems--officially established musical emblems of independent states--came into being in most nations of the world in the 19th and 20th centuries. Their content reflects the ideology of the various classes, and anthems differ greatly with respect to ideological focus and expressiveness.

During the struggle against the capitalism and the land owners the proletariat created their own anthems--political fighting songs. The "Internationale" is the anthem of international solidarity of the workers of all nations. It proclaims the invincibility of the workers' movement, the inevitable destruction of capitalism and the triumph of communism. The "Internationale" is the party anthem of the CPSU and of many other communist and workers' parties. Until 1944 it was also the State Anthem of the USSR.

The new State Anthem of the USSR (words by S.V. Mikhalkov and G.A. El'-Registan, and music by A.V. Aleksandrov) was first played over the radio on the night of 1 January 1944. The words and music of the State Anthem of the USSR were publicized in periodicals. It was translated not only into the languages of the USSR's peoples, but also into many foreign languages. Reports came in from the Great Patriotic War fronts and from the cities and villages that the anthem was being performed with great enthusiasm in Red Army units and at large meetings of citizens of the Soviet Nation.

The words of the current State Anthem of the USSR were made official by an ukase issued by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 27 May 1977. The State Anthem of the USSR is the anthem of the nation of victorious socialism. This has determined the content of its text, which glorifies the invincible strength of the socialist state, a state based on the friendship of free peoples headed by the great Russian people. In the anthem Soviet man finds the thoughts and feelings with which he lives, works and defends the homeland. The sound of the anthem evokes the image of our glorious homeland. With its melody we seem to mentally embrace our homeland's past, its present, shrouded in glory, and its remarkable future.

The music of the anthem expresses the ideological substance of the text profoundly and wholly. It has absorbed the best traditions of our folk music, revolutionary songs and marches. The State Anthem of the USSR is the musical symbol of the might Soviet state's grandeur and glory. It glorifies the inviolable ideological and political unity and friendship of the Soviet peoples--the source of our multi-national state's insuperable strength. The anthem glorifies Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, creator of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founder of the world's first socialist state and leader of all the workers. The measured words of the anthem depict the Lenin party's guiding and directing work and the purpose of the Soviet society's development--the building of communism.

The propagandist should remind the students that the personnel sing the State Anthem of the USSR on the holidays of 1 May, 9 May, 7 November, Constitution Day of the USSR, anniversaries of the Soviet Army and Navy, the services of the Armed Forces and branches of troops, and on the holidays of units and formations, after the evening roll-call has been completed. The anthem is also sung during the regimental evening roll-call, following the playing of taps.

As he completes his talk on the State Anthem of the USSR, the propagandist should once again play a choral arrangement of the anthem and have an exchange of opinions on what the Soviet people and fightingmen of the Armed Forces of the USSR feel when they hear our national anthem. They might discuss, as an example, the subject of our athletic victories in international competitions, when the State Anthem of the USSR is played and our homeland's State Flag is raised in honor of the winner, who wears a uniform bearing the State Banner of the USSR on the breast.

The instructor stresses the fact that every Soviet individual must know the Soviet Union's anthem.

The presentation of this topic should be ended by reminding the students that the Emblem, the Flag and the Anthem of the USSR symbolize the greatness of the Soviet state. Under these symbols our nation has become the world's largest state, the mighty avant-garde of social progress for mankind and a reliable force for international security. Ukrainians, Belorussians, Latvians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks and members of many other peoples fought alongside the Russians under these symbols in the ranks of the Red Army during the civil war years. The strength of the moral-political unity of the Soviet society and the friendship of peoples of the USSR were severely tested under these symbols during the Great Patriotic War. Under these symbols Soviet fightingmen are vigilantly guarding socialism, prepared at any time to inflict a devastating rebuff upon any aggressor which would dare to violate our peaceful labor.

During the discussion on this subject the instructor can ask the fightingmen the following questions: 1. What do the state symbols--the Emblem, the Flag and the Anthem--mean? 2. How do the symbols of USSR sovereignty differ from the state symbols of the capitalist nations? 3. Describe the State Emblem of the USSR. 4. What concepts are incorporated in the State Emblem of the USSR? 5. Why is the State Flag of the USSR red? 6. Why is the standard of a unit or a naval ship a symbol of military honor, valor and glory? 7. What is the history of the State Anthem of the USSR and what is its purpose?

In order for the students to gain a more thorough grasp of the subject, the popular science and documentary films "A Word on the Soviet State," "The Supreme Soviet of the USSR," "A Union of Equals" and "The Emblem of the USSR" should be shown the evening before the class.

LITERATURE FOR PROPAGANDISTS

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CSO: 1801/186

THE EXPORT OF CAPITAL IN THE SERVICE OF MILITARISM AND REACTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 4, Feb 83 pp 79-84

[Article by Maj V. Adkin]

[Text] As the 26th CPSU Congress stressed, the contemporary international situation is characterized by an intense struggle between the two trends in world policy. On the one side, the Soviet Union and the other socialist commonwealth nations, all the peace-loving forces on the planet, are making an enormous effort to restrain the arms race, strengthen peace and detente and protect the sovereign rights and the liberty of peoples. On the other side, the ruling circles of the imperialist powers, primarily those of the USA, are pursuing a course of undermining detente and accelerating the arms race, a policy of threats and interference in the affairs of others and suppression of the liberation struggle.

In his report "The 60th Anniversary of the USSR," delivered at a joint, formal meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stated: "...every step taken on the path of strengthening peace has been difficult and continues to be difficult to accomplish, requiring an intense struggle against the imperialist 'hawks'. It has become especially acute today, when the most militant groupings in the West have become more active, groupings whose class hatred for socialism gets the best of their sense of reality and sometimes, even their common sense.

