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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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27 February 1984

USSR REPORT  
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

## INTERNATIONAL

Kazakh Section of Radio Liberty Attacked (S. Kozyvayev; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, various dates) ...	1
Swiss 'Provocation' Against Visiting Soviet Musicians Detailed (Yu. Geyko; KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, 2 Nov 83) .....	18
Role of Shiite Clergy in Iran Discussed (Ye. Doroshenko; NAUKA I RELIGIYA, No 9, Sep 83) .....	23
Radio Tashkent Describes 'Real Enemies' of Islam in Afghanistan (Tashkent International Service, 18 Jan 84) .....	33
Radio Tashkent, Moscow on Religious Freedom of USSR Muslims (Tashkent International Service, 6, 27 Jan; Moscow in Persian to Iran, 13 Jan 84) .....	35
Tashkent on Official Concern for Soviet Muslims Soviet Muslims Support Communism Moscow on Soviet Muslims' Living Standard, by Igor Sheftunov	
Officials Author Book on Participation in UN Economic Organizations (Nicolai Leventsev, et al.; FOREIGN TRADE, No 1, Jan 84).	39
Briefs Soviet Medical Team in PRC	44

## NATIONAL

Argument Favoring 'Positive Hero' Counters Disputes From West (V. Volkov; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 52, 27 Dec 83) .....	45
---	----

REGIONAL

KGB Officials Attend Northwest Border District Conference (LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, 16 Dec 83) .....	48
Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Buro Meets on Labor Productivity (BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 20 Dec 83) .....	49
Readers 'Outraged' at Pentacostalists' Influence Over Young (L. Kreschenskaya; SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 25 Nov 83) .....	52
Ukraine Komsomol Chief on 'Political Naivete' of Some Youth (Viktor Ivanovich Mironenko Interview; PRAVDA UKRAINY, 24 Nov 83) .....	56
Orenburg Obkom Chief on Leadership Style (A. Balandin; PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 24, Dec 83) .....	59
Chechen-Ingush Obkom Chief on Ideological Education (A. Vlasov; PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 24, Dec 83) .....	59
Sverdlovsk Obkom Chief on Improving Rural Conditions (B. Yel'tsin; URALSKIYE NIVY, No 11, Nov 83) .....	59
Komi Obkom Chief on Timan-Pechorsk Territorial Production Complex (I. P. Morozov; DRUZHBA NARODOV, No 12, Dec 83) .....	60
Briefs Newspaper Complex in Vilnius	61

INTERNATIONAL

KAZAKH SECTION OF RADIO LIBERTY ATTACKED

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18, 20, 21, 22 Dec 83

[Four-part serialized article by S. Kozyvayev in the column "On the Fronts of Ideological Struggle": "Turncoats"]

[18 Dec 83 p 3]

[Text] Before us was Thuringia, a land extolled by Goethe. A boundless sea of forest stretches to the very horizon. We are standing at the top of an observation tower of Wartburg fortress, built in the 11th century close to Eisenach. Only in such situations does one come to understand the meaning of the expression "height of a bird's flight." Not everyone ventures to climb here up the steep steps, where it would appear that the wind is sole master. A colleague from Leipzig University, showing the vast green expanse, explains: Long centuries ago, they watched here from the tower of the feudal fortress for the approach of the enemy. Long centuries ago.... And now! We are almost at the actual border of the two German states: The FRG is something like 10-15 kilometers away. Germans also live there, but with a different kind of life.

The power of the imagination is a great thing. Only yesterday my radio literally pulled out of the endless flow of music and bedlam of different languages being broadcast a voice painfully familiar and seemingly from home. It was strange and unexpected to hear Kazakh speech thousands of kilometers from one's own locality. What can one say--it was pleasant. But what was said was alien, of an overt enemy. I could not help thinking on the tower: point with a finger in that direction of boundless green oak forest and you will not be wrong: this secret enemy is there south of Eisenach, and he penetrates your soul without encountering any external fortresses. His home is there, which he acquired at the price of treachery. From there he tries to pass off black as white, unsuccessfully to sway the heads of compatriots living on their land, the land of their forefathers. In Munich he has a boss and the name of his radio station is "Liberty" on its hypocritical signboard. Traitors and

renegades in their search for the next libelous item on Kazakhstan along the resounding narrow dark corridors of its building, which resembles a swastika.

After several days, the Munich radio trash invisibly brought itself to mind at the Zezilienhof Palace. In the halls of the former residence of the last hereditary prince of the German empire, it was empty and unusually quiet. One could not even hear the sound of a downpour of rain, which evidently had frightened off the tourists. I leisurely tour with my German colleague the palace's luxurious rooms. Rooms that Stalin, Truman and Churchill had occupied. The peoples of the postwar peace attached great hopes to the historic Potsdam Conference of the heads of governments of the three allied victorious powers. The conference decided the fate of Europe. The day before its opening, 16 July 1945, the United States of America exploded the first atomic bomb. Aspiring to world dominance and demonstrating their power, the Americans with evil intentions decided to present this surprise to the Land of the Soviets. Stalin, as we know, "did not raise an eyebrow" when President Truman, waiting here in the palace for the right moment, told him that the United States had the atomic bomb.

Only 5 months would elapse after the end of World War II when Churchill in a speech in the American city of Fulton would mark the beginning of a "crusade" against the USSR, the beginning of the "cold" and "psychological war."

Radio stations "Free Europe" and "Liberty" (which originally had called itself "Radio of Liberation from Bolshevism" and subsequently "Liberation") became its mouthpiece. The last-named would designate itself in international reference books as none other than a "private, noncommercial" radio station, also explaining that the radio broadcasts are conducted by "former citizens of the Soviet Union" who receive financial assistance from the American public.

#### 1. The "New" Life of an Espionage Nest

Incidentally, the myth of the "private" character of Munich radio centers "Liberty" and "Free Europe," striking symbols of imperialist, anticommunist sabotage, has long been debunked. The reader is acquainted with the unseemly work of this notorious system of American radio stations, which broadcast from the territory of the FRG to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Today one thing is clear: these radio resident agents of the CIA, financed by the U.S. state budget, are already openly conducting subversive propaganda. The psychological war, unprecedented in its scale, has been declared once more.

Yes, the facts attest to a marked intensification of a massive offensive of U.S. information media against the policy of disarmament and detente. The United

States today possesses the largest information-propaganda governmental machine in the world. All foreign-policy propaganda services in the country have been united and coordinated under the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). Approximately 8,000 personnel of the journalist corps are under it. It has a budget that exceeds the outlays of the great majority of the states of the world for all information media. Today the flow of American information solely to the developing countries exceeds approximately one hundredfold the information moving in the reverse direction.

Recently, the role of the CIA in this process has been openly declared in the United States. For the past 25 years, more than 400 journalists have been carrying out secret CIA assignments. Formerly such connections were concealed in every possible way. Now they speak of this with pride.

After the passage of so many years, the operation of "liberation of the USSR from Bolshevism" is still going on. With the sole difference that a new "crusade" has been declared against the USSR. The antisoviet propaganda machine has sharply increased its operation, sowing day and night the seeds of enmity between peoples. Whipping up again the winds of the "cold" war on the air, radio station "Liberty" calumniates the Soviet Union with unheard of unbridleness. "The enemy has embarked on regular brigandage on the air," it was pointed out at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. "We are dealing with attempts to organize a real information-propaganda intervention against us and to transform radio and television channels into a weapon of interference in the internal affairs of states and performance of subversive actions."

A certain modification of ideological weapons accumulated in the arsenals of the CIA, however, has in no way changed the aims of "Liberty," which remain as before extremely single-valued: weakening, undermining of the power of the USSR and of the entire socialist community. And as before, lies, slander, falsifications (only more refined) are the basic means of this radio agency kept by the CIA.

Incidentally, even the United States has been obliged to acknowledge this. In a report of the chief accounting office (it prepares information materials for the U.S. Congress), made not too long ago, it was stated that the department for listening to the broadcasts of radio stations "Liberty" and "Free Europe" prepared in just one year more than 300 reports of notes in which the attention of the administration was directed to the fact that the broadcasts contain false information, forgeries, provocative statements, appeals to make desertions and sometimes simply slander and scandalous rumors.

The ideological struggle, as we know, is an objective principle in the struggle of the two world systems. As for "psychological war" and ideological sabotage, these, in the just opinion of the Soviet people, are an illegal way of conducting the fight on the part of imperialism, figuratively speaking, the way of doomed people, holding onto a straw and ready for anything.

But at the CIA they do not forget that the radio stations, so conveniently located outside a respectable quiet Bavarian park on the outskirts of Munich,

have to their credit such major provocative measures as propaganda support of the 1956 coup attempt in Hungary, the counterrevolutionary events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia and quiet creeping counterrevolution in Poland.

The aim justifies the means. From time to time, cases seep into the world press of governmental allocations for radio sabotage. New powerful transmitters are being built for radio station "Liberty," and not just on the territory of the FRG. In the past decade, their power has more than doubled. It has been decided to modernize and rebuild "Liberty" and "Free Europe." Whereas in the 1975 fiscal year, the budget of both radio stations amounted to 50 million dollars, today it has grown to 90-100 million annually.

