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TRANSLATIONS ON USSR POLITICAL
AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS
(FOUO 3/79)



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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ON NATIONAL LIBERATION WARS

Moscow NATSIONAL'NO-OSVOBODITEL'NYYE VOYNY NA SOVREMENNOM ETAPE (National Liberation Wars At the Present Stage) in Russian 1977 signed to press 17 Feb 77 pp 1, 2, 158, 159, 3-12, 148-157

[Annotation, table of contents, introduction and conclusion from book by Col Yevgeniy Ivanovich Dolgopolov, Voenizdat, 30,000 copies, 159 pages]

[Excerpts] The book reveals the basic concepts of Marxist-Leninist teachings on national liberation wars as one type of war of the present era; it examines various methods and forms of national liberation struggle at various stages of the general crisis of capitalism. Much attention is paid to analyzing just wars against imperialist colonizers for liberation from colonial oppression, to defend democratic victories, freedom and national independence. A significant place is given to criticism of bourgeois, reformist and revisionist concepts of armed assault during the course of national liberation revolutions. The book is intended for a wide range of readers.

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Introduction. The present era is characterized by sharp confrontation of the forces of peace, freedom and progress, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialist reaction and aggression, on the other. In recent years, the alliance between the three basic revolutionary forces of today -- socialism, the international worker movement and the national liberation struggle of peoples -- has broadened and been strengthened, and their influence on the entire international situation has increased significantly. The general crisis of capitalism has continued to deepen and has become more strained, and the world imperialist system has been weakened even further.

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The national liberation movement, a component of the world revolutionary process, has been elevated to a new level. V. I. Lenin repeatedly stressed the inseparable bond between socialist revolution and the national liberation movement of oppressed peoples. This bond is especially perceptible in our day. The Great October Socialist Revolution laid the foundation for the world socialist revolution and struck a heavy blow to the imperialist system. It overthrew the exploiter society in Russia, smashed the chains of national slavery, pointed out paths to genuine freedom to its peoples, and instilled in them faith in the victory of their own just cause. The Nation of Soviets has become for all humanity a reliable stronghold of social progress, peace and security.

V. I. Lenin placed high value on the worldwide, historical importance of Great October. "...The socialist revolution will be not just or primarily a struggle of revolutionary proletariats in each country against their own bourgeoisie," he said, "but a struggle of all colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, of all independent countries against international imperialism." History has graphically confirmed Lenin's brilliant foresight.

The capitalist colonial system has existed for more than four centuries. It was born and grew on the soil of unrestrained capitalist exploitation, of constant wars of plunder, of the enslavement and robbery of other peoples. The oppressed peoples never reconciled themselves to harsh exploitation or to their deprivation of rights. They fought the colonizers stubbornly for many long years: armed insurrections broke out, the partisan movement was developed and there were wars of national liberation. However, the forces of the combatants were far from equal, and the imperialist colonial system continued its ignominious existence for a long time.

The Great October Socialist Revolution caused a crisis in the colonial system and roused the oppressed peoples to active struggle for their liberation, a struggle which first breached the colonial system. However, on the whole, imperialists succeeded in preserving the colonial system, and individual capitalist states even managed to increase their colonial holdings.

The disintegration and collapse of the colonial system of imperialism began only after World War II. The victory of the Soviet state and its armed forces over fascist Germany and militarist Japan facilitated the rise and successful conclusion of socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries, resulting in the formation of the world socialist system, and the balance of forces in the world arena changed sharply in favor of socialism and the entire liberation movement.

All this predetermined the framework of the national liberation movement and inspired the oppressed peoples to struggle resolutely against colonizers and internal reaction. A mighty wave of uprisings and national liberation revolutions rolled through Asia, Africa and Latin America. The rotten colonial

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 327.

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system of imperialism crashed down under the headlong pressure of the masses. Dozens of young sovereign states arose in place of former colonies.

Apologists for imperialism attempt to misinterpret the revolutionary liberation process and its worldwide historical importance. They have created a fallacious theory of decolonization and try to represent the formation of young independent states as a unique result of the activity of the colonizers who, they say, have for many years gradually drawn these countries out of darkness and ignorance into the light of civilization and have allegedly given them the gift of independence.

Life implacably refutes these fabrications. Imperialists never voluntarily rejected colonies until they were driven out by force. To the contrary, even after the collapse of the colonial system, they resorted to various forms of neocolonialism and direct coercion in order to preserve their dominion in the liberated countries, to hold them within the capitalist economic system.

The downfall of the colonial system of imperialism was a serious blow to the colonial powers, their economies, and especially their military-economic rears. In the past, the bourgeois states exported quite a bit of strategic raw material for military industry from the dependent countries, made extensive use of their cheap manpower, and mobilized the indigenous population into their own armed forces. Now the imperialists' situation has changed radically. They no longer have free access to the natural resources, territory and human resources of the former colonies. Moreover, whereas previously the colonial troops were often an instrument of usurpacious imperialist policy, the armies of many young states have now become a significant force in the anti-imperialist struggle and guard vital national interests.

However, the downfall of the colonial system of imperialism has not signified the total elimination of colonialism. Imperialists are in no way ready to reconcile themselves to defeat in the colonies and continue bitter resistance to progressive development of "Third World" countries. "In the struggle against the national liberation movement, imperialism stubbornly defends the remnants of colonialism, on the one hand, and on the other, it tries to hinder through neocolonialist methods the economic and social progress of the developing states, of countries which have won national sovereignty. In order to do this, it supports reactionary circles, brakes the elimination of backward social structures, and strives to hamper development on the socialist path or a progressive, noncapitalist path which holds socialist promise. Imperialists foist economic agreements and military-political pacts on these states, which infringe upon their sovereignty and exploit them by exporting capital, through trade conditions not based on equal rights, through price manipulation and a policy of currency, loans and various forms of so-called 'assistance' and pressure by international financial organizations."¹

1. "Mezhdunarodnoye Soveshchaniye kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy. Dokumenty i materialy. [International Conference of Communist and Worker Parties. Documents and Materials], Moscow, 1969, pp 287-288.

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Thus was neocolonialism described by the 1969 International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. Events of ensuing years have convincingly proven its accuracy. Imperialists have tried every means available to pressure young states, to penetrate their economies, and have used various forms of coercion to interfere in the internal affairs of other peoples. They unleashed military conflicts and wars, reactionary revolutions, subversion of liberated countries and, in so doing, have created an atmosphere of tension around the globe.

The aggressive intrigues of imperialist aggressors have obligated peoples to be vigilant and ready at any instant to defend by arms the victories won, to repulse the onslaught of reaction. "Revolutionary constraint of exploiters in response to force on their part," the 'Theses of the CPSU Central Committee in Connection with the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution' point out, "is a sacred right of people who have taken up the struggle for their own social liberation."¹

The guiding documents of the CPSU and of the 1957, 1960 and 1969 International Conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties provide a thorough analysis of the national liberation movement and define ways and means of resolving immediate tasks in light of specific historical conditions.

After winning political independence, many countries expanded the struggle for national liberation into a struggle against both feudal and capitalist exploiter relations. Problems of the national liberation movement at the present stage were widely and comprehensively discussed at the 25th CPSU Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the CPSU Central Committee report, in speeches by congress delegates and representatives of foreign communist, workers' and national democratic parties. In the Party Central Committee Accountability Report, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted the major advances made in domestic life and foreign policy in young states following the 24th CPSU Congress, which is largely to be explained by the growth and strengthening of their ties with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. "This means a shift in the center of gravity of industrial development to the state sector," said L. I. Brezhnev, "the elimination of feudal land ownership, nationalization of foreign enterprises aimed at establishing effective sovereignty by young states over their own natural resources, and the development of cadres of their own."²

1. "50 let Velikoy Oktyabr'skoy sotsialisticheskoy revolyutsii. Postanovleniye Plenuma TsK KPSS. Tezisy TsK KPSS" [50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. CPSU Central Committee Plenum Decree. CPSU Central Committee Theses], Moscow, 1967, p 11.
2. L. I. Brezhnev, "CPSU Central Committee Report and Routine Party Tasks in the Area of Domestic and Foreign Policy" in "Doklad XXV s'yezdu KPSS 24 febralya 1976 goda" [Report of the 25th CPSU Congress on 24 February 1976], Moscow, 1976, pp 13-14.