"The imperialists are not abandoning their plans for economic warfare against the socialist nations and for interfering in their internal affairs in the hope of weakening their social structure, and are attempting to achieve military superiority over the USSR and all the socialist commonwealth nations."

Reactionary forces of the West are using all sorts of means in their attempt to strengthen capitalism's positions and to undermine real socialism and democracy. The export of capital is far from last on the list of these means.

The export of capital is the movement of assets abroad for purposes of production and the acquisition of monopolistic profits and for obtaining other economic,

military-political and other advantages by exploiting or by creating the conditions for exploiting hired foreign workers. A distinction is made between the export of entrepreneurial capital and the export of loan capital. The export of entrepreneurial capital involves the construction of new enterprises abroad or the purchase of existing ones, as well as joint participation in the operation of foreign enterprises and other undertakings. Today, when the vast majority of large capitalist enterprises have been converted into joint-stock companies, the main method of investing entrepreneurial capital is the acquisition of a certain number of shares (a block of shares). The export of loan capital is accomplished by extending foreign loans, making deposits in current accounts in foreign banks, extending credit for shipments of goods, and so forth.

The export of capital is also broken down according to the ownership of the capital. If the exported capital belongs to a specific capitalist or group of capitalists, then this constitutes the export of private capital. If the owner of the capital invested abroad is a state, then we have the export of state capital, which is mostly in the form of so-called "assistance."

V.I. Lenin pointed out that the export of capital "acquired prominent importance" even before World War I (see "Poln. sobr. soch.," [Complete Collected Works], Vol 27, p 387). It increased in scope as capitalism developed. Long-term foreign investments (that is, investments made for purposes of earning profits) for the main capital-exporting has reached 620 billion dollars by the beginning of the 1980s. The export of capital is the most important element of state-monopolistic capitalism in the area of foreign economic relations. Typically, military-industrial capital is accounting for an increasingly large share of the exported capital each year. The export of military-industrial capital means capital invested abroad directly in the production of weapons and military equipment, as well as in those branches whose products are used directly or indirectly to meet the needs of the armed forces of the imperialist nations. This has resulted in a significant increase in the role of foreign capital in the production of the finished military products and throughout the system of imperialism's military-economic preparations.

At the same time, the specific portion of private capital in the overall volume of funds exported has grown markedly. It now controls 90% of the direct foreign investments of the capitalist nations. This change in the role of private monopolistic capital had to increase its importance within the system of imperialism's military-economic preparations, since the production of weapons and military equipment in the West is concentrated mainly in the hands of private corporations.

The military-political, militaristic trend in the export of capital has increased to an unprecedented degree since the war. At the contemporary stage of capitalism's general crisis, as a result of the change in the balance of power in the world in favor of socialism and of the successes achieved by the national liberation movement, imperialism cannot limit itself to the use of the old methods of coercion and exploitation alone. It is being forced to maneuver, to adapt and resort to more thoroughly disguised methods. The export of capital is the main means of increasing the exploitation of the peoples of other nations and carrying out foreign economic expansion, the main tool of neocolonialism. This is frequently done in order to gain strategic raw materials, to set up military

bases, support allies in the military blocs, stimulate the arms race or interfere in the internal affairs of other states. The export of capital is used for strengthening the system of exploitation and coercion, for the struggle against real socialism and the national liberation movement, for supporting reactionary regimes in various regions of the planet and for suppressing democratic forces in the capitalist nations. V.I. Lenin stressed the following, with good reason: "Capital began to be exported under imperialism... and not simply for the sake of super-profits" ("Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 34, p 368).

The developed capitalist states are the main investment target for foreign capital today. In the mid-1970s around 80% of all the direct foreign investments went to nations belonging to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). This sort of mutual penetration by capital is having a significant effect with respect to accelerating integration processes in the production of the finished military products and with respect to possibilities for the combining of efforts by the imperialist states to stimulate military-economic preparations.

Reactionary imperialist circles are actively utilizing the export of capital to accelerate the arms race. For American imperialism the export of capital during the postwar years was one means of creating and strengthening the NATO bloc and arming its allies in this aggressive bloc, as well as a means of rebuilding the military industry of the Western European nations. Enormous sums in the form of "gifts," subsidies and loans were sent out of the United States to rebuild and strengthen the military-industrial base of the NATO bloc as a tool of imperialist oppression, which the leadership of the USA and other participating nations hoped to use for purposes of dictating their conditions to the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. During the period between 1949 and the beginning of the 1960s the USA exported military-industrial capital (primarily in the form of state "assistance") totalling more than 30 billion dollars, with the bulk of the funds going to the Western European partners of the United States in the aggressive North Atlantic bloc.

At the present time military-industrial capital is being exported in enormous amounts. It would be fairly difficult to determine the exact amount, however, for the bigwigs of military business are doing everything possible for political reasons to conceal the extent of their participation in the production of weapons and military equipment in other nations. An indirect estimate can be made, however, from the fact that the total cost of joint programs of the FRG, England, France and Italy in the area of military scientific research and experimental design work (NIOKR) and military production exceeded 20 billion dollars in 1978, compared with 8.5 billion dollars in 1975. A number of foreign writers have expressed their assumption that by the end of this century, the armies of the NATO nations will be receiving weapons and military equipment manufactured primarily through the use of joint military-industrial capital belonging to the bloc members.

A number of specific features in the export of military-industrial capital are contributing to the expansion of foreign capital participation in the production of weapons and military equipment. First of all, there is the close interdependence between the class interests of the exporters of private and state capital.

By expanding the export of military-industrial capital, they are attempting to increase the quantity and improve the quality of the weapons, to speed up militarization of the capitalist economy for purposes of achieving military superiority over the socialist world, and to preserve and expand the sphere of capitalist exploitation. The exporters of both state and private capital are active in imperialism's military-economic preparations, in the organization of military overthrows and the support of dictatorial regimes.