The total time of subversive radio transmissions to the Soviet Union as a result has reached 460-470 hours per week compared to 170 hours of the Voice of America broadcasts to our country, 31.5 by BBC and 18.7 by the "German Wave."

"Liberty" now conducts its Russian-language broadcasts around the clock. Broadcast time is somewhat less in Ukrainian, Tatar, Armenian and Georgian. Broadcasts in the Kazakh and Uzbek languages are 2 hours long daily. This comprises more than half of the time allocated for programs in the languages of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

In the '70s, both stations were exposed in the Western press as instruments of subversive activity of the U.S. CIA. This was greatly helped by documents following the successful completion of a special assignment by the Polish secret agent Andrzej Czechowicz and the Czechoslovak Pavel Minarzyk, who for 7 years worked at the stations. The Soviet intelligence agent Yuriy Marin likewise made a contribution. They exposed the true face of the radio saboteur and the direct connection of "Liberty" and "Free Europe" with American intelligence, presenting irrefutable proof to the whole world.

These exposures produced special repercussions in the FRG itself. Its democratically inclined citizens were indignant over the fact that on the territory of their country the transoceanic "cloak and dagger knights" were continuing as before to work here as if nothing had happened. A protest was expressed about Bonn's position, which regularly renewed the licenses of "Liberty" and "Free Europe," providing the right to make broadcasts and contracts for renting the buildings. Representatives of progressive forces pointed out that such a position contradicts the FRG constitution where it is specifically stated that "actions undertaken with the aim of upsetting the peaceful joint life of peoples must be punished."

Under the pressure of international public opinion, the transoceanic chiefs of "Liberty" and "Free Europe" went through the farce by dressing them up anew. They said, let us begin a new life--we will stop lying, slandering, engaging in subversive activity and devote the rest of our life exclusively to "truthful information." Both radio stations, it was declared, came under the control of a specially created committee subordinate to the U.S. Congress and a department.

The CIA was obliged to give the appearance that it was leaving the scene. What about responsibility for the political activity of both radio centers now that they were officially assigned to a department of the government. It was accordingly necessary to give up the largely widespread myth to the effect that these radio stations were "private establishments" serving as "voices of free emigres" from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

What then had changed? Nothing whatsoever. The camouflage of the disguise led to just one thing. Whereas in former years, radio broadcasts openly called for the overthrow of the socialist system, now they were trying to act more circumspectly. Under the new management, instructions were issued for the handling of radio station "Liberty's" broadcasts in which emphasis was to be made "on the dark sides of Soviet life" and to repeat over and over again negative phenomena so that "listeners reach the conclusions needed by us."

CIA agents are working now at the radio stations just as they worked before. They make up a large portion of their personnel and occupy here prominent positions. The CIA with the help of its agents fully controls and directs the programs of both stations in Munich as well as of their branches in Paris, Rome, London and Brussels.

Station "Liberty" today has more than a thousand employes--literary personnel, directors and producers of programs. Most of them are former Gestapo agents, traitors, extreme nationalists and criminals. True there are now many so-called "novices" among them--renegades who left the USSR ostensibly for Israel. Once outside of the Soviet Union, they immediately surfaced in Munich in the camp of enemies of the Soviet regime.

The search for needed people and their recruitment for a subversive radio center present a special problem to the bosses of the radio station. Let us take the Turkestan editorial office in which the Kazakh section is included. In 1983, it sharply expanded its work on exerting an inimical influence on the various groups and strata of the population of Kazakhstan. This could not but help make the sponsors glad. They additionally allocated to the editorial office 20 staff positions for the purpose of increasing antisoviet broadcasts, first of all of a nationalist and religious character.

What is quite surprising is that on the pages of even the bourgeois press, including the West-German press, which it would be difficult to suspect of being in sympathy with socialism, it is possible to find articles on the atmosphere prevailing inside radio station "Liberty." The magazine SPIEGEL, for example, writes about open squabbling between oldtimers and novices. An atmosphere of suspicion and denunciation holds sway at the radio station.

Let us turn to a witness. Our interlocutor lived for many years in the FRG. In 1942, he was taken prisoner. Under the influence of threats and blackmail as well as of propaganda by nationalist emigres Mustafa Chokayev and Vali Kayumkhan, he served in the "Turkestan legion." Under the guidance of Baymurza Khait, he worked for the "Turkestan National Committee." In the "Turkestan National Union" created by Karys Kanatbayev, he occupied the position of chief of staff. He was also a member of the antisoviet Turkeli organization. He had close contacts with the personnel of the Turkestan editorial office of "Liberty."

"The delights of emigre life are not worth mentioning," Shumabek Akbergenov relates. "No fate is more bitter than being deprived of one's Motherland. Bitter is the bread of an alien land. The longing is unbearable for one's relatives and dear ones, for the native land where one was born. I realized long ago how groundless and harmful is the idea of a "Greater Turkestan" propagandized by Mustafa Chokayev, Vali Kayumkhan, Baymurza Khait and their present followers from the antisoviet Turkeli organization. I understood that these self-styled 'fuehrers' go against their own people, that they are in no way ideological fighters for the happiness of the peoples of Central Asia but ordinary paid agents of bourgeois intelligence services. Clarity of vision returned and exhausting thinking began. And now I am again in the Motherland. Although colleagues of the Kazakh section of radio station 'Liberty' tried to dissuade me from returning to the motherland and even intimidated me. To this day I cannot forget this entire unsightly operation, the hatred, the petty, nasty bickering, the threats, the blackmail, the mutual distrust and national discord among the staff members of the Turkestan editorial office.

"Their radio broadcasts are insignificant and loathsome. They are full of malice and calumny about their people. These individuals are engaged in unrestrained propagandization of antisovietism."

"A most criminal and foul thing in the current activities of the radio saboteurs is the fact that they, having overstepped all limits of treason, on the assignment of "Liberty," are trying with all their power to pull over to their side and to involve in their dirty machinations any Kazakhs that they can, for the most part young people living abroad. And this is understandable. They realize that their life is waning, their energies are exhausted and they need new, fresh cadres able to muddy the water and to poison the air.

[20 Dec 83 p 3]

[Text] 2. Mongrel Dogs From Under the Gateway

Who knows whether there is poetry or a fact of history in the etymology of the word "Kazakh." The literal translation of "Kazakh" means "white goose," "swan." We think that it is by no means an accident that Altynsarin called the Kazakhs a "young, gifted and poetically impressionable people."

Many analogies could be found here. Not every horse is a jumper or a tulpar, not every bird is a falcon or swan. For this reason, since olden days tulpar, falcon and swan have come to mean to Kazakhs the personification of high qualities of man. A guest leaving the home of a Kazakh takes away with him the wish that his life path resemble the beautiful race of a horse and gladden people as a swan with its enchanting glance.

"There is a freak to every family"--it is said among the people. And geese, of course, tend to vary. In Munich, the radio saboteurs who had picked themselves a home on the banks of Isar River are called "spiders in a jar" or "baboons." And they largely resemble them. Following the Kazakh tradition of thinking metaphorically, it becomes possible to call the people described below courtyard geese.

Today the Kazakh section of "Liberty" is headed by Zhakibay Bapishev. He is now 62 years of age and was born in Karmakchinskiy Rayon of Kzyl-Ordinskaya

Oblast. On completing the second year of a pedagogical institute, he was called into the army and took junior-officer courses. At the start of the Great Patriotic War, on being taken prisoner, he expressed a desire to serve in the "Turkestan legion." In 1944 he was recommended to join a group of radio operators of a German information-gathering school; he also completed courses for radio technicians at Nuremberg.

Bapishev has close contacts with intelligence services in the United States. He has made repeated trips to other countries to carry out their assignments. He was a member of the antisoviet organization "National Committee of Turkeli." And now it is almost 20 years that he has been a leading staff member of "Liberty."

Another traitor of the time of the Great Patriotic War is Kabyl Dyusupov. He is also called Sultankabyl Zhusupov and Abdulla. He is obviously not far behind his chief. He has taken the same road of traitor and spy.

There is no more onerous sin, no lower treachery than betrayal of a mother's milk and the honor of a father turned white with age. A person owes his life and name to his mother and his father. It is said among the people: a horse is urged on by a whip, an able horseman by his conscience. This, alas, is not applicable to Dyusupov. A man who betrays his Motherland, has lost everything and is capable of anything. Such a person would betray his own father.

Dyusupov, who was born in Vostochno-Kazakhstanskaya Oblast, where he has relatives, did not appear in 1981 even at the funeral of his own father. TASS reported on this diehard antisoviet to its readers in January of the current year. And the same was done quite recently by the republic newspaper SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN and KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA.

Khasen (Khasan) Oraltay, alias Kalibekov, is no less odious a figure. He is much younger and grew up abroad in Xinjiang. He has not seen Kazakhstan, as they say, either when awake or dreaming. Nonetheless he had for several years the honor of heading the Kazakh section as a director. He also broadcast over "Liberty's microphone in the guise of a 'spiritual father,' a benefactor and real defender of the Kazakh people." This continued until Oraltay was fired from the radio station... for fighting with his coworkers. According to prevailing "moral" notions, this was "simply improper."

But Kh. Oraltay was too valuable for the CIA. Now he has a new specialty--announcer and commentator.