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An important role in resolving these tasks belongs to the working class and its ally, the peasantry, to all progressive patriotic forces, which are becoming increasingly convinced that building a new society is impossible without a stubborn struggle against imperialism and local reaction, without persistent strengthening of their own political self-reliance, an independent foreign policy, and economic and cultural cooperation with socialist and other fraternal countries. It requires fundamental socioeconomic transformations in the interests of the workers, limitation and complete eradication of foreign monopolistic capital, the formation and development of their own large-scale industry, agrarian reforms and consolidation of small-scale production in urban and rural areas, improvement in the culture and standard of living of the population, and democratization of social life. All this will facilitate growth in the numbers and political maturity of the working class and its allies, of their influence on the course of events.

The successful implementation of complex new tasks and overcoming the economic and cultural backwardness inherited from the colonizers assume but one path, towards socialism through noncapitalist development. It was just such a path which was pointed out to peoples by K. Marx and F. Engels, the founders of scientific communism, in their day. In 1920, V. I. Lenin noted with regard to the new historical conditions that backward countries can move towards socialism "by-passing the capitalist stage of development"¹ with the assistance of the proletariat of leading states. Today, the experience of many liberated peoples confirms the great Lenin's foresight. They are the vanguard of the contemporary national liberation movement and exert a great positive influence on the populations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, on their struggle for a bright future.

However, in certain "Third World" countries power has been seized by various bourgeois and landowner strata. They are directing development along a capitalist path, which is foreign to their peoples and which does not deliver the workers from deprivation of rights, exploitation, unemployment, hunger, poverty, or political and social inequality. It is no accident that dissatisfaction with the existing order is growing among the masses here, that the class struggle is growing sharper and deepening. In turn, internal reaction, with outside support and governed by the old imperialist colonizers' principle of "divide and conquer," is intensifying its assault on the vital interests of the people, suppressing any progressive patriotic movements, stirring up enmity and conflict among different national, ethnic, religious, tribal and linguistic groups, and threatening national independence and newfound freedom.

The imperialist powers try to draw young states into aggressive military-political blocs and to keep military bases in key regions as outposts to combat the national liberation movement. Imperialists maintain their own troops in a number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Moreover, special mobile units equipped with special military arms and equipment for

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 41, p 246.

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conducting combat operations in particular regions have been created. At the same time, quite a few of the imperialists' calculations are linked to the young armies; they attempt to subordinate them to their own influence, supply them with equipment and weapons on preferential terms, send military "advisers," and "help" develop military cadres. The officers of certain liberated countries are often trained in the USA, England and other capitalist states or at their military bases locally.

The reactionary forces of imperialism are betting on the military machine to combat the national liberation movement, in spite of a number of major defeats in recent years (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Angola). They continue to strengthen and improve that machine, to generalize and widely disseminate experience in waging local wars and other forms of suppression of popular resistance to the colonizers.

In a majority of the young states, the national liberation movement is led by communist or national democratic parties. Communists persistently favor rallying the progressive patriotic forces into a united anti-imperialist front, of bringing the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution to an end and gradually evolving it into a socialist revolution.

Thorough study of the national liberation movement at the present stage, of its peaceful and military forms, is of important significance. The development of this movement over the past 30 years testifies, first of all, to the fact that many countries have achieved political and national independence as a result of a skillful combination of peaceful and military methods of opposing imperialist colonizers and local reaction in strict conformity with the objective, specific historical situation, with the balance of forces and top-priority tasks.

Second, after a new power has been established, the struggle of the liberated peoples is still far from complete. Imperialist colonizers and their accomplices do everything they can to turn back history, to revive colonialism. They exert economic, political, ideological, diplomatic and military pressure on the developing states and organize military campaigns against them. All this obliges peoples to display revolutionary vigilance, to perfect their defense capabilities, to be constantly ready to defend their victories and to repulse the intrigues of imperialist aggressors.

Third, in many countries of socialist orientation one observes important changes in the relationship of class forces which were a united anti-imperialist, anti-feudal front in the first stage of the national liberation revolution. Certain bourgeois strata begin to vacillate and brake the further advance of the revolution during the course of radical socioeconomic transformations. Under these conditions, solidifying the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, rallying young people, women, students, the intelligentsia, urban middle-level strata, democratic army circles, and all patriotic progressive forces takes on special meaning.

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Fourth, the class struggle has been aggravated extremely in countries moving along the capitalist path or not yet liberated from colonial dependence. The national liberation movement here is very intense; it takes on diverse forms and often expresses itself in armed collisions between exploiters and the oppressed masses.

In the latter half of 1976, the national liberation movement in South Africa was especially intensified. The flames of the popular struggle against colonialism and racism which burst forth on 16 June in Soweto jumped to other Republic of South Africa regions. Popular disturbances and demonstrations many thousands strong enveloped the largest industrial centers of the Republic -- Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban and others. The demonstrators demanded elimination of the apartheid system and racial discrimination, equal rights for Africans and whites, elimination of demeaning racial laws, and democratization of political and social life. Barricades were erected in the streets of many cities.

These and other facts testify to the onset of a new stage of the national liberation movement in South Africa, one which includes not only the peoples of the Republic of South Africa, but also the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe. The attempts by imperialist colonizers and racists to paralyze this movement have suffered one defeat after another.

Fifth, the ideological struggle between patriotic progressive forces and reaction in the young states is deepening. Imperialist neocolonizers and their accomplices are attempting to falsify the national liberation movement, and especially the armed struggle of peoples against colonizers and their accomplices, to whitewash the grasping policy of the imperialist states, to remove from them the blame for unleashing wars against freedom-loving peoples, and to sow lies and slander against the socialist countries supporting the just struggle of peoples for their liberation and progressive development. Apologists for imperialism try to ideologically disarm participants in the national liberation movement, to undermine their faith in their own strength and bright future. Neocolonialist intrigues of imperialist reaction and its anti-communist propaganda are finding support among revisionists of the right and "left" who are, through schismatic policies, causing great harm to the national liberation movement. This is why it is necessary to tirelessly unmask the enemy's ideological intrigues and increase the activeness of anti-imperialist propaganda.

As a result of the formation and strengthening of the world socialist system, of the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, and of the increased role of the liberated countries in international affairs, the sphere of imperialist diktat and coercion in the world arena has been narrowed. But imperialism remains imperialism, with the aggressive, grasping essence and neocolonialist tendencies inherent to it. A long, difficult struggle therefore still remains between the proponents of peace, freedom and progressive development and those who would turn back the clock and ensnare the young states with chains of a new colonial slavery.

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The aim of this work is to reveal the role of armed force in the national liberation struggle of peoples, to analyze in depth the social nature and the basic forms and methods of conducting national liberation wars and the conditions for their successful, victorious conclusion, to criticize bourgeois, reformist and revisionist concepts of armed force in course of revolutions of national liberation at the present stage.

Conclusion. Marxism-Leninism views wars of national liberation as one form of the national liberation movement and reveals in depth their dialectical interrelationship with other methods of struggle of peoples for genuine independence and social progress. National liberation revolutions, like socialist revolutions, are generated by very sharp antagonistic contradictions in capitalist society. The use of peaceful or nonpeaceful means of resistance to the colonial yoke by the broad masses of people is determined by the specific internal situation, the actual balance of political forces, and the nature of the actions of the exploiter classes.

The historical experience of the national liberation movement proves the importance of comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis of the objective and subjective prerequisites of the revolutionary situation in any given country, whose level of maturity influences the choice of the means and forms of the liberation struggle. Moreover, it is necessary to give careful consideration to external factors which facilitate or hinder the victory of the revolution.