The high level of profitability from investments in weapons production is one of the features of the export of military-industrial capital, which is contributing to its growth. In the USA, for example, the normal profit from capital invested in the civilian sector is 8-12%, while capital used for the production of finished military products produces a profit of 30-40%. For more than 130 monopolies, which are the Pentagon's leading contractors, the normal profit ranges from 50% to 2,000%! This makes it clear why the sharks of military business are interested in the production of weapons of death.

Another feature of the export of military-industrial capital is the great extent to which military-industrial investments are penetrating into civilian sectors of the capitalist economy. In fact, military production accounts for no more than 40% of the total production volume even for the large military-industrial companies. Products for civilian use make up the other 60%. Consequently, by investing capital in the weapons industry, the foreign investor simultaneously gains access to many sectors of the receiving nation's economy. For example, after acquiring around 9% of the stocks of the West German military-industrial company MBB, the Boeing company, one of the largest American producers of weapons, began to participate in the production of steel, transport equipment and electronics equipment.

The export of military-industrial capital provides access to the most advanced scientific and technological achievements of the nation in which the capital is invested. At the present, the military accounts for around 40% of all the funds invested in scientific research and special design work in the capitalist world. Furthermore, a significant portion of the scientific research of a civilian nature has its primary application in the military sector of the economy. As a result, military products incorporate a higher level of scientific research than any other types of products manufactured by the industries of the capitalist nations. And consequently, the investment of capital in military production makes it possible to take advantage of the best achievements of the foreign military, scientific and technological thinking in the interest of the nation exporting the capital. This factor has become especially important in recent years, when competition among the capitalist nations in the scientific and technological area has become one of the main types of inter-imperialist rivalry.

By setting up the production of weapons abroad, the military-industrial monopolists are able to get around certain restrictions on sales of weapons abroad, thereby increasing their profits and accelerating imperialism's military-economic preparations. For this reason the exporters of military-industrial capital are zealous opponents of detente. This is why they do everything possible to promote the arms race and strive for confrontation with the socialist world.

The fact that military-industrial capital is being used to create inter-state production of weapons and military equipment is especially dangerous to the cause of peace. It is contributing to the creation of the material base for international military-industrial complexes. International joint-stock enterprises are frequently created in the process of implementing joint programs for the production of weapons and military equipment in NATO, for example, which then serve the needs of the armed forces of nations in the bloc. The following, which were created back at the end of the 1960s, are examples of this: Turbo-Union LTD, in which 40% of the capital belonged to the FRG and England, and 20% to Italy; the joint-stock company Avionics Systems Engineering GmBH, with military-industrial companies of those same nations owning the shares; the international Panavia consortium, and a large number of others. The trend toward the conversion of international military-industrial consortiums into relatively stable, long-lasting military-industrial associations has begun manifesting itself more and more clearly in recent years. These are the central element in the development of international military-industrial complexes.

The export of capital is being actively used for providing military-economic support and for accelerating the economic growth of the capitalist nations serving as imperialism's outpost in this or that area of the planet. For example, enormous amounts of foreign capital are channeled into the economic, primarily military-economic, development of Israel, whose importance to the USA and the imperialist nations became even greater after the downfall of the Shah's regime in Iran. Israel, the agent of the aggressive imperialist policy in the Near East, received 2.5 billion of the 8.6 billion dollars allocated by the USA for military assistance and "security needs" last year.

The Republic of South Africa, which is the bulwark of racism in the southern part of Africa, is the recipient of large foreign capital investments. The total amount of capital invested by the West there has reached the sum of 30 billion dollars. Foreign capital is actively supporting the wishes of the South African racists with respect to possessing nuclear weapons. Construction of the nuclear research center at Pelindab, for example, involved capital from the West German firms of STEAH and the Nuclear Research Center in Karlsruhe, the American Allis Chalmers company and the French consortium (Framatom-Spi Batin'ol-Al'stom). The apparent purpose of this support is to maintain imperialist influence on the Continent of Africa with the help of the Republic of South Africa, to neutralize the revolutionary influence of the young national states with a socialist orientation and to retain control over ocean routes from the Near East to the Western Hemisphere, over which a significant portion of the oil so essential to the functioning of the imperialist state's military economy is transported.

The export of capital is frequently used for interfering in the internal affairs of the capitalist nations. In 1975-76, when real prospects for participation in the government by the communists developed in Italy, foreign capital was openly used to pressure the nation. The American Exxon company alone, which has considerable investments on the Apennines peninsula, spent around 50 million dollars in the form of "political contributions" to support the reactionary forces in Italy.

Let us turn to another, more recent example, which involves France. Following the victory for the bloc of leftist forces in the elections conducted in the

spring of 1981, substantial pressure began to be applied against France. Foreign capital did everything possible to complicate the nationalization of such large monopolies in the nation as the (ITT-Frans), (SII-Honeywell-Byull') and (Russel'-Yuklaf), in which monopolies of the USA and the FRG own a considerable portion of the stocks. The socialist government in France, under pressure from the popular masses and the communists, who express their will, is now attempting to limit the export of capital in order to increase capital investments in the national economy and increase employment. Monopolistic circles of the French bourgeoisie are continuing to export capital abroad, however, acquiring enterprises in the USA, Canada and other nations. This is complicating the functioning of the leftist government. The 26th Congress of the French Communist Party noted that despite government attempts to limit the export of capital, the total increased 1.5-fold in 1981. Furthermore, the USA is using surrogate companies to accelerate the export of capital from France, capital which could be invested in the national economy. This is resulting in the closing of enterprises and the continued growth of unemployment. In their attempt to complicate the functioning of the leftist government, the monopolistic bourgeoisie are prepared to bring the nation to a state of economic chaos and ruin, anything to retain the unshakable underpinnings of their domination.