In addition, let us allow ourselves the following information. Up to 1969, Oraltay worked at the NATO staff office in Izmir (Turkey). He participated in the publication of the Panturkic journal TURKELI.

Oraltay is the author of two books published in Turkey--"Kazakhskiye turki za svoyu svobodu" [Kazakh Turks for Their Freedom] and "Alash" [Alash], books filled with antisoviet and nationalist fabrications. On showing up at radio station "Liberty," Oraltay first of all did not fail to pass himself off as an

"ideological fighter and theoretician of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan." Spiced with the flattery of his overseas bosses and the sound of dollars, issued as an advance, the newly arrived Kazakh Solzhenitsyn of Chinese-Turkish origin undertook with the diligence of a schoolboy the use of scissors and glue and zealously filled the air with a foul smelling gruel.

In this connection, attention should be directed to the following fact. Vali Kayumkhan i Baymurza Khait are spiritual fathers of the older generation of radio liars from the Kazakh section of "Liberty." Today we have the right to mention two other names.

Davlet Tagiberlin (better known as Tagiberli). Together with Karys Kanatbayev he had a direct bearing on the work of the section. They worked out for it broadcasting concepts for Kazakhstan.

Once upon a time this person lived in Soviet Kazakhstan. He is still remembered here and there by the older generation in Sarysuyskiy and Dzhambulskiy rayons and in the city of Dzhambul, where he worked as a teacher. Envious and vain, cowardly Tagiberli, taken prisoner in 1942, was singled out not accidentally by the Hitlerites. Mustafa Chokayev took a hand in his fate, promising special payment for betrayal of an officer of the Soviet Army of the rank of captain.

The betrayer and traitor wasted no time becoming an SS officer. With great diligence, he gained the "high trust" of the leaders through service in the "Russian Liberation Army" (ROA).

After the war he remained in the FRG. While residing in Munich, he took an active part in the hostile activities of the antisoviet organization "Turkestan National Committee."

In 1950, now already on the staff of the Kazakh section of radio station "Liberty," he, together with the aforesaid Kanatbayev, established a connection with the American "Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" (KONR). On the assignment of this committee together they created the antisoviet organization "National Committee of Turkeli." Both, while delegates of the Wiesbaden Conference of Antisoviet Emigre Organizations, declared in 1951 declared the desire to join the Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia." But the leaders of the newly founded committee did not long retain an antisoviet charge. In a year, Kanatbayev, who had squandered the funds of "Turkeli," was obliged to go into hiding. The committee, by this time bursting at the seams, was now headed by Tagiberli.

Earning the difficult bread of the American intelligence services, Tagiberli went several times to Mecca where he conducted inimical activities among pilgrims from the USSR. He was no less active in the enlistment of displaced persons. At the present time, Tagiberli has been graciously granted haven in the United States.

In November 1982, the Turkestan editorial office of "Liberty" shed many tears in its broadcasts to the Soviet Union in connection with the demise of Karys Kanatbayev. For long years, this super dyed-in-the-wool antisoviet with a

prewar diploma of mining engineer determined the character of the Kazakh section, engaging in long-term planning of the political contents of radio programs for Kazakhstan.

A former Soviet officer, Kanatbayev in 1942 became a betrayer of and traitor to his Motherland. On completion of a German intelligence school, he became Mustafa Chokayev's closest associate in the "Turkestan National Committee" in Berlin. Kanatbayev was one of those who earnestly engaged in the bloody work of the "Turkestan legion," fighting on the side of the Wehrmacht.

In the postwar years, Kanatbayev on the direct instructions of his new boss in the person of the CIA created the nationalist antisoviet organization "Liberation of Turkestan" while at the same time cooperating with the American "Institute for the Study of Russia."

Yes, we can say directly that the loss to radio station "Liberty" was an appreciable one. The new generation of radio saboteurs does not possess such a "brilliant" biography in its service list, and hope, as they say, is going down. Since 1975, Talgat Koszhigitov (he is actually Sultan Sharip-Uly) has worked in the Kazakh section. Born in 1947, he is a native of Xinjiang and a graduate of a railroad institute in Turkey. Together with Koszhigitov, a certain Mukhambayev (he is really Mukhambay Yengin) was accepted at the same time into the nest of saboteurs. He is also a Turkish subject who completed the philosophy faculty at Stambul University.

Thirty-two year old Alikhan Dzhanymkhanov has as yet not acquired for himself underground names, but he has already proved himself as a beginning specialist for establishing contacts with Soviet Kazakhs traveling abroad. He has been at the radio station since 1978. He is the son of the well-known Panturkist Dalelkhan Dzhanymkhanov. On the invitation of Kh. Oraltay, he was accepted as a translator. He knows the English language to perfection and has completed the archeological faculty at Stambul University.

Two persons of Uighur nationality take part in the preparation of subversive broadcasts in the Kazakh language by "Liberty." We shall give their names. One of them is Aliptekin Yerking, a son of Aysabek Aliptekin, who cooperated in the past with members of the Kuomintang and the CIA and is the former leader of Xinjiang emigres in Turkey. The second is a professional spy, who knows in addition to Chinese several Western European languages. He is Sattar Choban, also Makhbul, also Bul-Bul, a native of Xinjiang, 54 years of age. At the beginning of the '50s he studied at a U.S. intelligence school. He considers himself an unrecognized poet of the East. He also does work for the bourgeois FRG press.

The general type of all this scum who today work in the arena of subversive ideological sabotage is quite clear. Other names of coworkers of the Turkestan editorial office include such persons as Abdulla Tulyagaqnov (he is also Veli Zenkun), Yozef-Oglu Aksan (he is also Nigmati Shigab and Nigmatullin) and other diehard antisoviets and butchers, guilty of executing Soviet people. They have added little to the collective character of the black list of the Turkestan editorial office of "Liberty."

Among these dreary traitors and enemies of the Soviet power speaking with the same voice, there stand out today the so-called "novices from the Soviet Union, called by the West "fighters for human rights." We consider it necessary to speak of one of them in greater detail.

[21 Dec 83 p 3]

[Text] 3. The "Professor" From Kazakhstan

Former classmates, colleagues of the "professor" and distant relatives live in Kazakhstan. They are respectable people--well-known scientists, VUZ instructors, honest rural workers. The following is their opinion of our "hero." "Even in his student years, he was quarrelsome, crude and arrogant. He suffered from a pathological passion for gossip, quarrels. He loved the society of drunken people. He is a dilettante, but would very much like to be a 'philosophically distinguished individual.'"

He also is a megalomaniac. Three years ago, when he first crossed the threshold of radio station "Liberty," he was immediately declared over the microphone to be a leading Soviet dissident. And with the easy hand of West-German television and the ready gutter press, he even became a "professor emeritus."

Makhmet Kulmagambetov found the new life wonderful. And why not. He had left the USSR, finally fulfilling a dream. And he immediately found protectors. He was lent money for a voyage to the United States. Ostensibly for instruction. And not just once. Then they let him have access to the microphone.

But Kulmagambetov's "heavenly" life did not last long. Its colors, alas, started to fade. And the reason for this was not at all the fact that he had declared himself at his new job to be a follower and disciple of Solzhenitsyn, the "father of Kazakh heterodoxy." At the radio station, this did not surprise anyone--so many of these "fathers" have been around in recent years. They just come and go.

In this lair of traitors and criminals, they still valued (of course, in their own fashion) elementary human qualities. But they let Kulmagambetov down. A troublemaker, gossip, intriguer and lover of quarrels and fights, he did not change his habits even here.

Journalists-internationalists V. Kassis and L. Kolosov describe the situation: "Wrangling with each other, the 'radio authorities' of different generations not so long ago started throwing mud at each other. Openly and behind backs. The situation reached a point where telltale signs appeared on the doors of some office with inscriptions: 'Here is to be found a former member of punitive expeditions.' Or--'A criminal works in this office.' The last label was attached to the den of the 'baboons' Khershkovich and Kulmagambetov."

Even the title of professor did not help. Incidentally, Kulmagambetov had never actually been a professor. His biography is monotonously forelorn and resembles the fate of all renegades who have abandoned the bounds of the USSR.

Kulmagambetov had been graduated in his time from the philosophy faculty of a university. He worked as a VUZ instructor, but never had a scientific degree or title. He was characterized only negatively. From lecture-hall podiums of Frunze Medical Institute, he proclaimed revisionist ideas. He disseminated slanderous fabrications, denigrating the Soviet state and social system.

The cities where he lived changed like gloves. Chardzhou, Alma-Ata, Rudnyy, Moscow, Kustanay. He worked sporadically in different enterprises. He lived mostly on the support of his wife whom he mocked and soon abandoned.

On finding himself in Moscow, he completely assumed a parasitic way of life. As before, he expressed nationalist opinions, denigrated his people and praised the capitalist way of life. For "subsistence" he engaged in petty speculation. Here he "took a fancy" to the collection of slanderous materials for publication in antisoviet foreign publications. For the same purpose, he turned out photographs of stores locked at mealtime, inveterate drunkards, lines for milk and the like as examples of everyday Soviet reality.

Kulmagambetov planned to prepare a book of antisoviet content. His propositions even then "surpassed" sovietologists of the Brzezinski type. What is the value, for example, of the following passage from his unpublished "monograph" on the USSR: "Fascism with its cynical ideology is better than communism" (Kulmagambetov's father incidentally drove a locomotive at the time of the Great Patriotic War and died during a bombing of the train--S.K.).