The national liberation movement is an integral part of the world revolutionary process and is directly linked to its development. Never before has the course and outcome of the struggle in a given country been so dependent on the balance of class forces in the international arena as it is at present. The basic conflict of our era -- between socialism and capitalism -- will in the end determine the fate of humanity. It has the most direct bearing on the development and forms of resolving all other social conflicts, including those between the imperialist states and the peoples who have thrown off foreign oppression or who have not yet freed themselves from colonial dependence.

The facts indisputably bear out that the growth and strengthening of the political, economic and military might of the world socialist system and the upsurge in the international communist and workers' movement have steadily weakened the position of imperialism, facilitated the development of the national liberation movement in "Third World" countries, and broadened opportunities for the relatively peaceful achievement of political sovereignty. At the same time, events in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Angola, the Near East and a number of other regions of the globe have proven that armed struggle continues to be an important means of overthrowing the dominion of colonizers and dictatorial puppet regimes, of defending revolutionary victories. This form of the liberation movement will not have been exhausted so long as the danger of imperialist aggression continues.

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Marxism-Leninism requires a concrete-historical approach to the question of the forms and methods of struggle.¹ It teaches one not to limit himself to the forms of the revolutionary process possible and existing at a given moment, and not to make any up, but only to generalize, organize and impart awareness to those methods which are generated of themselves during the course of the revolutionary movement under the influence of concrete conditions and social interplay.

The communist and workers' parties of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, led by Marxist-Leninist tenets, have never tied their hands with any single form of struggle. They have anticipated both peaceful and armed development of national liberation revolutions and have prepared themselves to combine various methods of expanding and intensifying them in accordance with concrete circumstances.

Marxism-Leninism delimits precisely the general and particular features inherent to national liberation wars as one of the basic types of just wars. National liberation wars are combined with civil wars and with wars to defend socialist victories, first and foremost to resolve the tasks of liberating peoples from oppression and exploitation and to serve the goals of historical progress. At the same time, the general democratic nature of the national liberation movement determines its specific features.

As a sociohistorical phenomenon, national liberation wars are distinguished by an organic interweaving of sociopolitical and military elements.

Elements of the first group encompass questions of the social content of national liberation wars, that is, they express most substantively what permits singling out national liberation wars as an independent type of just war. Sociopolitical factors are typical both of national liberation wars in the form of popular uprisings and of wars by independent national states against imperialist aggression.

Elements of the second group include methods of conducting national liberation wars, forms of military organization, operational tactics, and so on, are also largely determined by elements of the first group, which is manifested primarily in their large-scale, nationwide character. At the same time, they depend on the opportunities available to the oppressed peoples for engaging in armed struggle with colonizers and local reaction, and they acquire specific outlines in particular varieties of national liberation wars.

The content of national liberation wars is comprised of a mass movement of broad strata of the indigenous population against the foreign yoke and for national sovereignty, with a unique combination of national and social factors. In the modern era, as the facts bear out, the proportion of social factors has steadily increased. This is entirely natural, since a united national democratic front under the leadership of the working class or of

1. See: V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 14, pp 1-2.

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revolutionary democracy evolves during the course of armed resistance to colonizers and internal reaction. It is not only anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in orientation, but also anti-capitalist in a broad sense, and it puts forward the tasks of radical socioeconomic transformations.

The close, organic interweaving of national and social factors is exhibited particularly graphically in the Vietnamese people's years-long war against American imperialist aggressors. "Having creatively applied Marxist-Leninist teachings under Vietnam conditions, our party raised high two banners -- of national democratic revolution and socialist revolution -- and united the scope of the movement for national independence with the might of socialism for maximum mobilization of the entire people, of our entire country, to the struggle," said Le Xuan, First Secretary of the Vietnamese Workers' Party Central Committee, at the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. "It united the nation's forces with the revolutionary forces of today, internal forces with international ones, and used all manner of contradictions within the enemy's ranks. In so doing, enormous, unified might was created for achieving victory over the aggressor. Our party relied on two forces -- the political organization of the masses and the revolutionary armed forces, combined armed struggle with political and diplomatic struggle, combined a popular uprising with revolutionary war, implemented a constant offensive strategy, and in so doing were able to achieve victory step by step, forcing the enemy step by step to de-escalate, so as to thus gain complete victory."¹

The growth in and might of the world socialist system helps "Third World" peoples win and defend political independence and use new opportunities for radical socioeconomic transformations, for progressive, onward social development. Attempts by imperialist aggressors to restore former regimes, to revive colonialism in some particular form, have encountered a firm rejection by the broad masses of people. Each country which stands up for its sacred right to freedom and independence can count with confidence on the solidarity of the entire socialist community, a factor of worldwide historical importance and a practical embodiment of the Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism. The all-around political, economic, diplomatic and military support of the Soviet Union, other fraternal socialist countries and all the progressive forces of the world of fighters for freedom will in the final end make the colonial military adventures of imperialism hopeless.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the forces of aggression and militarism are still far from having been rendered harmless and continue to be actively at work. This demands that people be constantly prepared to reject every machination by imperialist reaction. "Peace is yet to be for millions of people on our planet," said L. I. Brezhnev in his speech at the World Congress of Peace-Loving Forces in Moscow. "They are forced to fight with force of arms against imperialist aggressors and their accomplices, against

1. PRAVDA, 26 February 1976.

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the arbitrariness of the usurpers, for their own freedom and independence, for the elementary right to be the masters of their own homes."¹

Marxist-Leninist teachings on war serve as the methodological basis for recognizing the patterns of armed struggle for national and social liberation. Thorough Marxist-Leninist research on the methods and forms of conducting national-liberation wars and the conditions for their victorious conclusion permit rousing the broadest strata of the population to fight imperialists and local reaction resolutely, using the most appropriate combat methods and procedures, and comprehensive consideration of the internal and external factors which will facilitate the successful development of the national liberation movement. All this will in the end ensure victory in the cause of the national and social liberation of peoples.

Armed struggle with imperialist colonizers, in no matter what form, must be viewed not in isolation, but as closely linked to a concrete historical circumstance, to the status of the large-scale revolutionary movement. Its success will depend in decisive measure on how carefully and thoughtfully it has been prepared and organized, on how firmly one relies on the revolutionary upsurge of the broad strata of the population in the revolutionary situation.

The communist and national democratic parties of the liberated countries take into account the fact that imperialism will embark on every adventure aimed at undermining the unity of the revolutionary forces. They therefore are unwaveringly attentive to the political, military and psychological preparation of the masses for various forms of armed resistance to colonizers and local reaction and strengthen party influence in the army so as to involve patriotically and democratically inclined servicemen on the side of the people.

Marxist-Leninist teachings are a most important means of ideological struggle in the international arena. They reveal the true reasons for the rise of national liberation wars, which are hidden in the aggressive-colonizer policies of imperialism, and they permit the convincing and well-reasoned unmasking of the ideological sabotage by imperialism against the national liberation movement, attempts to camouflage the aggressive essence of criminal actions against freedom-loving peoples. Marxism-Leninism scientifically proves the bankruptcy of bourgeois-reformist, pacifist and all other revisionist theories and views which falsify the national liberation movement.

Careful Marxist-Leninist analysis of the just nature of armed struggle by peoples against colonial oppression and the high-principled CPSU and Soviet Government policy regarding national liberation wars facilitate developing a spirit of proletarian internationalism among Soviet servicemen. Tireless

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rechi i stat'i" [The Leninist Course. Speeches and Articles], Moscow, Vol 4, 1974, p 332.

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unmasking of the aggressive, reactionary essence of local wars of imperialism and their danger to the world at large has the most direct impact on increasing the vigilance and combat readiness of the Soviet Army and Navy.

Marxism-Leninism reveals the prospects of national liberation revolutions. The process whereby the colonial system of imperialism collapses is irreversible, and no neocolonial methods or armed coercion whatsoever is capable of restoring the dominion of the colonizers over the liberated peoples.

Peoples are concerned that the historical process of national and social liberation proceed peacefully, without military conflicts and collisions which are fraught with high human and material losses and which harbor threats to world peace. This requires of fighters for national and social progress great vigilance and the constant unmasking and isolation of imperialist aggressors in the international arena.