And so, the increasing export of capital and intensification of the political and the strategic military focus in the export of capital are an objective reality in the world capitalist economy. The growing role of this main means of foreign economic activity on the part of imperialist circles is further exacerbating international conflicts, however.

The international intermingling of capital is accompanied by intensification of the competitive struggle among the monopolies. During the second half of the 1970s Western European and Japanese capital began to penetrate increasingly into the U.S. economy. During that period more than 1,000 American companies came under the control of foreign capital each year. By the beginning of the 1980s, as a result, the USA had assumed first place among the capitalist nations with respect to the amount of foreign capital invested in its national economy. Naturally, this created acute dissatisfaction among the American monopolistic bourgeoisie and exacerbated relations among the main centers of inter-imperialist rivalry.

The participation of foreign capital in the production of finished military products is creating serious conflicts among the imperialist states. The Western European military-industrial monopolies are striving for independence from the presently dominant military corporations of the USA. The members of NATO's European group and France banded together in the European Independent Programming Group, whose proclaimed task was that of becoming an equal partner of the USA, instead of a dependent partner, by means of its powerful, joint military industry. In today's situation of social and economic upheavals in the world capitalist economy, this is producing even greater exacerbation of inter-imperialist conflicts, a process to which the policy of dictate conducted by American imperialism even with respect to its own allies is contributing. At the second special conference of the Communist Party of the USA in April of 1982, it was pointed out that Washington is using force "to impose its dictates upon its capitalist partners," as one result of which the "conflicts between the USA, Japan, the FRG and France have become more acute than at any other time since the war."

All of this is confirming with new force the wisdom of V.I. Lenin's words, when he wrote: "...all our enemies, formally linked by all sorts of ties with the world's most powerful governments and representatives of capital, no matter how they are linked formally, have proven to be divided. Their internal ties have actually divided them, pitted them against each other, and capitalist ownership has corrupted them and turned their allies into wild animals..." ("Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 40, p 242).

The liberated nations, which are playing an increasingly important role in international affairs, are the second target of capital investments by the imperialist states. The imperialists are fiercely opposing the strengthening of their political and economic independence. "They are using thousands of ways and means," the 26th CPSU Congress stressed, "in their attempt to bind those nations to themselves, in order to freely dispose of their national resources and to use their territory for the realization of their strategic schemes." One of the methods employed for this purpose is to expand the investment activities of the imperialist monopolies in the former colonies. The export of capital, described by V.I. Lenin as "the ultimate parasitism," constitutes a complex form of exploitation of the peoples in the new national states. It occupies a central place in neocolonialism's strategy, the main goal of which is to keep the developing nations in the world capitalist economic system and to attempt to accomplish the economic and territorial partitioning of the world. The depth to which foreign capital has penetrated the economies of the liberated nations is demonstrated by the fact that the international monopolies control almost 40% of their industrial production and half of their foreign trade.

There are two main trends in the imperialist state's investment policy with respect to the developing nations. In the nations with a socialist orientation imperialism is doing everything possible to hinder any advance along the path toward socialism. Ruling circles of the imperialist states are attempting to use the capital invested in those nations to alter the nature of the sociopolitical structure which is developing there, to bind the new states to the world capitalist economy. The most diverse means of economic pressure are employed. In Mozambique, for example, the Portuguese SIFEL company caused a casting plant to halt operations by removing its personnel. In Angola the former owners of the fish processing plants put the equipment out of operation and drove the fishing fleet out of the port of Mosamedes. Such actions have also been taken against other nations with futures oriented toward socialism.

While formerly, when nations with a socialist orientation emerged the imperialist states ordinarily severed economic relations with them, the approach has now been changed. The monopolistic bourgeoisie are using the export of capital, among other things, in an attempt to penetrate more deeply into the economies of nations with a socialist orientation, in order to establish themselves firmly there and divert those nations away from their chosen path of progressive socioeconomic development.

The imperialist states have a completely different policy with respect to those liberated nations which have chosen the capitalist path of development. The export of capital is used there to strengthen capitalist production relationships, to economically enslave and rob the peoples of those nations and to take over

their raw materials, as well as to draw them into the orbit of imperialism's military-economic preparations and the arms race.

The shrinking sphere of capitalist exploitation, the intensification of the world revolutionary process and capitalism's increasing economic instability are increasingly forcing the exporters of capital not only to worry about today's profits, but also to take steps to preserve and strengthen the positions of the world capitalist system. The export of capital is tying the receiving states to the world capitalist economy. Pointing out the fact that the export of capital is accompanied by the export of capitalist production relationships, V.I. Lenin wrote: "The export of capital is affecting the development of capitalism, accelerating it at an extraordinary rate, in those nations to which it is exported" ("Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 27, p 362).

This is true. Every foreign enterprise in the developing nations is enveloped in a system of subcontracting enterprises, various sales, supply and transportation enterprises, legal, consultative and other agencies and offices. Their creation brings into being a large group of entrepreneurs, managers, officials and stockholders interested in the capitalist path of development for their nation and in retaining their own sources of income. It is primarily the large-scale local bourgeoisie which benefit from cooperation with foreign capital. They share in the acquisition of monopolistically large profits. And so, the export of capital is not only stimulating the growth of the bourgeoisie in the liberated nations, but most importantly, it is intensifying the financial and political influence of national monopolistic groups, which are pushing the development of those nations along the path of capitalism.

With considerable material resources, the branches of foreign enterprises in the new states frequently bribe the top people in the government, make shareholders of them and give the higher ranks well-paid positions in the management of the enterprises. This provides conditions conducive to the functioning of the foreign capital and ultimately, helps to solidify capitalist production relationships.