After serving time (10 years of deprivation of liberty), Kulmagambetov traveled around the country from one end to the other, habitually changing his place of work. He even showed up in Alma-Ata where he tried to conduct antisoviet discussions.

According to the testimony of B., a staff member of Alma-Ata's Institute of Philosophy and Law, he spoke to him of "political prisoners" with whom he had served his sentence, calling them "amazingly honest people" fighting for human rights, freedom and democracy. These "revolutionaries" included the sorry well-known renegades Bukovskiy, Sinyavskiy and Geft. He spoke of the "consolidation of true Marxists in the USSR," advising his interlocutor to re-examine his position and to look at the world with "sober eyes," not to believe the newspaper PRAVDA and to listen to broadcasts of Western "voices."

The last time Kulmagambetov was seen was in Kharkov, where he again had no definite place of work. On marrying Citizen G.M. Ber, who had ties with relatives abroad, he left with her for Israel.

The marriage all-told proved short. Now in Vienna, having cast off Ber (his fifth wife by count), Kulmagambetov soon appeared in Munich at the cherished doors of radio station "Liberty."

Despite the aforesaid difficulties with colleagues which Kulmagambetov had in the Turkestan editorial office, the operation of the latter was enlivened somewhat with his arrival. The fact is that almost all the staff members of the editorial office had not been in Central Asia and Kazakhstan in more

than 40 years. The "novice" zealously set to making up the most negative antisoviet materials, sharing his "fresh" impressions. Incidentally, not just at the microphone of "Liberty." IZVESTIYA described last year one of his appearances on West-German television on the theme "The Use of Prisoners in the Construction of the Transsiberian Gas Pipeline from Siberia."

The newspaper noted: "Judging by the reactions of viewers, the great Munchausen would have died of envy on seeing the farce of the two criminals (a colleague of Kulmagambetov Moisey Khershkovich, also known as Mikhail Makarenko, took part in the broadcast--S.K). The broadcast abounded in such stunning dialogues and monologues that a second volume of the great fantasist could have been filled with them. Take, for example, Kulmagambetov, for the purpose of "confirming" the "fact" that as he said he had "worked" on the laying of the aforesaid gas pipeline, decided to show to television viewers his "labor book" (!?).... In point of fact, neither Kulmagambetov nor Khershkovich had any connection with the gas pipeline if for no other reason that both renegades were outside the borders of our country when it was started to be built."

This antisoviet "canard" (already on the record) was officially unmasked. IZVESTIYA reported that B.Ye. Shcherbin, the minister of USSR construction of enterprises of the petroleum and gas industry, completely refuted the bare-faced lie concerning so-called "prisoners" on the Urengoy--Pomary--Uzhgorod gas pipelines. Moreover, the construction of the gas pipeline was visited by representatives of the FRG and Austria as well as by numerous correspondents, including staff members of the West-German magazine SPIEGEL. While familiarizing themselves with the facilities of the gas pipelines, meeting with workers and seeing everything with their own eyes, not one of them sided with the dirty slanderers directed by the CIA. The purpose of the provocation was clear: to deceive the dweller and to denigrate the idea of strengthening the climate of trust on the continent and expanding business cooperation of East with West in other areas.

Obviously, Kulmagambetov never made it as a journalist. All his radio broadcasts and commentaries are just as lying and concocted, as they say, out of thin air. One of the talks of the "well-known Soviet dissident," bearing the title "On Calamities in Komi ASSR," disclosed the pathological tendency of the author. It is a story of how he, when in the USSR, ate a potato that was fried in... human (!?) fat obtained from a surgical operation which had been performed in a neighboring room.

In an article published in the beginning of 1983 in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA on the unseemly activity of radio liars from "Liberty, there are several lines about Kulmagambetov: "With the appearance of the troublemaker and psychopath M. Kulmagambetov, the atmosphere in the Turkestan editorial office of radio station "Liberty" became even more heated. Among its coworkers, living as it were like spiders in a jar, two opposing groups were formed. Both of these groups are struggling for a place under the American sun at radio station "Liberty" and for gaining the confidence of the resident agents from CIA. They write complaints and false reports about each other, which intensifies the previously existing mistrust and suspicion."

Such persons like Kulmagambetov cannot even get along in their own camp. He fought with Tulemish (Tolomush) Zhakypov, a staff worker of the Kirkhiz section, He struck the head of another staff worker of the same section because he had not yielded to him the best place in the workroom.

Nonetheless, Kulmagambetov was finished off by his reputation as a troublemaker and pugnacious person. Quite recently he was dismissed from "Liberty." But for how long?

It is no longer a secret to anyone that all these renegades and criminals, passed off by bourgeois propaganda as "champions of human rights and used in a propaganda spectacle that is being played on the political stages of the West, appear and disappear without a trace. Such was the case with the criminal Bukovskiy and the renegades Amalrik and Plyushch. So it was with Kuznetsov, Galich and Solzhenitsyn."

And so the alliance of Kulmagambetov and radio station "liberty" has been a fiasco. We might add--quite naturally.

[22 Dec 83 p 3]

[Text] The Concerns of the "Freedom Lovers"

Up to the present time, the staff of the Kazakh section of "Liberty" has consisted of former traitors of the time of the Great Patriotic War and of children of emigrants--persons who had immigrated from Xinjiang. In the course of more than 30 years of its operation, with only the exception of Kulmagambetov. But what about tomorrow? Should the Kazakh section be dissolved?

The CIA is especially concerned about this today. A source of supply where candidates may be found for radio saboteurs exists in the small Kazakh colonies existing abroad. For example, in Turkey, where they have retained their national originality and language.

Let us provide a little information. Ethnodemographic reference books published in various countries on the whole contain slight discrepancies in estimations of numbers of peoples. At the present time, more than 7.5 million Kazakhs live in the world, of these more than 6.5 million are in the USSR. The great majority of Kazakhs abroad are to be found in China and Mongolia (more than 907,000 in China). About 20,000 Kazakhs live in Turkey, Afghanistan, Iran, the United States and in several other countries. These for the most part are immigrants from Xinjiang, persons who left the USSR in the years of collectivization and defectors of the period of the Great Patriotic War. Soviet Kazakhs maintain ties with their compatriots abroad. In the name of peace, they aspire for strengthening of these ties. And quite a few examples are to be found of this noble mission.

Most emigrant Kazakhs entertain patriotic feelings for the land of their forefathers. They show a constant interest in Kazakhstan, consider it their native land, read Soviet Kazakh literature, listen to phonograph records of music, visit Soviet embassies and consulates in Ankara and Stambul for the purpose of obtaining information on the republic. Only some Kazakhs under the influence of Western propaganda and the ideas of Panturkism adhere to an antisoviet

orientation. They try to exert a negative influence on emigres and also on Soviet tourists of Kazakh nationality. At an Izmir fair in 1978, Kazakh artists were subjected to antisoviet treatment on the part of this category of emigrants.

Staff members of the Kazakh section of radio station "Liberty" are frequently forced to engage in the same thing. Maintaining close contact with emigre leaders, they, on direct instructions of American intelligence services, engage in direct desperate efforts of uniting Kazakhs on an antisoviet platform. They disseminate literature with an antisoviet and Panturkic content. They attempt to select cadres for "Liberty" from among people inimically oriented toward the USSR.

For the purpose of obtaining spy and slanderous information, staff members of the section, keeping secret their place of work and simply calling themselves foreign compatriots, establish "contacts" with citizens from the USSR, who are abroad for scientific congresses, sports competitions, on tour or as tourists.

In 1970, at the time a group of Kazakh artists was in Sweden, Kh. Oraltay, a staff member of the section, presenting himself to workers of Stockholm, cast his "bait," but nothing came of it.

In May 1982, at a world championship meet in Munich, A. Dzhanymkhanov, another staff member of the section, having invited Kazakh boxers to his home as guests, attempted to conduct hostile agitation.

These "compatriots" persistently foist themselves as companions on Kazakhs who have gone abroad. They invite them to their homes, serve as interpreters and take them around town. That portion of the information which is of no special interest is used in the preparation of slanderous radio broadcasts. The other information is passed on through channels to the CIA.

The majority of Kazakh emigrants do not approve and do not support this activity of the radio spies. They despise them and treat them as betrayers of the Motherland.

The leading method in the spy work of radio station "Liberty" is the "mosaic" method. All correspondence from the USSR--letters, newspaper, magazines are carefully analyzed, sorted, classified and are allowed to accumulate by topics. The Turkestan editorial office processes and then interprets the materials of Kazakh newspapers in their dirty broadcasts. This especially applies to newspapers in the Kazakh language--SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN, KAZAKH ADEBIYETY, LENINSHIL ZHAS, KAZAAKHSTAN MUGALIMI. Published materials of the magazines--ZHULDYZ, MADENIYET ZHANE TURMYS, BILIM ZHANE ENBEK, ARA and PROSTOR serve as objects of analysis. "Svoboda" is primarily interested in critical materials, articles and comments on particular defects and difficulties appearing in these publications. For purposes of authenticity the issue number of a newspaper or magazine and the name of the author are usually given in the broadcasts.