Problems of the national liberation movement, of strengthening cooperation with young states and increasing their role in peaceful development were broadly reflected in the work of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted in the Central Committee Accountability Report to the congress that the fraternal solidarity between the USSR and the entire socialist community is facilitating radical shifts in the internal life and foreign policies of countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke.

"It is impossible to glance at a map of today's world," said L. I. Brezhnev, "without noting how greatly the influence of states which were quite recently colonies or semi-colonies has become."

"One can say with certainty that a majority of them have remained opposed with increasing energy to imperialism by insisting on their political and economic rights, striving to secure their own independence, and raising the social, economic and cultural levels of development of their peoples."

"The foreign policies of the developing countries have become appreciably more active. This is manifested along many lines -- in the political line of the nonalignment movement, in the activity of the Organization of African Unity and various economic associations created by the developing countries. It is already clear that, given the present balance of world class forces, the liberated countries are quite capable of opposing imperialist diktat, of achieving just economic relations, that is, ones based on equal rights. It is also clear that these countries' contribution to the general struggle for peace and security of peoples, already considerable, quite possibly will become even more influential."

"We emphasize once again from the forum of our own congress that the Soviet Union fully supports the legitimate strivings of the young states and their resolve to rid themselves completely of imperialist exploitation, to dispose themselves of their own national riches."¹

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Otchet...politiki," p 15.

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At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, 103 delegations from communist, workers', national democratic and socialist parties from 96 countries attended the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Many of them represented peoples which had quite recently broken free of imperialist colonial slavery, who had won political independence in a long, stubborn struggle, who had created sovereign states and embarked on the elimination of the consequences of colonialism, foreign capitalist enterprises, on radical socioeconomic transformations in the interests of the workers. In their speeches at the 25th CPSU Congress the delegates shared their experience in hard, complex battles with imperialist colonizers and local reaction and spoke of the progressive changes within their own countries in recent years. They expressed profound gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet state, to the entire socialist community, for their fraternal moral and political support, their economic and military assistance to the national liberation movement.

The collapse of the colonial system has not diminished, but has made even sharper the struggle between the reactionary forces of imperialism and the peoples which have embarked upon the path of independent development and social progress. Imperialism continues to oppose the national liberation movement, to interfere in the internal affairs of the young states by relying on counterrevolutionary elements and by unleashing military conflicts and wars.

"The experience of the revolutionary movement in recent years," L. I. Brezhnev noted in the report at the 25th CPSU Congress, "has graphically shown that if a real threat to the dominion of monopolistic capital and its political proteges arises, imperialism goes all out, discarding all pretense of any democracy whatsoever. It is prepared to trample on both state sovereignty and all legality, not to mention humaneness. Slander, the stupefaction of the community, economic blockades, sabotage, organizing famine and ruin, bribery and threats, terror, organizing the murder of political officials, fascist-type pogroms -- such is the modern counterrevolutionary arsenal which always operates in league with international imperialist reaction. But all this is in the final analysis doomed to failure. The cause of freedom and progress is invincible."¹

In directing primary efforts at attaining the central task of averting a nuclear world war, it is important to succeed in eliminating all other displays of force or threats of force in international relations, to give people the opportunity to solve problems of their own internal development, to choose their own socioeconomic and political systems, without any outside interference whatsoever.

The CPSU Central Committee Decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" notes that imperialism has not reconciled itself

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Otchet Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS i ocherednyye zadachi partii v oblasti vnutrenney i vneshney politiki," p 37.

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to the loss of its dominion in the new independent states; it hopes that by using neocolonialism it can continue to exploit these countries, to control their economic and political life. However, countries freed from the dominion of the colonizers are strengthening their independence and accelerating economic, technical and cultural progress. Democratic and revolutionary forces speaking out consistently from anti-imperialist positions and striving for radical social transformations are growing stronger. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the decree states, are rendering the developing countries comprehensive support in their struggle to implement their own legitimate strivings to rid themselves completely of imperialist exploitation, to use their right to manage their own destinies themselves.

The most important Marxist-Leninist tenets on the nature of the national liberation movement and national liberation wars were further developed creatively in the program documents of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the international communist and workers' movement. These tenets are of enormous theoretical and practical importance to the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They point out the path towards strengthening the friendship and solidarity of peoples for genuine national liberation, full and final destruction of the last foci of colonialism, for establishment of fraternal relations which will facilitate the free and progressive development of all countries and the maintenance of peace on earth.

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NATIONAL

OVERALL DEVELOPMENT OF TERRITORIES DISCUSSED

Alma Ata IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK KAZAKSKIY SSR, SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK, In Russian No 2, 1979 pp 1-7

[Article by R. S. Sakiyeva: "Ensuring the Overall Development of Territories--An Important Task of the Local Soviets of People's Deputies"]

[Text] Developed socialism which is characterized by a powerful economic base and a deepening intra-state economic integration objectively gives rise to the growing role of the Soviets of People's Deputies in accomplishing the most important social and economic tasks. The Soviets have sufficient material and political means which make it possible for them to effectively exercise state authority on the territories subordinate to them.

Showing constant concern for the Soviets, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union orients them toward a more active participation in the accomplishment of the tasks of communist construction in the country. One of these tasks is the overall development of territories. This problem was also important during earlier periods of Soviet power, since an overall development of the territories which are subordinate to the Soviets has always corresponded to the urgent needs of a developing socialist society. For this reason, the demand for an overall development of the territories which are subordinate to the Soviets has been elevated to the rank of a constitutional norm.¹

V. I. Lenin points to the necessity for an overall development of all territorial formations in his work, "On the Food Tax." He noted that help for the central apparatus "has to come from the localities, from the grass roots, from the model organization of a small 'whole,' but precisely a 'whole,' that is, not from a single form, not from a branch of the economy, not from a single enterprise, but from a total of all economic relations, from the total of economic turnover, albeit of a small locality."²

The problem of the overall development of a territory is touched upon to one or another extent in the works of Soviet jurists, economists, and workers in local agencies of authority.³ At the same time, many of its aspects have not found a sufficient theoretical interpretation. In the

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present article an attempt is made to investigate certain questions which are connected with the role of the local Soviets in providing for the overall development of the territories subordinate to them.

The problem of providing for the overall development of a territory which is under the management of local Soviets is the result of the very essence of the socialist economy with its territorial division of labor. And the course aimed at an expansion of the authorities of the local agencies of authority in the sphere of the economy and of socio-cultural construction is also directed toward ensuring the overall development by them of their territories. A territory which is subordinate to a local Soviet has to be a compact integrity in which all of the elements of the economic and social sphere are closely interconnected and mutually supplementary. In order for an administrative-territorial unit (kray, oblast, city, rayon) to be a single socio-economic complex it is necessary to establish a close coordination between all of the branches of the economy and, above all, of the specialized, auxiliary, and service branches.

The maintenance of the activities of the local agencies of authority in providing for the overall development of their territories is influenced by the fact that on the territories of the local Soviets are located enterprises, organizations, and institutions of diverse subordination: some are under the management of agencies of the Soviet Union, others are under republican management, while still others are enterprises of local subordination. In solving their production problems, enterprises and organizations of superior subordination may sometimes lose sight of the essential interests of a territory. In such a case, basing itself on the rights granted to it by law, the local Soviet has to seek to achieve a consideration of the interests of its own territory as well as of state interests. But since until the present time the efforts of branch and territorial agencies have not been united to the necessary extent and there has been no single opinion regarding the solution of the problems affecting the specific interests of a local population, the process of the development of territories as single socio-economic complexes has been difficult. The laws on local agencies of authority which have been adopted in recent years, and also the new USSR Constitution and the Constitutions of the Union Republics give the local Soviets the direct task of providing for the overall development of their territories. For this reason, it seems to us that the Soviets should make wider and fuller use of the rights given to them by law.