The export of capital is one of the means used for the economic enslavement and robbery of peoples of the liberated nations. The scope to which their national resources are being stolen is convincingly demonstrated by the following figures: For each dollar invested in the economy of the developing nations in the 1970s, the American monopolies took out more than 4.5 dollars.

We have already discussed the military-economic trend in the export of capital. In the liberated nations every attempt is made to invest it primarily in the mining industry. Around 70% of the private capital invested in the former colonies goes to the 20 nations richest in oil, bauxite, copper and other raw materials of strategic military importance. In the world capitalist economy as a whole 17 concerns control 43% of the iron ore extraction, 10 concerns control 36% of the copper extraction, five control more than 70% of the molybdenum extraction and four control more than 80% of the nickel ore extraction. This prevents the developing nations from fully exercising their sovereignty over their natural resources, results in unequal exchange and reduces the amount of currency received from the sale of raw materials.

Imperialism is actively using the export of capital to draw the developing nations following a capitalist path of development into the military blocs and the arms race. At the beginning of the 1950s the export of state capital in the form of "assistance" was designed to involve a number of liberated nations in the imperialist CENTO and SEATO blocs. At the present time the main task of this assistance, as expressed by the U.S. administration when the government submitted the program for "assistance" to foreign states for the 1983 fiscal year, is "to build up our own defense, help to achieve our foreign policy goals and provide support for traditional American values abroad." And it is no accident that a considerable portion of the foreign capital is going to the developing nations in the form of investments in the military sectors of industry. The liberated states were producing almost no weapons in 1960, but 46 of them now have their own military industry capable of producing certain types of weapons. As a result, an increasing amount of the funds so essential for developing the economies of the former colonies and for improving the standard of living for their people, a significant portion of which live on the edge of poverty, is being spent on the arms race. Between 1960 and 1980, for example, military outlays by the developing states increased from 11.3 billion to 77.5 billion dollars. During this period the gross national product there increased 3-fold, while military outlays grew almost 7-fold. Consequently, the export of capital is contributing to the "export of militarism" to the developing nations, while world capitalism as a whole is being militarized, and military-economic bridgeheads are being created near the centers of international tensions. The latter involves a threat to the cause of world peace.

Furthermore, the "export of militarism" accomplished with the export of capital is making it necessary for the capital-importing states to acquire foreign weapons and military equipment, which many nations of the world are not in a position to produce themselves. This is resulting in the unprecedented growth of world trade in weapons. It is primarily the representatives of military business in the imperialist nations, which earn fabulous profits from the exports and which are therefore interested in expanding this trade. Over the past 30 years the volume of world trade in weapons grew 8-fold. In 1980 the USA alone sold a total of 15 billion dollars worth of weapons and military equipment abroad.

And so, the export of capital, as modern imperialism's main means of international economic exchange, is serving the forces of militarism and reaction and helping to spread and strengthen capitalist production relationships within the world capitalist economy. The export of capital is a tool for enslaving the peoples of the liberated nations and stealing their national wealth. It is at the same time intensifying inter-imperialist conflicts. The growing foreign economic expansion of the Western European nations and Japan involves stepping up the export of capital, and given the reduced sphere of its possible application, this is producing constant conflicts with the American imperialist predators and fierce resistance on the part of U.S. monopolistic capital. "International conflicts are becoming more acute," the 26th CPSU Congress stated, "and the struggle for markets and for sources of raw materials is intensifying." And since imperialism has attempted and is still attempting to resolve these conflicts at the expense of other peoples, first of all, the Soviet Union and other states in the socialist commonwealth, this is further aggravating the already tense international situation.

Speaking at the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed: "Imperialism's aggressive intrigues are forcing us, together with the fraternal socialist states, to concern ourselves, and concern ourselves seriously, with maintaining our defense capability at the proper level." This is making it urgently necessary for the Soviet people and fightingmen of the Armed Forces to enhance their political vigilance in every way possible and to be in a constant state of combat readiness to repulse any aggressor, should one attempt to disrupt the peaceful labor of our people.

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CSO: 1801/186

THE ANTI-POPULAR NATURE OF MILITARISM AND THE FALSE CONCLUSIONS OF ITS PROPONENTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 4, Feb 83 pp 85-89

[Article by Lt Col E. Korsakov, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] Militarism is an inseparable feature of imperialism. Today, it has taken on truly unprecedented scope and has penetrated into all areas of the bourgeois society. Its increased onslaught attests to the continuing intensification of capitalism's overall crises.

The military-industrial complex, an alliance of large monopolies and the military element in the state system, is having an enormous influence upon the development of policy in the imperialist nations. It is the creator and the herald of a policy focusing upon the intensive economic, military-technological, diplomatic and moral-psychological preparation of wars of aggression. The arms race is placing a double burden upon the workers' shoulders--unprecedented military expenditures and increased exploitation.

The militaristic foreign policy of the imperialist states is directed toward the enslavement of other nations and peoples and the perpetration of blatant, violent plunder and thievery, and refined neocolonial exploitation. Imperialism's anti-humane, viscious nature is most clearly manifested in the unleashing of wars and armed conflicts and in its preparations for nuclear war. There can be no winners in a nuclear war, however, as the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact states stresses. It will inevitably lead to the destruction of entire peoples, to colossal devastation and catastrophic consequences for civilization and for life on earth itself.

Even at the beginning of the century V.I. Lenin considered the problem of war and peace to be extremely important, one involving all mankind and the entire world. He repeatedly stressed the fact that war is a development which brings disaster and suffering to peoples. World War I, its scope, the devastating force of the weapons used in the war by the imperialist powers, and the harm done to the population, the economy and so forth, gave V.I. Lenin grounds for concluding that this sort of upheaval creates the danger that the very conditions for the human society's existence will be destroyed ("Poln. sobr. soch." [complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 396).