A number of the materials go directly through channels to the CIA, for example transmissions of Kazakh radio recorded in Pakistan by means of radio interception. The individual facts in these broadcasts are also tendentiously treated.

A favorite thesis of "Liberty" is the assertion that the CPSU ostensibly has for its aim the liquidation of national characteristics of the Soviet peoples. With this in mind, it belittles the independent achievements of the union republics attained in the years of the Soviet power. Transmissions in the Kazakh language frequently laud the economic, social and cultural achievements of the republic and then imperceptibly insert the proposition that Kazakhstan could have achieved more if it had not been a part of the USSR. Or it is loudly affirmed that the example of Kazakhstan's industrial development cannot serve as a model for underdeveloped countries. Why? On the ground that this Soviet republic, so to say, achieved its progress by "sacrificing its political independence."

What kind of "political independence of Kazakhstan" are they referring to? It turns out to be the very same independence as "Greater Turkestan," which the "Alash" Party and its leaders have ground very fine. "Let us weep in this regard," "Liberty" proposes.

Moreover, they do not forget to include emendations in this worn-out theme of an "independent Turkestan state." Thus, in recent years, in connection with the events in the countries of the Near and Middle East, there has been a significant increase in the radio broadcasts of the relative share of religious subject matter calculated for the "rebirth of Islam" on the territories of the Soviet Central Asian republics.

On the threshold of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR and the 250th anniversary of the voluntary annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia, the Kazakh section of "Liberty" organized a program of broadcasts devoted to these dates. They lauded the reactionary idea rejected by the Kazakh people back in the beginning of the '20s of transforming Kazakhstan "into a religious Muslim state." In January of this year, TASS commented sarcastically--"...and this proposed to a people on whose land launchings into space are being made!"

A constant thesis in broadcasts in the Kazakh language is also the thesis of "russification" and the "russification policy of the CPSU." This is usually presented in the context of "defense of national traditions" and the national language. Broadcasts for Kazakh youth have become frequent in which the attention of the listeners is drawn particularly to the fact that young Kazakhs do not know their own language and are forgetting and not adhering to national customs and traditions. At the same time, references are made to the fact that many Soviet Kazakhs consider the Russian language as their second language. The fact that the Russian language has made possible international contacts for all peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan the radio provocateurs prefer to remain silent on.

In recent years broadcasts have become more frequent of the series "Kazakhstan Through Foreigners' Eyes." In them, slanderous statements in the Western press, over the radio and television by isolated foreign correspondents and tourists who have visited Kazakhstan are commented on. An American journalist, D. Gallagher, came across somewhere in the environs of Chimkent a certain Khasen, who turned out to be a talkative Uzbek in a turban, living in an adobe hut, resisting in every possible way being moved into modern multistory buildings rising all around. This material denigrating our life appeared on the pages of CHICAGO TRIBUNE in August 1982.

Another equally knowingly lying statement appeared by another American journalist, John Bern, who had been in Kazakhstan in the summer of last year. He had fished out from the entire multifaceted life of the republic "significant disagreements among the peoples and nationalities of Kazakhstan."

From a critical article in the newspaper LENINSHIL ZHAS on an excessively extravagant marriage and a news item in KAZAKH ADEBIYETY on the harm of alcoholism, "Liberty" makes the conclusion "of loss of national traditions and on everyhand of abuse of alcoholic drinks by Kazakh youth." And inasmuch as this did not exist before the October revolution, these facts are no more nor less than "products of the Soviet power."

"Liberty" reacted with malicious comments to a report by the Kazakh Telegraph Agency on the birth in Alma-Ata of its millionth inhabitant (its main point was "it is a good thing that this millionth inhabitant born in the capital of Kazakhstan turned out to be of Kazakh nationality").

"The theme is rampant from broadcast to broadcast of the growth of "centrifugal forces" to counterbalance the Marxist-Leninist position of the rapprochement of nations and strengthening of the unity of the Soviet people."

Slandering the Soviet Union, imperialist propaganda tries with all its energies to cover up the exploiting nature of its bourgeois system. The ideologues of imperialism realize that against the background of the achievements of the world revolutionary progress and the undoubted successes of the countries of the socialist community, the vaunted "image of the free world" collapses and the prestige of the United States and its satellites falls more and more.

There is now need to speak of how great the importance is of the mass information media in our time. According to the latest UNESCO data, our planet has more than a billion radio receivers, more than 25,000 radio stations and 400 million television sets. On the average there are 225 radio receivers per thousand persons, and 60 percent of the inhabitants of our continent obtain information from radio broadcasts.

Mass information can be used for improving mutual understanding among peoples and for contributing to a positive solution of the most important international problems. But it can also be used for achieving aims of an opposite nature: the fomenting of mistrust and hatred among people. U.S. subversive services use today the most filthy methods of "psychological" or, as they now say in Washington, "psychopolitical" war, a war aimed at spurring on the arms race.

As before, the radio waves of "Liberty" carry the dirty scum of anticommunism. Today this relic of the "cold war" continues to be used by aggressive forces inimical to peace for the same purposes, which would like to put an end to relaxation of international tension and to unleash a thermonuclear war.

"The entire course of the struggle against ideological subversion by imperialism shows the futility of its attempts to totter the socialist social system, to shake the ideological conviction of Soviet people," Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov pointed out. "Under the leadership of Lenin's party, the Soviet people repelled all attacks of its enemies, successfully resolved the constructive tasks of the revolution and for the first time in the history of mankind built a developed socialist society."

A clear and bright road lies before the peoples of the USSR. For the emigrant rabble of "Liberty," baring their teeth out of an alien doorway--an inglorious and pitiful end.

7697

CSO: 1830/181

INTERNATIONAL

SWISS 'PROVOCATION' AGAINST VISITING SOVIET MUSICIANS DETAILED

Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 83 p 4

[Article by Yu. Geyko, Leningrad special correspondent: "Provocation. The Swiss Criminal Police Stage a Political Show"]

[Text] On 7 October, just before noon, in the center of Bern, the capital of Switzerland, a country "which tranquilly carries on its trade," a sordid anti-Soviet show was staged in the Naegeligasse. Police agents of various departments in their black leather jackets and calm men in civilian clothes carried out the job. The directors of this kind of performance prefer to stay out of the light but it is not hard to identify them on the basis of their individual style. There were many spectators, and thousands of passersby in the Swiss capital could, without charge, observe this shameful spectacle. However, this did not seem to be enough to the organizers, and they arranged press and television coverage. Searchlights were replaced by bright summery natural sunlight and in the light of noon, in buses with windows like storefronts, 120 persons with Soviet passports sweated and were tormented by uncertainty and indignation.

It would be hard to recognize in those tired people the artists who had delighted world capitals and for whom the most difficult critics turned poet and competed in finding expressions of praise and headlines such as "A wonder from Leningrad", "Oh, Those Magnificent Russians", "Remarkable Guest-Artists", "World-Class Artists", etc. Only the day before, they had delighted the most cultivated audiences in the "freest" countries. But today this public rushed from their buses when the police announced from their cordon that "The Russians stole 8,000 francs."

Some were not pacified by the praise and headlines, the triumphal appearances of our artists and the enthusiasm of the audiences, and their voices cried out in spiteful anti-Soviet tones, "Who let these Russians hold subscription seasons in the most important concert halls?" "A series of misunderstandings" and "incidents" trailed them from country to country.

On the night of 30 September a young musician Sergey Shul'ga saw a man at the window of his room in the Holiday Inn in the West German city of Ingolstadt. A man also appeared at the window of the neighboring room. Sergey called the police. They reassured him. The next morning, it turned out that a wallet

containing a passport and money was missing from the jacket of his neighbor, Boris Shevelovich. The police arrived. "We arrested him but we let him go," declared one of the upholders of law and order, "since nothing was found on him." A second agent said, "The fellow said there two of them."

Even one musician without documents, and thus without the right of movement, meant that there was a danger that there might not be a concert. "Leave Mr Shevelovich and you continue on. We will go into the matter," declared the authorities. "That's not the way we do things," answered the group leader, Marta Petrovna Mudrova, deputy head of the cultural administration of the Leningrad City Ispolkom.

In Bern they found that various objects had been disturbed by outsiders, baggage locks were broken, and not only hotel personnel but also courteous visitors who left as quickly as possible were found in their rooms at the wrong times.

The musicians of the Leningrad Order of Lenin and Order of the October Revolution S.M. Kirov Opera and Ballet Theatre did not believe that this was provocation. They did not believe it when the police stopped them and held them in their cordons like criminals. They did not believe it when a photographic-reporter immediately appeared; when window panes on the third floor of the building across the way flashed and disappeared and, in their place, there appeared a man with a telecamera and a microphone; and when a policeman entered one of the three buses transporting the Soviet musicians and said, "Which one of you was in the bookstore next to the Kreuz Hotel at this time yesterday?"

Two musicians, Vladimir Yakolev and Ruben Ramazyan, stood up. But neither they nor their friends and colleagues believed in the savagery of a civilized country until their bus was forced into the stoney enclosure of the police headquarters, until the iron gates slid shut behind them, until 35 Soviet artists were lined up next to their baggage and two of the, Volodya and Ruben, were taken, one by one, into the depths of the building.

"You need them so you carry them," said Ruben when he was ordered to carry the suitcases.