Before speaking about the factors which determine the necessity for an overall development of a territory which is subordinate to the local Soviets, it is necessary to consider the very concept of the overall development of a territory, especially since there are several definitions of it both among jurists and economists. S. V. Solov'yeva writes: "The decisions of the CPSU and the new laws on the local Soviets which have been adopted in accordance with them are an important basis for increasing the role of the Soviets on all levels in the overall development of territories--the coordination of common social, political, and economic tasks of a state, branch,

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and territorial character."⁴ A more concrete definition is given by Ye. I. Korenevskaya: "The overall development of a territory is one of the mandatory conditions for increasing the efficiency of the economy, and it is provided for, in particular, by means of improving the economic activities of local agencies of authority and, first of all, developing their plan coordination functions."⁵

Economists give a definition of overall development in application to an economic region. Thus, V. V. Kistanov notes: "The overall nature of an economic region means a planned, relatively many-sided, and harmonious development of the economy on the basis of national economic specialization, with strict proportionality, and with close and stable interrelations between all of the branches and economic sub-regions for periods. The overall development of an economic region accords with the most important requirement of economic construction--the achievement in the interests of society of the greatest results with the smallest expenditures."⁶

Consideration is also merited by the authors of the book, "The Planning of the Overall Development of the Economy of an Oblast, Kray, and ASSR," who believe that "by the overall development of an economy we should understand a formation based on an economically substantiated use of the material, natural, and labor resources of a system of proportionally developed branches of material production and of the non-production sphere which performs definite functions in the country's social production with maximum national economic effect."⁷

All of the above cited definitions do, undoubtedly, reveal the content of the overall development of a territory (administrative unit, economic region), but it seems to us that a clarification of this concept is necessary. In our opinion, the overall development of a territory which is subordinate to local Soviets is the attainment of the kind of development of administrative-territorial units in which they are formed as single economic complexes with a correct specialization and an expedient siting of industrial and agricultural enterprises; it is the fullest, active, and efficient use of the natural and raw material and labor resources of the given territory; the elimination of one-sidedness and disproportions in the development of the branches of the economy; and it is the fullest consideration of local conditions and interests and the provision for the needs of the local population. Only this kind of development will make it possible for administrative-territorial formations to fulfill the task set for them by the state and to achieve the necessary proportionality and harmoniousness in the development of the production and the non-production spheres.

The economic factor is one of the main factors which determines the necessity for the overall development of a territory.

The state of the country's economy as a whole is determined by the correct organization of the economies of the administrative-territorial nations and it depends upon the harmonious work of all of the industrial,

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agricultural, transportation, and trade enterprises and other objects which are located on the territory of one or another administrative-territorial unit.

Diverse branches of the economy are developed in relation to the availability of a natural and raw material base and of labor resources on the territory of the local Soviets. In its turn, the development of branches depends upon a correctly selected specialization and determines the overall development of a territory. A local agency of authority is interested in the correctness of the selection of the specialization of branches on its territory for which there are favorable conditions. And since overallness is above all the harmonious development of the economy on the basis of economic specialization,⁸ the local agency of authority sees to it that along with the specialized branches, auxiliary branches and service spheres develop in correct proportion with them on the territory.

It has to be emphasized that the competence of local Soviets to select specialization is applied basically to the branches of local economy. Meanwhile, the overall development of a territory is greatly influenced by the activities of enterprises of superior subordination, and local agencies of authority are not indifferent to how correctly the specialization of one or another branch has been selected, if only because these enterprises use local raw materials and because a certain quantity of the output produced by them goes for satisfying the needs of the local population, and a certain part of the profits allotments of these enterprises goes into the budget of the local Soviet.

The tasks connected with a correct specialization and siting of industrial and agricultural enterprises which are set by the Laws on the Local Agencies of Authority determine an overall and maximum use of local resources and eliminate a wasteful attitude by these enterprises toward the local natural and raw material base.

Basing itself on its own natural and geographic conditions and on the resources of its territory, at the present time any administrative-territorial unit may be a single socio-economic complex. The purely industrial and rural oblasts and krays which did not justify themselves have been eliminated, and there are now no grounds for a one-sided development of administrative-territorial units.⁹

Practice shows that if the basic branch in a region is agricultural and if there are no grounds for the development of industry, the local Soviet of People's Deputies strives to create on its territory agricultural output processing enterprises and a wide network of institutions connected with services for the population, and also to make use for these purposes of the waste products of enterprises of superior subordination. For frequently enormous funds are expended on long-distance hauls of goods in order to satisfy the needs of a local population, while the raw materials from which the given articles are produced consist of the waste products of enterprises

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which are frequently discarded because they are not needed by production. V. V. Kistanov is correct in noting: "The overall development of an economy does not require the mandatory creation in a region of all of the branches of industry, but presupposes a definition of the ways to make the best use of all of its labor resources and means of production."¹⁰

In order for rayon, city, or oblast to meet the requirements of overallness, it is necessary to have the development of all branches in close interconnection not only with related branches, but also within the territory on which they are located. It is the task of the local Soviets not to permit the isolated development of branches of the economy and of culture and to ensure the kind of rational combination of them under which the necessary proportionality would be maintained between industrial and agricultural production and cultural and domestic services for the population. Only with the correct composition of plans for the social and economic development of territories which are becoming increasingly widespread can this task be accomplished.

Enterprises of superior subordination have an important influence on the state of the economies of administrative-territorial units. For this reason, the coordinating function of the local Soviets is becoming more important. A. I. Kazannik writes: "The appearance and development of the coordinating function of the local Soviets is a result of the objective necessity for combining the branch and territorial principles in managing the economy. It promotes the proportional development of the economy on the territory subordinate to the local Soviets. As a result of the performance by the local Soviets of their coordinating function, the corresponding administrative-territorial unit appears as a single socio-economic complex which occupies a specific place in the social system as a whole."¹¹ The role of the coordinating function in ensuring the overall development of a territory is also noted by Ye. I. Korenevskaya who sees the solution of this problem in the development of the planning and coordinating functions of the local Soviets.¹² Only a differentiated performance of coordination with respect to enterprises of superior subordination to the extent and in the amount permitted by the status of a given Soviet will make it possible to accomplish the task of the harmonious development of a territory. In Article 4 of the Law on the Rayon Soviet of the Kasakh SSR it is stated that the rayon Soviet coordinates and controls the activities of all of the enterprises, institutions, and organizations located on the territory of the rayon with respect to residential and municipal construction, the construction of social and cultural and domestic facilities, the production of consumer goods and of local construction materials, the development and realization of measures in the field of improvements, trade, public catering, public education, health care, and culture, and in other fields connected with services with the rayon's population.

The content of the activities of the local Soviets to ensure the overall development of their territories is influenced first of all by the size of the territory, the size of the population living on it, natural and

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geographic conditions, and the economic potential of the administrative-territorial units. Let us take, for example, an oblast which is an integral socio-economic complex. The task of the oblast Soviet is to ensure the close coordination and developmental proportionality of all of the branches of the economy on its territory. The requirement for ensuring overallness also applies to rayon and city Soviets whose specific nature, in contrast to oblast Soviets, springs if only from the fact that the scope of their activity is somewhat narrower. PRAVDA has noted regarding the overall development of cities: "The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress devote substantial attention to the problem of the overall formation of cities and provide for a number of measures for their further economic and social development. It will be necessary to improve the quality of construction, of architectural solutions, and of the economical nature of construction, to plan and build housing in a complex with facilities from the sphere of services, public health, education, and so forth. In order to successfully accomplish these tasks the city has to be regarded as a single economic complex. In other words, the principles of branch and territorial management have to be skillfully combined."¹³

It seems to us that the use by local agencies of authority of all the rights granted to them by law will make it possible to properly accomplish the task of ensuring the overall development of territories and to bring about the reality that administrative-territorial units become definite economic complexes.

The harmonious development of a territory is impossible without a consideration of territorial factors. No matter how great the results of the work of enterprises located on the territory of a Soviet may be, if consideration is not given to territorial factors it is difficult to achieve overall development. The very existence of a specific territory on which all of the production facilities and service facilities are based, the availability on a given territory of natural and raw material and labor resources, and the habitation there of a specific body of population with specific interests--this entire complex of territorial factors has to be an object of attention first of all from the local agencies of authority, and also from the organizations and enterprises located on the territory.