This conclusion by Lenin is still apt today, at a time when, as Comrade Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted in his report "The 60th

Anniversary of the USSR," the most militant groupings have become more active in the West. Their class hatred for socialism overrides their sense of reality, and sometimes, even their common sense.

Bourgeois ideologists and the bourgeois mass media are doing their best to prove that the West's turn away from detente toward intensification of the arms race was the result of an alledged "Soviet military threat" and of military superiority for the USSR and the Warsaw Pact over NATO.

Assertions of a "Soviet military threat," however, are intended for uninformed people. There have been many examples in history in which the bourgeois has attempted to extricate itself from a crisis by "tightening the militaristic screws" within the nation and stepping up its aggressiveness on the outside. And each time, the agents of imperialism and its apologists have attempted to justify such abrupt zigzagging in the political course on the ideological level by attributing all sins to others.

This is the case today. Imperialism has once again resorted to its old and favorite device of placing the blame for its difficulties on the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, declaring them to be responsible for practically everything occurring in the world. Bourgeois propagandists and the mass media attempt to justify the militaristic orgy in the imperialist nation with claims that the strategic balance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact Organization has been altered in favor of the latter, that the USA has fallen behind the USSR in the area of nuclear weapons. In fact, however, nothing of the sort has occurred. Comrade Yu.V. Andropov has called assertions about a "lag" behind the USSR a deliberate falsehood. Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov, USSR minister of defense, also delivered a fitting rebuff to the bourgeois falsifiers in an interview with a TASS correspondent.

The abandonment of detente by the largest imperialist states is nothing other than a class reaction by the bourgeoisie to the strengthening of socialism's positions, to the successes achieved in the peoples' national liberation struggle, to the increasing democratic, progressive changes occurring in the capitalist world itself. Imperialism's aggressive circles, the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out, have actually set themselves the goal of achieving the unachievable, of placing a barrier onto the path of progressive changes in the world, of regaining their role as controllers of the destinies of peoples.

"The USA," Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of defense, states, "has elected anti-Sovietism, the suppression of national liberation movements, destabilization of the situation in the socialist commonwealth nations and the undermining of socialism as a system in general, as the basis of its foreign policy course." There are numerous indications of this. They include the creation of military bases, the formation of the so-called "Rapid Deployment Force"--an instrument of the policy of foreign intervention--an attempt to prevent the development of the world revolutionary process by propping up reactionary regimes, politically, economically and militarily, the pitting of developing nations against each other, and the threat of direct military intervention in various regions.

The anti-socialist, anti-Soviet focus of the policy pursued by militaristic circles in the USA has especially intensified in recent years: the propaganda campaign of

provocation surrounding events in Poland, the dissemination of deliberately false accusations that the USSR and other socialist nations are encouraging "international terrorism" and the taking of economic "sanctions" against the Soviet Union.

Having set out on its course of confrontation with the USSR, Washington is attempting to involve other nations in its adventures, to transfer the burden of military expenses to them. "In order to share the costs with others and at the same time, to bind its NATO partners more securely to it," the CPSU Central Committee's Accountability Report to the 26th party congress noted, "the USA is attempting to expand the functions of that bloc. Washington strategists would clearly like to draw dozens of other states into its military preparations, to entangle the world in the web of its bases, airfields and weapons depots."

This picture is brought out, as an example, by the decision made by the USA and NATO to deploy American cruise missiles and Pershing II missiles in a number of European nations, against the will of the peoples of those nations. Washington's allies in the North Atlantic bloc are thus being made nuclear hostages of the USA. This is one of the most dangerous consequences of travelling in Washington's militaristic path. It is in the interest of the European peoples for Europe to travel the path outlined at Helsinki and not the path imposed upon them by militaristic circles of the USA and NATO.

The militaristic trends in the policy of the USA and other imperialist states are also manifested in the increased military expansion in various areas of our planet. Washington has declared the Near East, Africa and the Indian Ocean to be the area of "vital interests" of the USA--that is, areas rich in oil, uranium, non-ferrous metals and iron, and occupying important strategic positions. As the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out, the war machine of the USA is vigorously penetrating into those areas and planning to remain there a long time.

U.S. Army and Marine subunits have intruded into the Sinai and have shown up on the coast of Lebanon under the flag of "peacemaking." Ships of the American Navy are in the Indian Ocean. A powerful aircraft carrier group is in readiness on the approaches to the Persian Gulf. The USA is also using islands belonging to Oman. Preparations are being made in Somali, on the island of Diego Garcia and in other areas for the possible arrival of the American "Rapid Deployment Force." Centcom--the Pentagon's recently created "Central Command"--is in command of this entire American war machine.

Intrigues aimed at splitting up the nonalignment movement have been stepped up. A vicious campaign has been launched against Iran for purposes of isolating Iran and forcing it to abandon its independent, anti-imperialist course. At the same time, the USA is attempting to use Pakistan as its regional police force in place of the Shah's regime, which collapsed in Iran. For this purpose Washington is supplying Islamabad with weapons and combat equipment and attempting to gain the use of its territory for building military bases for the "Rapid Deployment Force." The USA is urging Pakistan, whose territory is being used for infiltrating counterrevolutionary bands into Afghanistan, to totally reject the political adjustment of its relations with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Militarism has become the main obstacle to social progress in the imperialist states themselves. How can the bourgeois ideologists speak of any sort of political freedom, any sort of democracy, in the West, if the most important political problems, the problems of war and peace, are resolved in great secrecy from the popular masses there and are directed against the interests of the workers, if militarism is a means of attacking democratic rights and liberties, persecuting progressive political parties and arranging for violence against their leaders by fascist and neo-fascist parties and groups, if parties and paramilitary groups with a fascist bent are operating in several dozen capitalist states and organizing international alliances?