The boys did not guess that they would search every stitch and every centimeter, not only of the suitcases and their contents, but also their own clothes, all of which they would have to take off; and that they would search in socks, heels and underwear. They were forced to do physical exercises after undressing.

This was open, insolent and unrestrained mockery and humiliation. At the end of the search, the police were definitely downhearted and it was clear that they themselves did not believe in what they were being forced to do.

Their troubles began in the Naegelistrasse when two women appeared alongside the buses which had just been stopped. They laughed and chatted and did not look like people who had lost 8,000 francs the day before. It is true that the

authorities "corrected" the amount to 2,800, but the former sum was enough so that (according to the police) the cashier and salesperson of the bookstore lost not only peace of mind, but also their jobs.

"The money disappeared when two customers of the Slavic type entered the bookstore and bought a book on Bern."

Now dark skinned, dark haired Ruben with the mustache can only gesture broadly with his hands at the expression "of the Slavic type" and, as concerns the missing item, if such a sum was in the bookstore in the morning then neither the cashier nor the salesperson would have abandoned the automatically locking cash-box and left them alone.

In all, 12 Soviet musicians were in that shop. And all of them agree that they had not seen these two women at the cash-box or at the counter.

The head of the delegation, Marta Mudrova, and the interpreter, Inna Andriyenko, were immediately isolated and were brought to the police station. After an hour, they were allowed to phone the Soviet embassy, but they were not allowed into the buses. Here the German "Halt" held sway. Marta Petrovna, in the hospital, now recalls what happened minute by minute: a half hour later embassy personnel arrived and 1 hour 55 minutes later, all watched through the window as the bus carrying the musicians accompanied by police cars rolled into the court for the search.

"If you refuse we will search you by force." "You are not going to get out of here." "Switzerland is not subject to any international laws. We have our own laws." She recalls that these were the answers of the Deputy Chief of the Criminal Police. She also recalls that he shouted. He roared like an animal.

The 83 passengers of the two other buses, which were parked not far from the police station, knew nothing of the results of the search or of the fate of the delegation head and the interpreter. The Swiss working behind open windows alongside shouted disapprovingly to them that the search was being directly transmitted by television and that it was not nice to steal.

Thirty-three persons from the third bus were lined up as before with their baggage. The search continued for about one hour.

Natasha Shlykova, a flutist, had a pain in her heart. "In order to help her" they invited her through the same door through which they had taken Ruben and Volodya. Natasha refused. The musicians were indignant for the authorities could not supply either medicine or a chair. A policeman went out for a chair, but he didn't come back.

The bus parked alongside rocked and sank as a result of the zeal of a dozen policemen. In a fit of pathological anti-Sovietism they went through the cases containing expensive and sometimes unique instruments, air conditioners, seats, personal belongings, etc. The police paid no attention to requests by M. Krastin, the director of the theatre, that the search be conducted in his presence.

Meanwhile in Zurich, the head conductor of the theatre, the USSR People's artist and USSR and RSFSR State prizes laureat, Yuriy Temirkanov, and the RSFSR state prize and Lenin Komsomol P.I. Tchaikovsky international competition laureat, Mikhail Pletnev, were waiting for the musicians in the hotel lobby. They had arrived earlier by car and had not believed the information received by phone that "The buses have been stopped because money has been stolen" and "The concert cannot be given in Zurich." They did not know that the firm which had invited them for the guest performance had offered to compensate the bookstore for the "losses." But they believed in their friends and they knew that what had been said over the phone could not be true.

At the Soviet embassy calls were made at the highest levels.

"We cannot help you," they were answered, "this is a criminal and not a political matter. If the money is not found, then they will apologize and let them go."

When the bus finally rolled into the street with Ruben, Volodya and Marta Petrovna onboard, they were met with applause.

The buses had rushed the 105 km to Zurich at a furious pace. Still onboard, they put on their tails, took out their instruments and tuned up. Temirkanov stood in the street in front of the concert hall and kissed the musicians pouring out of the bus one after another. Pletnev had already been on stage playing for almost an hour.

He was performing Bach and he saw that some of the audience displeased by the delay in the appearance of the orchestra were leaving the hall. But he continued to play, knowing that his friends were on the way and that there was an extreme need and that the situation had to be saved.

A few minutes later, the spectators who had left were moving back into the hall.

This was 7 October, USSR Constitution Day. And it was on this very day that the charms of the much-vaunted bourgeois democracy had been demonstrated to the Soviet artists.

And what happened next? There was the huge headline in the newspaper BLICK: "Bern Police Search Soviet Musicians" and the closing line of the article, illustrated by a photo of the cordoned-off bus, was "But without success."

No, gentlemen, there was a success. Not yours, but ours and it was this:

"All 120 musicians showed.... sensitive musical culture....The amazing technique of Mikhail Pletnev and the almost frightening maturity of the interpretations" (BRAUNSCHWEIGER ZEITUNG)

"The feeling of musical magic....A triumph of the sympathetic Soviet musicians which carried away the listeners. The charm of this brilliant orchestra" (WIESBADEN TAGBLATT) and many others.

A letter arrived in Leningrad recently addressed to M. Krastin, the director of the orchestra:

"... I was extremely delighted by our meeting with you in Zurich and I still have a strong feeling of regret that it took place on such an unfortunate day. I consider it unfortunate not only for you but also for our country; and never in my life have I been so ashamed of us. It is even difficult to see how we can make up for such a shameful event.

However it is consoling that your orchestra, in an incredibly difficult situation, completely conquered the Zurich public. This is not only my impression but it is also the opinion of the Zurich critics who are excessively demanding when it comes to music."

This letter was sent to Leningrad by a Swiss who is a well-informed and famous person.

But the main thing is that he is an honest man.

12497

CSO: 1800/206

## INTERNATIONAL

### ROLE OF SHIITE CLERGY IN IRAN DISCUSSED

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 9, Sep 83 (signed to press 1 Aug 83)  
pp 54-56

[Article by Ye. Doroshenko, candidate of historical sciences: "The Shiite Clergy in Iran"]

[Text] As distinct from Christian Europe, in the Muslim world there has been nothing which can be called the clerical class in the strict sense of the world. Shiite ideology, for example, was initially created by those tradesmen and craftsmen who were able to accumulate a certain amount of money which enabled them to engage in matters pleasing to God--gathering legends about the life of the prophet Muhammad and Shiite imams. These tales were passed down from generation to generation, and their ancestors familiarized the umma, the Shiite community, with them.

At the beginning of the tenth century, Muslim theology and law were separated from one another. As a result, people who were recognized as experts in the sphere of Muslim theology--they were called ulemas--became some of the preservers of the tradition; there were others, experts in the area of Muslim and particularly Shiite law, came to be called faqihs--lawyers. European historiography and Islam studies called these Muslim scholars the clerical class, but this is generally not correct even in the present day.

Countries of the Muslim world, with its multistructured nature, typically have considerable mobility of the class gradations, and the class and political orientation of the clergy differs extremely. But one can say that in the states of the Near and Middle East, including in Iran, Muslim clergy are a socio-legal grouping which combines a certain professional activity which has special sources of income, tax privileges and a number of duties that are peculiar to it. We repeat that this grouping can be called the clergy.

At the present time in Iran (where the Shiite branch of Islam, according to the constitution, is the state religion), there are about 200,000 clergymen of the high, middle and lower levels. The highest of them are the marja'-e taqlid (literally: source for imitation), the Ayatollah (sign of God), the ayatollah al-uzma (great Ayatollah) and the hojjat ol-Eslam (God's law). All these clerical figures in their knowledge of Islam have reached the degree of each ijtehad (interpretation, highest degree of knowledge)

and can be called mujtahid--this means that they have the right to give a personal conclusion regarding essential issues of Islam and Muslim law and to introduce a fatwa--a prescription regarding religious issues that are mandatory for all Shiites.

But in order to become a mujtahid, it is not enough to have perfect knowledge in the area of the Koran, fiqh (Muslim jurisprudence), shariat and hadiths (legends about the life of the prophet Muhammad) and akhbar (Shiite legends about imams). A candidate to be a mujtahid leads a noble life and is distinguished by a special devotion to God, and he must be extremely modest in his demands and be concerned about the poor, the orphaned and the ill. Through all this behavior he acquires an aura of "sanctity" in the eyes of the people.

The future mujtahid spreads among believers his interpretation of the traditions of Shiism and preaches in mosques. His followers--the mullas of the city, quarter and rural mosques--explain his views to people. When a candidate to be a mujtahid wins popularity, religious taxes, tributes and sacrifices from the believers begin to come into him. Gradually the representatives of the Shiite clerical elite begin to call him a mujtahid.

According to Shiite teachings, all mujtahids are equal and subordinate to God and the "hidden" imam.\* But in practice only a few of them are recognized as truly worthy of carrying out the ijtihad--that is, introducing a fatwa. There have been no more than 50 of these mujtahids throughout the history of Shiism. In the 1940's and 1950's this right was held by Marja'-e Taqlid Sayyid Husayn Borujerdi (died in 1961). After him the right to the fatwa was acquired by Marja'-e Taqlid Hakim, and after he died--Marja'-e Taqlid Khonsari, who was recognized in 1972 as the head of the Shiite community. According to data given in the "Iran Almanac" in 1975, there were about 100 Ayatollahs in the country and seven people had the title of marja'-e taqlid.