All production and non-production facilities, regardless of their departmental subordination, are obliged to make efficient use of the natural and raw material resources of a given area. They are strictly controlled by the local Soviets of People's Deputies. The local agencies of authority should give attention to the establishment of control over the use of labor resources, and also to the elimination of unnecessary population migration. Toward this end, the local Soviet, in close contact with enterprises of both local and superior subordination, strives to create the necessary conditions for the work and habitation of people on the given territory: it constructs residential facilities, cultural and educational, school, and pre-school institutions and it creates a network of enterprises, schools, hospitals, children's, and cultural and educational institutions.¹³

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One of the tasks facing the local Soviets is the satisfaction of the ever growing needs of the local population. Toward this end, the Soviet controls the fulfillment of the plan for the production of consumer goods at enterprises, regardless of their departmental subordination. Thus, for a number of years the plan for the production of consumer goods was not fulfilled in the City of Irkutsk; only the establishment of the necessary control by the city Soviet helped to find additional reserves, to improve the quality of the goods being produced, and to eliminate those shortcomings.¹⁶

An important means of ensuring the overall development of territories is a correct combination of territorial and branch planning, and also the establishment for local Soviets of the right to independently decide upon the questions of the joint use of those resources which are allocated by enterprises for social and cultural construction.¹⁷

Support should be given to the proposals being expressed by both scholars and practical workers concerning an expansion of the rights of the local Soviets in the field of planning and with respect to the use of the resources of enterprises for social and cultural needs, and also the necessity for expanding the budgets of the local Soviets through allotments of up to 10% of the above-plan profits of enterprises of superior subordination. These proposals should receive the appropriate reflection both in the Laws on Oblast (Kray) Soviets and in the Regulation on Socialist Enterprises and the Regulations on Ministries and Departments. In addition, the latter should specify what kind of responsibility is borne by enterprises and organizations for violating one or another point of the law on local Soviets.¹⁸ This will serve as one of the guarantees for the achievement by the local Soviets of an overall development of their territories.

The process of the development of any region has a dynamic character. It also has its own difficulties. The development of a single methodology for composing overall plans for the economic and social development of territories, the skillful application of the rights which have been given to the Soviets, and also an efficient cooperation between the local agencies of authority and the enterprises and organizations of superior subordination will make it possible to successfully accomplish this task.

FOOTNOTES

1. "USSR Constitution," Moscow, 1977, p 147.
2. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 43, p 234.
3. "The 25th CPSU Congress and the Problems of the Theory of State Law," Moscow, 1977; "Important Theoretical Problems of a Development of State Law and Soviet Construction," Moscow, 1976; I. A. Azovkin, "The Local Soviets in the System of Agencies of Authority," Moscow, 1971; A. I. Kazannik, "The Coordinating Function of the Local Soviets of

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Worker's Deputies," Irkutsk, 1974; V. V. Kistanov, "The Overall Development and Specialization of the Economic Regions of the USSR," Moscow, 1968; Ye. I. Korenevskaya, "The Combination of Branch and Territorial Aspects in the Planning and Coordinating Activities of the Local Soviets," SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No 9, 1976; P. Paskar' "Accomplishing the Main Task," SOVETY DEPUTATOV TRUDYASHCHIKHSYA, No 2, 1976; "Planning the Overall Development of the Economy of an Oblast, Kray, ASSR," Moscow, 1974; S. V. Solov'yeva, "The Role of the Local Soviets in the Overall Development of a Territory," SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No 12, 1976; K. S. Sheremep, "The Increased Role of the Local Soviets in Economic and Social and Cultural Construction," Moscow, 1967, and others.

4. S. V. Solov'yeva, op.cit., p 55.
5. Ye. I. Korenevskaya, op.cit., p 81.
6. V. V. Kistanov, op.cit., pp 6-7.
7. "Planning the Overall Development of the Economy of an Oblast, Kray, ASSR," p 19.
8. V. V. Kistanov, op.cit., p 6.
9. The reasons for the elimination of such formations are quite fully reflected in the book, "The State Legal Status of the Oblast Soviets of the Kazakh SSR," Alma-Ata "Nauka," 1976, p 24 and following.
10. V. V. Kistanov, op.cit., p 8.
11. A. I. Kazannik, op.cit., Irkutsk, 1974, p 6.
12. Ye. I. Korenevskaya, op.cit., p 81.
13. PRAVDA, 13 November 1976
14. The local Soviets do not always actively struggle to see to it that an increase in the number of production facilities is supplemented by a corresponding increase in the number of cultural and domestic, trade, medical, and other facilities. Such serious shortcomings which lead to labor turnover and decrease production efficiency have been noted in the work of certain rayon and city Soviets of People's Deputies of Taldy-Korganskaya Oblast. See: "The Current Archive of the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences. Fund of the Local Soviets, 1977." Such cases are not isolated ones. For this reason it is essential to establish a business-like cooperation between enterprises of superior subordination and local agencies of authority. The skillful use by the latter of their coordinating and control functions will promote the harmonious development of the

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production and non-production spheres.

15. A. V. Petrov and E. A. Manukyan, "An Improvement of Organizational Work: The Practice of Moscow's Soviets," SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No 1, 1977, p 54.
16. PRAVDA, 25 June 1977.
17. See: "To Improve the Work of the Soviets. A collection," Moscow, 1978; B. Ivanov, "In Accordance with the Constitutional Norm," SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV, No 6, 1978, p 16; V. Grigor'yeva, "Reserves for Planning," SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV, No 12, 1977; "On the Question of the Competence of the Kray and Oblast Soviets," SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No 1, 1978.
18. A positive experience in solving these problems has been gained in the GDR where the local Soviets actively coordinate the capital investments of enterprises of various departments (See: IZVESTIYA, 11 Apr 1978). This experience should also be used by us.

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REGIONAL

RUSSIAN LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION IN UZBEKISTAN

Tashkent OSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V UZBEKISTANE in Russian No 3, 1979 signed to press 3 Apr 79 pp 24-30

[Article by S. Sh. Shermukhamedov: "Universal Attention to the Study of the Russian Language," for the All-Union Scientific-Theoretical Conference "Russian Language--the Language of Friendship and Cooperation of the Peoples of the USSR"]

[Text] During the years of the Soviet rule new in quality relations, based on mutual trust, respect, friendship, and cooperation of brotherly peoples, have been firmly established among all nationalities and ethnic groups of our country. This has become possible owing to the steady realization of Lenin's national policy in general and language policy in particular by the Communist Party and the Soviet government.

The prevision of Vladimir Il'ich that the rapprochement of peoples will be realized "exclusively through a free, brotherly union of workers and the working masses of all nations"¹ has come true. The Great October Revolution, having liberated all the peoples of our country, has united them into a powerful union of republics with equal rights.

The process of the national republics' development along the socialist way quite naturally raised the question of using one language for the realization of multifaceted international relations in all spheres of Soviet society's life. The Russian language--the language of the great Lenin, the language of a people-giant, possessing the richest democratic, revolutionary traditions and a high level of culture was voluntarily and unanimously chosen as this language.

"Any language possesses," said Sh. R. Rashidov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the CC of the Comparty of Uzbekistan, in his report at the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference

¹ Lenin, V. I. "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 31, p 167.

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on the Russian Language held in Tashkent (October 1975), "certain, inherent in its virtues. At the same time, V. I. Lenin pointed out, there also exist the so-called world languages which by force of certain historic conditions play a special role in the development of humanity. The Russian language is one of them."²

The role of the great Russian language in acquainting the peoples of the Soviet Union with advanced world culture, especially with Russian culture, is enormous.

Today the Russian word acquaints the world with remarkable successes of the Soviet people in science, technology, culture, and art. The Russian word is a voice of peace, an appeal for equality, brotherly friendship, and social progress of the peoples.