The irreversible nature of the progressive changes occurring in the world is forcing Washington's reactionary, militaristic circles to engage in adventuristic attempts to wipe out or at least halt these changes by force of arms. In the area of propaganda, however, American militarism claims the role of savior of capitalism's entire system from its ultimate collapse. It is no accident that the militaristic orgy on the Potomac has taken on unprecedented scope at this time, under the administration of R. Reagan.

The real key to the understanding of this was provided at the 26th CPSU Congress, which directed attention to the shrinking sphere of imperialist domination in the world. Finding its positions weakening universally in the world, forced to retreat before the onslaught of the national liberation movements and losing the battle for the hearts and minds of people, the USA is mobilizing all its means and putting all its reserves into play to prevent the advance of history, to regain its lost positions. Every time Uncle Sam sees a threat to its interests, it therefore grabs the militaristic club and brandishes it crazily, endangering the fate of peace over the entire planet.

Even some sober-minded American legislators understand the danger of this course. G. Crockett, a member of the U.S. Congress, as an example, has condemned Washington's blatant militaristic course: "In Lebanon we took the side of Israel, when it used American weapons for attacks against Beirut, and helped to create the climate in which the tragedy of Sabra and Shatila occurred. In the Falkland crisis we provided England with intelligence and weapons, instead of promoting talks. In Africa the U.S. policy toward the Republic of South Africa has set our relations with the nations of 'Black Africa' back at least 10 years. The most frightening aspect of Reagan's policy is its confrontation approach to American-Soviet relations and his insane reasoning about the possibility of victory in a nuclear war." Instead of taking the path of peaceful resolution of international conflicts, Crockett stresses, the USA has selected the path of military solutions over and over again.

And so, militarism is especially clearly manifested in the foreign policy of the imperialist states in the attempt by the most reactionary circles and the military, which do not want to accept the historically conditioned changes occurring in the world, to alter the balance of power in their favor with the use of weapons. The recklessness with which they are striving to achieve this goal is resulting in the intensification of tensions in the world and pushing mankind to the brink of a nuclear world war.

Militarization of the economy is the nucleus of the course pursued by ruling circles of the imperialist states, primarily those of the USA, toward a power confrontation with the Soviet Union and with the socialist world. Military production in the imperialist nations has become one of the most parasitical forms of movement on the part of state-monopolistic capital.

Enormous funds are being diverted into preparations for and the initiation of aggression. The amount spent on the arms race since the end of World War II alone has reached the monstrous sum of more than 6 trillion dollars. The draft federal budget of the USA for the 1984 fiscal year, which President R. Reagan recently sent to Congress, reflects the extreme militarism of the current Washington administration and its anti-popular policy in the socioeconomic area. The largest item is made up of allocations for military purposes, the "ceiling" for which will be raised to 280.5 billion dollars in the next fiscal year. This exceeds the military outlays for the current fiscal year by 35 billion dollars.

In the situation of scientific and technological revolution, which is opening up unprecedented possibilities for improving the lives of the people, for the development of their intellectual capacities, monopolistic capital is applying most of the scientific discoveries and enormous material resources for military purposes. Imperialism's attempts to militarize science, to make it serve reactionary and aggressive purposes in its entirety is bringing the threat of dangerous consequences for mankind.

Large outlays for research in the area of modern weaponry and combat equipment are retarding the development of the peace-oriented sectors of the economy. Assertions by western propagandists to the effect that a reduction in defense allocations will have a negative effect upon technological progress, since, they would have us believe, the engine driving that progress is scientific research in the military field, do not hold up under criticism.

In a number of NATO nations, along with the military-industrial complex, people have recently speaking of a "military-intellectual complex." An entire system of institutes, laboratories and scientific research centers is engaged in "scientific" research for military departments. The colossal war machine in the imperialist states, in the words of Marx, continues "to resemble that repulsive pagan idol, which did not want to drink nectar from anything but the skulls of dead people."

For many years bourgeois ideologists have attempted to prove that the development of military production has a stabilizing effect upon the economy. A special "theory" was even put into play, by means of which hired hacks of the military-industrial complex attempt to instill in the minds of the masses the thoroughly false slogan of "prosperity through armaments." In fact, however, the military economy, which has expanded to unprecedented dimensions in peacetime, is swallowing up enormous resources to the detriment of the workers' interests. This is increasing the cost of living and the tax squeeze and is bringing a reduction in social programs.

In order to satisfy the growing appetites of the military-industrial complex, the Reagan Administration has sacrificed more than 250 social programs during its 2

years in power. Hundreds of thousands of people are without work. The already meager outlays for medical assistance, education and the construction of housing for the poor have been cut even further.

According to the UPI, the government intends to cut allocations for domestic programs by another 228 billion dollars during the period between fiscal years 1984 and 1988. Funds allocated for the development of energy and agriculture, for urban and regional development, education and so forth, are also being cut in the budget for the next fiscal year. Only the Pentagon is untouched by the "conservation of funds."

Certain bourgeois ideologists assert that new jobs are created by increasing military outlays and consequently, expanding the production of weapons. This, they say, reduces unemployment. Such "concepts" are obviously false. American economists have calculated that a reduction of only 8 billion dollars in the Pentagon's allocations would result in the loss of 254,000 jobs. If this amount were applied in the civilian sector, however, 542,000 jobs could be created. This means that the number of unemployed people in the USA could be reduced by 288,000 as a result of such a redistribution of funds. Each billion dollars invested in the production of weapons of death means the loss of 10,000-20,000 jobs.

The bourgeois sociologists remain silent about the fact that the militarization of the economy and the unrestrained arms race are robbing not only the present generation, but future generations as well. The imperialists, however, are not concerned about the fact that their descendents will have to pay for the arms race, for its ruinous effects with respect to energy, raw materials and food, its ecological and other consequences.