The clergy in Iran have always had the opportunity to engage in any kind of activity, including trade, but they were not burdened with taxes, which gave them advantages over other social groups. This brought the clergy closer to the merchant-entrepreneur circles. Even beginning in the 16th century the elite of the clergy were augmented not only from families of Muslim theologians, but also those who came from trade and business circles.

The clerical elite in Iran had large landholdings and had large incomes from waqfs--land and property given as tribute to the mosques and madrasas by the shahs, the court, merchants and wealthy individuals for charitable purposes. Their income was also augmented with mandatory taxes from believers.

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\*A basic tenet of Shiism is the teaching about the "hidden imam." He is the 12th (beginning with Imam Ali) imam, who is called Muhammad ibn Hasan. It is thought that he did not die, but has hidden himself until a certain hour, and conveys his will to people through theologians with special authority.

The Shiite clergy jealously protected all of their economic and legal privileges. Marriages between members of Shiite clergy in authority and well-known Iranian aristocrats, feudals and the upper comprador bourgeoisie were a common occurrence in Iranian society. Because of these family ties, eminent representatives of the Shiite clergy were elected to the majlis and could exert an influence on adopting and repealing laws.

During the period of the rule of the Pahlavi dynasty (1925-1979) many essential privileges were taken away from the Shiite clergy. Nonetheless, its elite remained a fairly appreciable force in the state, and the shahs had to deal with them.

The historical, economic and political changes that have taken place in Iran since the Pahlavi rule have had an appreciable effect on the makeup and situation of the clergy. It came to include more members of families of clergy of the middle and lower ranks. Moreover, it was augmented with petit bourgeois segments of Iranian society: families of store owners, merchants, craftsmen and farmers. In 1975, there were about 10,000 future theologians studying in the madrasas of Qum, Mashhad, Isfahan and Tabriz, and half of them came from rural areas.

The selection of those entering the madrasa was usually done by the school administrator himself, who had a high clerical office, and the theologians with the most authority. Since the Middle Ages there has been a tradition: they have accepted into the madrasas young people not only from the clergy itself and the nobility, but also those who were physically strong and courageous, and capable of armed participation in the Jihad--"the holy war"--for the faith. Moreover, according to Shiism, this was to have been a war not only against the "unfaithful," but also against tyrant shahs and Muslim heretics. Student theologians repeatedly had to defend the madrasa and their mentors in Qum, Mashhad and Najaf from the shah's troupes, the government forces of Iraq, and so forth. Students who studied under the Ayatollah Khomeyni in Najaf, during his immigration period had mastered weapons well, as had his followers in the Fayziyeh Madrassah in Qum. They made up the nucleus of the pasdar--"guardians of the Islam revolution."

The clergy of the lower ranks has always exerted an appreciable influence on Muslims, and still does. These include mullas and akhunds (literally--"teacher"), pishnamazes ("forthcoming" in prayer in the mosque), that is, most of the clergy of the country.

The mullas of city, area and village mosques do not have such a basic education as the higher clerical authorities, although they study in the madrassah (no more than five-six years). They live on contributions from the population. The mujtahid gives them a small additional amount after they have gathered religious taxes from the population and given them to him.

Even in the 19th century certain mujtahids formed around themselves something like a "private army" made up of students at the madrassah and mullas. Thus,

the mullas acted not only as publicizers of the views of their spiritual leaders, but also as a "physical expression" of their power.

The rank-and-file mullas played a significant role in the events of 1963 and in the clashes between the clergy and the shah's troops, and they were able to rally the petit bourgeois and proletarian elements against governmental reforms. They also did a good deal to mobilize the Iranian national forces against the shah's regime in 1978-1979 and they themselves participated in them with arms.

When the Shiite clergy headed by imam Khomeyni came into power in February 1979, the mulla became the central figure not only in Shiite centers--Qum and Mashhad--but also in previously secular cities such as Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz, Tabriz, Ahvaz, Qazvin and others. In Iran today no less than 9000 mullas hold responsible posts in the government, comprising an impressive majority in the parliament (majlis), carrying out legislative and legal functions in shariat courts, procurators offices and military tribunals, and controlling the army, the police and the body of "guardians of the Islam revolution." People turn to clergy officials with requests of a personal and social nature.

By the beginning of the events of 1978-1979 there were approximately 17 of the most popular Ayatollahs with the greatest authority living within Iran. Seven of them had the title of marja'-e taqlid. They included Ayatollah Shari'atmadari, who was considered to be the leader of the Shiite community in Iran and the main Shiite leader. He and the Ayatollahs Golpayegani and Mar'ashi-Najafi comprised the so-called "Qum triumvirate." They received the largest quantity of religious taxes and offerings, they were the administrators of the best known Qum madrasses, and they gave lectures there on Muslim theology and law. Each had jurisdiction over his own part of the city of Qum where there were also guardians of hospitals and religious museums, libraries and tombs of Shiite holy men.

When the Shiite clerical elite and their leader Ayatollah Khomeyni came into power in the country, there was a clearly marked religious hierarchy here, which had not existed previously during the entire history of Shiism. This hierarchy assumed a particular religious and legal form. The Ayatollah Khomeyni, whom the people (or rather, his closest allies) gave the rank of imam, became the leader of the religious community: his orders were mandatory for all Shiites, including for the ayatollahs and marja'-e taqlids. None of these higher religious officials had the right of the ijtihad anymore--the right to make an independent judgement regarding religious, socio-political or legal problems. Khomeyni kept for himself the right of a personal ijtihad: today in Iran he is the only one who can issue a fatwa which will become law. Imam Khomeyni personally took on the function of awarding clerical ranks as well--an unprecedented case in the history of Islam.

Shiite theologians who have reached perfection in the knowledge of Islam and a high degree of piety no longer become mujtahids in Iran. Most frequently Khomeyni gives these theologians the title of hojjat ol-Eslam.

This is a fairly high title, but it does not give the right to the ijtihad. In the autumn of 1980 Khomeyni appointed as a hojjat ol-Eslam the student Musavi Khoeyni, who had not completed his education in the madrassah but was in charge of the operation for taking over the American consulate and holding the American hostages.

Khomeyni wanted to see as his successor Ayatollah Montazeri, his son-in-law, who was boundlessly devoted to him. On Khomeyni's initiative the government propaganda during 1981-1982 advertised Ayatollah Montazeri as the successor of the imam. Every day Iranian newspapers and magazines print addresses and messages from Montazeri to the people, and he participates in representative conferences and congresses as Khomeyni's personal confidant. But up to this point Montazeri has not made an official statement that he is the one who is the successor to the imam. There is no unanimous opinion regarding this in Khomeyni's circle.

It is obviously the case that Montazeri does not have the proper respect among theologians and is not considered competent either as a theoretician of Shiism or as a practitioner. He is not a seyed (descendent of the prophet Muhammad) and he does not have the degree of ijtihad, although by an order from Khomeyni he is now called a great ayatollah. In the new constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran it especially stipulates that if with respect to the candidacy of the successor there is no unanimous opinion among Shiite leaders (as has been the case), it is necessary to select spiritual experts who are to select the board of guardians of Khomeyni's successors from three or five faqihs.

Not all representatives of the Shiite clergy agree with article 110 of the new constitution of Iran. It says that all clerical and secular power is within the hands of imam Khomeyni, who becomes the "velayat-e Faqih" (literally: "supreme board of Muslim law"). This principle means that imam Khomeyni, who formally is not head of state, is given unlimited rights in the legislative, executive and judicial spheres, in solving problems of war and peace, and in appointing and replacing the president of the country and the commander in chief of the army, and also deputies of the parliament and members of the government, if they "do not correspond to Muslim laws and are not true Muslims."

It is obvious that this is nothing other than an interpretation (and fairly arbitrary) of Shiite teachings about the "velayat hidden imam." According to this, the "hidden imam"--the bearer of the velayat, the intermediary between God and Muslims--is the highest authority for the Shiites, the "infallible head of the Shiite community who always exists." Therefore, the "velayat of the hidden imam" is never interrupted either. The only thing that can happen is that in his absence it is possible to have an intermediary between him and the community. This intermediary can be the most

pious spiritual leader with the most authority, but no one can assume this position for himself.

The first to come out against the principle of the "velayat-e Faqih" was the Ayatollah Shari'atmadari in the autumn of 1979 when the draft of the new Iranian constitution was being considered. He explained his point of view this way: during the period of elimination of the monarchy, during the first stage of the revolution, the power of the Faqih was historically necessary--then the "recognized leader of the people," Khomeyni, was forced to appoint the government himself. But subsequently the need for this disappeared, and now the principle of "velayat-e Faqih" can mean only a one-man dictatorship. Shari'atmadari thought that it is necessary to clearly delimit the functions of the faqih and the state agencies (the newspaper ETTELA'AT 24 October 1979).

In the area of politics Shari'atmadari called for moderation and was against a breakdown of the government staff which was formed during the time of the monarchy. He was a proponent of the liberal bourgeois tendency which was headed by Mehdi Bazargan, the former prime minister, who was defending the capitalist path of development for Iran.