The Russian language carries out numerous functions. It is a national language, the language of the Russian socialist nation; the language of international communication of the peoples of the USSR; the language of communication between the peoples of the Soviet Union and socialist countries; it is an international language, one of the UN official languages, the working language of various international congresses, conferences, symposiums, and so on. Owing to the Soviet-American cooperation in the conquering of space the Russian and English languages were the first languages of international communication in space. That is why the interest in studying Russian is growing steadily not only in our country, but in the whole world as well.

Living and working in our multinational republic are representatives of more than one hundred nationalities. With a great desire and love they familiarize themselves with the Russian language in which, according to Sh. R. Rashidov's figure of speech, "are concentrated emotionality and musicality, expressiveness and elegance, subtlety and volume, vitality and tenderness, flexibility and laconism, vividness and sonority, richness and power."³

The school of general education in general, and the national school in particular, plays a big role in the instruction and study of the Russian language.

The UzSSR Ministry of Education under the guidance of the Central Committee of the Comparty of Uzbekistan, fulfilling the will and wish of the peoples inhabiting the Uzbek SSR, is constantly and according to the plan directing its activities to render concrete practical assistance in the realization of measures to improve the instruction and study of the Russian language in all the links of public education, to raise the level of knowledge of students

² Rashidov, Sh. R. "Russian Language--the Language of Mutual Communication and Cooperation of All Nations and Nationalities of the Soviet Union," RUSSKIY YAZYK I LITERATURA V UZBEKSKOY SHKOLE, 1976, No 1, p 13.

³ KOMMUNIST, 1972, No 12, p 7.

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of the Russian language, and to staff schools, secondary and higher pedagogical institutions of learning with highly skilled experts-Russists.

The All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference on the subject "The Experience of Studying and Teaching the Russian Language in Schools, Higher and Secondary Specialized Educational Institutions of the Nation," held in Tashkent in October of 1975, made an invaluable contribution to the resolution of topical problems in the instruction and study of the Russian language. On the basis of its results the Central Committee of the Comparty of Uzbekistan adopted a decree, "On Measures in Respect to Further Improvement of Instruction and Study of the Russian Language in Schools, Higher and Secondary Specialized Educational Institutions of the Republic."

The collegium of the UzSSR Ministry of Education, in turn, adopted a decree, "Tasks of the Organs of Public Education and Pedagogical Educational Institutions in Respect to Further Improvement of the Study and Instruction of the Russian Language and Literature in Schools, Preschool and Extracurricular Institutions, Pedagogical Educational Institutions of the Republic in Light of Recommendations of the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference, 'The Experience of Studying and Teaching the Russian Language in Schools, Higher and Secondary Specialized Educational Institutions of the Nation,' and the Decree of the CC of the Comparty of Uzbekistan, 'On Measures in Respect to Further Improvement of Instruction and Study of the Russian Language in Schools, Higher and Secondary Specialized Educational Institutions of the Republic.'" The outlined measures are being successfully implemented in practice.

All experts-philologists--teachers, methodists, authors of textbooks, scientific workers--are making a worthy contribution to the improvement of the Russian language instruction, to the communist upbringing of youth on its material. Questions of the Russian language are in the center of attention of the organs of public education, executives of schools, secondary and higher educational institutions. Wide sections of the public are rendering active assistance in this important endeavor.

After the All-Union conference in Uzbekistan the concern over teaching the Russian language to children, starting with preschool, has increased considerably. As a result encouraging successes have been achieved. Now in the republic there are 362 kindergartens with a contingent of more than 11,000 children where the little ones, educated in national groups, are mastering Russian speech under the guidance of educators who have had special retraining, as well as on the basis of a program and visual study aids devised for the kindergartens. In every oblast' two or three base kindergartens have been opened where the Russian language is systematically and purposefully taught to the children of local nationalities. Mixed kindergartens where children of different nationalities are educated have been created. The practice of little Uzbek children visiting Russian groups is expanding every year. This has a favorable effect on the laying of a firm foundation for further comprehensive study of the Russian language by children of non-Russian nationalities.

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For the little ones, not embraced by preschool institutions, preparatory classes have been organized under the schools of general education. A special program was compiled which anticipates preparation of children for school, including the Russian language. This year we have 1,200 such classes, and they embrace 30,000 preschoolers.

A considerable amount of work to improve instruction of the Russian language and literature has been accomplished in schools of general education which constitute the central link of public education.

One republic (in Tashkent) and 10 oblast' boarding schools with an in-depth study of the subject have been created in Uzbekistan. Classes of an in-depth profile have been organized in the schools of general education located in the rayon centers. Now we have 165 such schools. The subject in them is studied according to special programs, aids, and study plans in which the number of hours for the Russian language and literature has been increased.

All our schools of general education are also working according to a new study plan in which from the first to the tenth grade 47 hours a week are given to the Russian language and literature.

For the creation and expansion of Russian-language environment more than 500 mixed schools have been organized where Russian is one of the languages of instruction. In rural schools the number of grades 4 to 10 with more than 25 students, divided into two groups during lessons of the Russian language, is increasing every year. Now such division is done in 60 percent of schools like this, whereas in the 1977/78 school year it was done in 53.4 percent of the schools, and in the 1974/75 school year, only in 37.5 percent.

The number of teachers-Russists with a higher education is increasing every year. In 1976 a total of 2,031 teachers of the Russian language, graduates of pedagogical VUZ's, were sent to national schools, and in 1978, already 2,775. In the first to third grades of national schools along with experts with a higher education Russian is being taught by elementary school teachers who have a right to teach it.

Since 1973 republic contests in the Russian language and literature are held every year. Many participants and winners of the contests have become students of the language departments at pedagogical VUZ's, including the Republic Pedagogical Institute of Russian Language and Literature.

Elective and subject circles are helping to awaken and keep up the interest of schoolchildren in the Russian language. Elective studies are being systematically carried out in 1,412 schools. The number of Russian language circles in the schools has reached 6,376.

The multifaceted work of extracurricular children's institutions which directly or indirectly serves the goal of teaching the Russian language to non-Russian students has become perceptibly more lively. In the Palaces and Houses of Pioneers there is a practice of holding "five minutes of Russian" (with the

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reading of poems, fables, riddles, proverbs, stories, informative announcements on subjects assigned in advance, and so forth), Russian language days, "Russian World" festivals. Kids study with pleasure in the created in many Houses of Pioneers Russian language circles: "Speech Development," "Literary Circles," "Expressive Reading."

Constant attention is being given to the training of qualified Russian language and literature specialists at the pedagogical educational institutions of Uzbekistan, to the selection of graduating students among the native population of the republic for enrollment in them, and also in the pedagogical VUZ's of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine.

In Uzbekistan teachers of the Russian language and literature are trained at the Tashkent, Samarkand, and Nukus State Universities, 14 pedagogical institutes, including Andizhan Institute of Languages, and 17 pedagogical schools which train elementary school teachers with a right to teach the Russian language. Pedagogical VUZ's of the RSFSR and Ukraine are rendering great brotherly assistance in this endeavor. For more than ten years now they have been training highly skilled teachers of the Russian language. Already more than 4,000 teachers have been trained. At the present time more than 7,000 young men and women from Uzbekistan are studying there who, having mastered the profession of pedagogue-philologist, will also return to Uzbek and Karakalpak schools.

As to teachers of the Russian language and literature who have no higher education, the oblast' departments of public education together with the administrations of pedagogical institutes are doing a great deal of professionally oriented work among them. As a result among the total number of those enrolling in the correspondence department of the Russian language and literature of the pedagogical VUZ's within the jurisdiction every year up to 95 percent are teachers-practitioners.

Diversified forms of studies and work outside the auditorium in the Russian language, promoting in-depth mastering of the speciality, are used at the pedagogical educational institutions of the republic. Thus, since 1974 contests in the Russian language have been organized for students of the institutes and pedagogical schools.