The socioeconomic consequences of militarism are especially dangerous for the developing nations. Weapons account for half of the imports of manufactured goods into those nations--and this, at a time when 1.5 billion people do not have access to medical care; 570 million are suffering from malnutrition and 3 billion people do not have adequate drinking water. Hunger, poverty and the absence of any sort of prospects in life are producing a multitude of tragedies and contributing to the growth of violence and crime, alcoholism and drug addiction.

The course toward military expansion and the achievement of military superiority, which is being conducted by the USA and other NATO nations, is determining the ideological trend in militarism, which is attempting to step up the ideological-political and psychological war against socialism.

Modern wars are conducted by large armies, which have to be prepared both materially and ideologically for the wars. The imperialists could not count on success in a war without misleading the people. "One cannot lead the masses into a pre-daceous war," V.I. Lenin stated, "and count on their enthusiastic participation" ("Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 34, p 197). The more reactionary the motives behind a war, the more violently imperialist propaganda rages, the more militaristic intoxication it demonstrates and the more it advocates violence. By means of pseudo-scientific racial, psychological, ethical, biological and other theories, the bourgeois ideologists are implanting in the minds of the masses the conviction that wars are eternal and inevitable in the life of human society, regardless of

the social system. Military preparations, the existence of aggressive blocs and the growth of military allocations are justified for this purpose. Militarism's apologists assert that the arms race is a natural reaction to the "aggressiveness of world communism," that the NATO and the Warsaw Pact nations are equally to blame for the continuation of the arms race. Imperialist propaganda is confusing the issue, however. Arms races were always begun and imposed upon mankind by imperialism. If this depended upon the Soviet Union alone, there would be no nuclear weapons on earth, and there would not be the development of more and more new weapons of mass destruction. Nothing would threaten that highest right of mankind, the right to a peaceful life.

In the opinion of militarism's ideologists, who proceed from the "scare" concept, peace should be based on a "balance of fear." The Soviet Union and the other socialist nations take a completely different position. Peace based on mutual fear does not appeal to us. We prefer a peace under which the weapons level is constantly reduced and the scope and forms of cooperation in all areas grow and improve.

Anti-communism, which has been elevated to the rank of state policy on the part of the imperialist powers, is the ideological-political foundation of militarism, of the forces of aggression and reaction. It is the central task of militarism's "theoreticians" to keep propagandistic slogans about "communist aggressiveness" in the mind of the bourgeois society. They attempt to justify the infamous American doctrine of "limited nuclear war," monstrous plans for carrying out "first," "preemptive," "demonstration" and other nuclear strikes upon the USSR and the other socialist nations, and plans to achieve victory over them in a nuclear war.

And what about the dangerous plans for deploying in a number of NATO's Western European members so-called "Euro-strategic weapons" capable of delivering nuclear strikes against targets in the Soviet Union and other socialist nations? They are presented in the disguise of hypocritical statements about the "equalization of military capabilities," about the "updating of the armaments" of the North Atlantic bloc and about the "offsetting" of Soviet SS-20 missiles in Europe. Not a single bourgeois newspaper, however, has said anything about the fact that the U.S. decision to begin the production of "Euro-missiles" was made not after, but several years before the Pentagon or NATO began expounding on the SS-20.

Bourgeois propagandists, following orders from the monopolies and the military, shun no methods or means in their attempt to distort and defame the USSR's peace-loving foreign policy. The answers provided by Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov, USSR minister of defense, to questions put to him by a TASS correspondent give an objective picture of the real balance of military power in the modern world and how it is developing, and of the worth of the myth about the so-called "Soviet military threat."

The implantation of reactionary militaristic, anti-humane, misanthropic concepts, theories and views is helping to shift the political axis of public life in the western nations to the right, to instill in the minds of the masses the thesis about the need for all-round preparation for a war against world socialism, employing the latest types of weapons and military equipment. The armed forces of

the imperialist states are an object of special focus for the instilling of the militaristic ideology. Malicious anti-communism constitutes the basis for the ideological processing of their personnel and of the society as a whole.

NATO 's propaganda agencies are intensively involved in brainwashing the youth, students, the members of labor unions and instructors at higher educational institutions in the NATO countries under specific programs. The imperialists are attempting to militarize public life at all levels, beginning with the family and the system of preschool education, and ending at the state, the national level.

Secret surveillance is set up over the thoughts of the people and the activities of progressive parties and organizations, files are kept on them, their telephone conversations are tapped, and so forth. A climate of suspicion and isolation is thus created, which is naturally detrimental to the progressive forces. The scope of the ideological activities engaged in by militaristic circles of the imperialist nations is constantly growing. Entire "think tanks" have been created in the USA to meet the needs of the military, for example, which operate on subsidies from the Pentagon. The Pentagon and NATO apply great pressure upon the mass media and have their own powerful propaganda machinery.

And so, imperialism is attempting with even greater persistence than before to rely upon military force as the instrument of its policy. Militarism is rooted in the very nature of imperialism, in its class and economic nature. Reactionary imperialist circles are stepping up preparations for war. "Recently," the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact states stresses, "they have launched an extensive campaign against the socialist nations, against the national liberation and other progressive movements, the goal of which is to justify the policy of confrontation and the arms race, disregard for the independence of various states, interference in their internal affairs, the complication of conditions for their economic development and opposition to the detente process." This policy is anti-humane, because it is contrary to the legitimate, universally recognized rights of all peoples and nationalities--first and foremost, their right to life.

World socialism, the international communist and workers's movement and the national liberation forces are performing the primary role in the struggle against militarism and war, the struggle to protect peace. The power and solidarity, unity and activeness of these forces and the strengthening of the movement for peace and against the threat of nuclear war contain the prerequisites for preventing such a war and restraining militarism.

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