Scientific research of problems of teaching the Russian language and literature and training scientific cadres is being intensified and expanded. In 1977 a Council for the Defense of Dissertations has been established under the Republic Pedagogical Institute of Russian Language and Literature. A department of advanced training (FPK) for instructors of the Russian language and literature of higher educational institutions of Central Asia and Kazakhstan has been successfully operating in this VUZ since 1973. In 1979 a scientific-research problem laboratory for the study of Russian oral speech of children in preschool institutions and schools of Uzbekistan has been opened at the Tashkent State Pedagogical Institute imeni Nizami.

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The success of teaching and rearing depends mainly on the teachers, on their pedagogical excellence and professional skills. Courses of advanced training at the Central Institute of Advanced Training and Retraining of Teachers imeni K. D. Ushinskiy, at the city and oblast' institutes of advanced training of teachers help them to maintain a sufficiently high scientific-theoretical and methodical level. In the course of several years there have been organized in them special courses for the instructors of kindergartens who have to teach Russian oral speech to the children, and also for the instructors of preschool pedagogical schools, lecturing on the methods of teaching Russian speech.

In addition, courses for teachers of the Russian language in elementary grades, pedagogues-philologists working in boarding schools and classes with in-depth study of the subject, heads of elective studies, and Russian language instructors of national groups of pedagogical and preschool schools have been included in the national economic plan of institutes of advanced training.

The number of instructors of Russian philology of pedagogical VUZ's and schools, embraced by all forms of advanced training, including graduate studies in which enrollment in the given speciality has lately increased several times, is steadily increasing. By 1980-1981 the whole body of instructors of pedagogical educational institutions will be embraced by advancement in the FPK and at the institutes of advanced training.

A large quantity of plans, programs, textbooks, study aids for learning and teaching the Russian language and literature in preschool and extracurricular institutions, schools of general education, and pedagogical educational institutions has been published.

Thus, a lot of work is going on in the republic in respect to the all possible improvement of the instruction and study of the Russian language. But much still has to be done in this direction. On 12 September 1978 the collegium of the UzSSR Ministry of Education has adopted a decree, "On Additional Measures in Respect to Further Improvement of the Study and Instruction of the Russian Language in Schools, Preschool and Extracurricular Institutions, Pedagogical Educational Institutions of the Republic in Light of the Recommendations of the All-Union and Republic Congresses of Teachers." Concrete measures have been worked out and approved which, in particular, anticipate:

once more to study the national contingent of children, cadres of educators, educational-material basis of rural kindergartens, and the possibility of transferring everywhere during the 1980/81 school year to the teaching of Russian oral speech to children in the preparatory groups of national kindergartens;

to reveal and generalize the best work experience of educators of national kindergartens in respect to teaching Russian oral speech to the children;

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to work out practical measures to improve teaching the Russian language to the personnel of Uzbek and Karakalpak kindergartens in accordance with the existing program;

to organize yearly in every rayon and city instruction in Russian oral speech for children in preparatory groups of national kindergartens and to open schools with in-depth study of the Russian language;

to complete by 1980 the division of grades 4-10 of rural schools with more than 25 students into groups during studies of the Russian language;

to expand the network of mixed schools and kindergartens where Russian is one of the languages of instruction;

to open in Nukus, Termez, and Gulistan boarding schools with an in-depth study of the Russian language and literature for the start of the 1979/80 school year;

to create "We Study Our Second Native Tongue" circles in all oblast', rayon, city Houses of Pioneers;

to continue radio and television programs "We Study the Second Native Tongue," having included in them the illumination of questions which are of interest to the educators of national kindergartens in respect to teaching Russian oral speech to the children;

to complete by 1985 the publication of textbooks, aids, and educational and methodical literature for schools with in-depth study of the subject;

to study once more the question of providing teachers of the Russian language and literature to the rural schools of the republic and make a suggestion to cover the need for cadres, taking into account the division of grades;

to complete by 1980 work on the improvement of the content of programs and textbooks for the Russian language and literature for all links of the secondary school;

to study the possibility of introducing in-depth study of the Russian language from the first grade;

to work out by 1 September 1979 practical recommendations to realize connections between subjects for the sake of improving and expanding the environment of the Russian language and intensify the use of movies, radio, and television during work in the auditorium and outside of it;

to strengthen communications between the language departments of VUZ's and the basic or contributing schools, to practice going out and holding meetings in schools, to hold scientific-practical seminars, contests, and to involve students and instructors in the leadership of school circles;

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to have ready by the end of 1985 for publication basic aids in the Russian language and literature for the national groups of VUZ's and schools (books for practical studies, collections of texts for dictation, collections of exercises, special dictionaries, sets of tables, materials for special courses and special seminars on the language);

to prepare manuals on the methods of using technical and audio-visual means for teaching the Russian language in the pedagogical educational institutions;

to prepare until 1 November 1978 sound suggestions on the institution at the Republic Pedagogical Institute of Russian Language and Literature of graduate studies in the methods of teaching Russian literature, and until 1 January 1979 suggestions on the organization of a problem Council of Scientific Research in the Russian Language, Literature, and the Methods of Teaching Them;

to provide the national departments of pedagogical VUZ's and schools of Uzbekistan and also of pedagogical VUZ's of the RSFSR and Ukraine, students of the departments of advanced training on schedule with original programs and study aids for the Russian language and literature, compiled so as to take into account the specifics of the republic;

to make a practice of conducting Russian Language Days or Weeks at schools, preschool and extracurricular institutions, and pedagogical educational institutions of the republic. To create in each of these institutions circles: "My Favorite Language," "Great and Mighty," and others, inviting schoolchildren and students to take part in them on a large scale;

everywhere to create Russian language circles for school teachers, kindergarten instructors, students, schoolchildren, instructors of nonlanguage specialties of pedagogical educational institutions;

to hold a competition yearly for the best essay, composition, scientific and other types of creative work of schoolchildren and students. To award the winners with certificates of merit, valuable gifts, and other things;

to organize and carry out during the years 1979-1985 republic and zonal scientific-practical conferences, seminars-meetings, and practical seminars on studying and teaching the Russian language;

to organize until the end of 1985 the compilation and publication of a series of visual study aids and phonograph records on Russian for schools, preschool and extracurricular institutions, and pedagogical educational institutions.

Besides, in October 1978 one more decree on the Russian language was adopted by the collegium of the UzSSR Ministry of Education. It is noted in this document, in particular, that measures undertaken by the Ministry in respect to improving the study and instruction of the Russian language in preschool and extracurricular institutions, in schools of general education and pedagogical educational institutions help to put in practice Lenin's ideas about giving

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all nations and nationalities of our country extensive opportunities to learn the Russian language. Further improvement of this work was anticipated in the decree, and a whole series of topical problems was determined.

The UzSSR Ministry of Education has also formulated concrete tasks for 1979 and 1980 in respect to the organization of groups in national kindergartens where the little ones will be learning Russian speech, and schools of general education with in-depth study of the Russian language; worked out plans for the distribution of supplies of equipment for linguaphone cabinets among the pedagogical educational institutions, boarding schools, and schools of general education with an in-depth study of the Russian language and literature; for holding seminars and scientific-practical conferences, and for the preparation and issuance of educational-visual aids and phonograph records.

Thus, now our chief attention is given to the questions of improving the theory and practice of studying the Russian language and literature in all links of public education, school plans, programs, and textbooks; to the questions of supplying the instruction of the subject with technical means and educational visual aids; of studying, generalizing, and disseminating foremost pedagogical experience; to the propaganda of the Russian language through the press, radio, and television.

We attach special importance to the problems of in-depth study of the Russian language and literature, further improvement of the training of pedagogical cadres, creation of various educational aids for the Russian language, and so forth.

This year in April a large forum of experts--Russists--the All-Union Scientific-Theoretical Conference "Russian Language--the Language of Friendship and Cooperation of the Peoples of the USSR"--will be held in the capital of Uzbekistan. At it there will be an important expert talk, among other things about the ways to improve the study of the Russian language which all the peoples of our multinational country are striving to master thoroughly. The recommendations and materials of this conference will become a valuable guide for the multimillion army of instructors and scientific workers whose work is connected with a complicated, but honorable cause of teaching the young people the Russian language--a powerful means of international communication, the second native tongue of all the peoples of the USSR.

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