In criticizing the new regime, Shari'atmadari was guided not only by political, but also by personal motives. Before the arrival of Ayatollah Khomeyni in Iran on 1 February 1979, Shari'atmadari was the main leader of the Iranian Shiite community, with whom the shah, his court and the government had to deal. But when, in the autumn of 1978 the opposition movements of the masses of people against the shah's regime began, for them the Ayatollah Khomeyni, who had not stopped for a single day, even in immigration, his severe attacks on the shah and his government, became the generally recognized symbol of the antishah and anti-imperialist struggle. Intending to smash the clergy, the shah suggested that Shari'atmadari head a council of five ulemas, which was envisioned as early as the constitution of 1906-1907, but was never convened. But under the conditions that were created, the Ayatollah Shari'atmadari declined the shah's suggestion.

When Khomeyni arrived in Iran, Shari'atmadari ceased to be one of the main Shiite authorities, giving way to Khomeyni and his allies.

One of Khomeyni's closest allies, Ayatollah Zanjani, was also openly against the "velayat-e Faqih." "Khomeyni's monopoly on the right to make religious and judicial decisions," he wrote, "stands in contradiction to Islam. The title of leader of the faith, which was given by the IRI constitution to Ayatollah Khomeyni, does not correspond to Islamic norms. There can be no comparisons between Shiite spiritual leadership and the Catholic Church, its hierarchy and structure" (NOUVELLES DU MONDE, 1981, No 10).

Although according to Shiism the great ayatollahs, ayatollahs and marja'-e taqlids cannot be deprived of their office of title without a collective decision of the Shiite elite, Khomeyni abolished the provision about the immunity of higher clerical officials, not considering many of them

"infallible" or "competent" (JOMHURIYE ESLAMI, 20 November 1980). Here he refers to an article of the new constitution, and not Shiite doctrine. He accuses them of collaboration with the former shah, a lack of agreement with the fundamental principles of the new Iranian constitution, opposition to measures of the new regime, and so forth. Certain mujtahids fell from favor; among them is one of the highest Shiite authorities, the Ayatollah Shari'atmadari (who since 1980 has actually been under house arrest), and the Ayatollahs Zanjani and Shirazi. Khomeyni forbade many of the representatives of the higher clergy to give sermons in the mosque, to teach and hold classes in the madrasa, to receive pilgrims and to go during the month of pilgrimage to Mecca. All of them are under the control of the "guardians of the Islamic revolution."

An active campaign was developed against Ayatollah Shari'atmadari, the pretext for which was the recognition of the former minister Qotbzadeh that Shari'atmadari knew about the antigovernment conspiracy that was being prepared in April 1982. In Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz, Ahvaz and other cities, with an immense gathering of people in the mosques, squares and bazaars, the mullas, Hojjat ol-Eslams and pasdars declared this ayatollah to be "incompetent" and "unworthy" of the clerical office. At mass meetings in which mainly emissaries of Khomeyni spoke, there was a demand to strip Shari'atmadari of his office, to bring him to court--also an unprecedented event in Shiism (KEYHAN, 20-25 April 1982).

Armed detachments of "guardians of the Islamic revolution" arrested about 2000 followers of the unseated ayatollah in Qum, disarmed his personal guard, and took the madrasseh of Dar al-Tabliq where he was a teacher for a long time, and drove out the students. The Qum clergy was forced to recognize the "incompetence" of Shari'atmadari as a religious and legal authority and to join in the resolutions of the mass meetings concerning depriving him of his office (JOMHURIYE ESLAMI, 21 April 1982).

But Khomeyni still did not decide to turn Shari'atmadari over to the court, although there was an entire campaign against him on television. Television viewers also saw the robe and turban taken from the ayatollah--signs of his clerical office. Thus the imam eliminated an extremely influential opponent who had repeatedly spoken against the autocratic rule of Khomeyni. Like other Qum ayatollahs, Shari'atmadari had repeatedly expressed his dissatisfaction with the fact that the majority of income went into Khomeyni's treasury and he himself disposed of it.

The severe measures against Ayatollah Shari'atmadari weakened the elite of the Qum clergy, and dealt a blow to the Qum madressehs and their students. Imam Khomeyni is striving to have in Qum and Mashhad the kind of madressehs in which they prepare cadres who are devoted to him. It was announced that under the leadership of the imam a Shiite school of Islamic thought was being founded, which would exert "a real revolutionary influence on the religious movement throughout the world" (JOMHURIYE ESLAMI, 3 May 1982).

Thus, in modern Iran there is a clerical hierarchy, at the very top of which is Khomeyni, who has concentrated all kinds of power in his own hands. The power of the state and the power of the clergy are merging. Merged with the state apparatus the clergy severely puts a halt to any kind of disagreement with the regime. Under these conditions any political opposition can be accused of an anti-Islamic orientation.

There is no unanimity in the clergy of present-day Iran as, incidentally, has always been the case. The one-man rule of Khomeyni causes dissatisfaction among some of them, depending on how close they are to the new system of power and how they have adapted to the existing circumstances. Although they do not express openly their attitude toward the regime, on the basis of certain information in Iranian and foreign press, one can get an idea of the alignment of forces within this group. Some of the clergy maintain neutral views, thinking that the Shiite elite, headed by the present regime, should not forget about its primary spiritual duties and not be transformed into politicians of the secular type. They consider the main goal to be working on disputed questions of Shiite theology, instilling a devotion to Islam in Iranians, observing shariat norms and preserving medieval Shiite traditions. Among the Shiite clergy there are the so-called madarist grouping who think that the Islam society in Iran should develop along the bourgeois path, dealing with questions of economics in the West. This grouping has the support of certain secular bourgeois political activists, representatives of the intelligentsia, and some of the students.

The ruling elite, headed by followers of Khomeyni who occupy the leading posts in the Majlis, the government, the courts, the administration and the state institutions, think that the clergy should intervene actively in politics, and participate in the administration of the country, without limiting their activity to the religious sphere.

On the whole, this elite is devoted to Khomeyni, acts on his behalf, and implements his principles. But certain of the Khomeyniites reveal an inclination toward pragmatic and realistic thinking. Such activists as the majlis chairman Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, the minister of foreign affairs, Hojjat ol-Eslam Velayati and Ayatollah Mahdavi Kani are in favor of normalization of the relations with certain countries of the East and Western Europe, and for following a flexible course of internal policy with the goal of expanding the social base of the ruling regime.\* True, in practice these activists are fairly cautious and do not openly relate their point of view to the extremist Khomeyni majority. But they are trying to accelerate and strengthen the Islamization of all aspects of the life of Iran, seeing in this a guarantee against the restoration of the monarchy and a path toward solving problems that are facing the country.

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\*Materials containing information which shows the separation within the clergy have been published, for example, in ETTELA'AT 29 April 1982; LE MONDE, 20 April 1982; L'EXPRESS, Paris, 1982, No 1593; EUROPA ARCHIV, Bonn, 10 January 1982; NOUVELLES OBSERVES, 11 March 1983.

Yet life shows that, for example, Islamization is now an adequate means of solving problems of the economy or ending the way with Iraq. The doctrine of Islamic egalitarianism advanced by Khomeyni, whose main essence consists in reducing the disparity between the oppressed (mostaz'e fin) and the prosperous (mostakbarin) and in making the Iranian economy rely on internal resources and needs, is being realized slowly and is encountering obstacles.

The observation council of the Majlis, which consists of the clerical officials with the greatest authority blocked a draft law adopted by the Majlis concerning nationalization of foreign trade on the basis that it "contradicts the precepts of the Koran" and does not correspond to the interests of the middle classes. The distribution of confiscated land among peasants with little or no land, which had been started, was also called to a halt. Twenty ayatollahs and hojjat ol-Eslams of the more conservative Majlis--followers of Khomeyni--vetoed the draft of the law concerning the redistribution of the land, calling it encroachment on the sacred Muslim right of the inviolability of private property. This reaction of the Shiite clergy is understandable if one keeps in mind that clerical officials are closely related to the merchant class of Iran and they themselves own land, and, moreover, they fairly arbitrarily handle waqf land which has been given by believers to the mosques and madrasas. The intention to shift back into the country the population which had been transformed into "pauperized" urban classes and proletariat was not carried out. On the contrary, the migration of rural population to the large cities has not decreased. The refugees from the zone of military actions between Iran and Iraq have also complicated this situation.

Certain measures of the present leadership of Iran--granting housing to the poor, working to demobilize soldiers and some of the unemployed, distributing small sections of confiscated land among the landless peasants--have been carried out mainly in Tehran, Isfahan and their outskirts, and they have almost not affected other regions of the country.

Since more than 50,000 representatives of the Iranian intelligentsia have abandoned the country, there are practically no professors or teachers left here, and many higher educational institutions have been closed. In Tehran University there are several faculties in operation but, in order to update their work, the "staff of cultural resolution" has had to turn for help to the university intelligentsia who received their education in the West. And they were subjected to a "purge" since they engaged in teaching activity during the time of the former shah.

Ayatollah Khomeyni said in one of speeches: "All of the country's problems will be resolved only with the appearance of the hidden imam, whose arrival all Shiites are awaiting" (JOMHURIYE ESLAMI, 26 July 1982). Thus he recognized the existence of many unresolved tasks and problems "on the path to the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran," including those whose solution was proclaimed at one time as the goal of the "Islamic Revolution." The slogans of social justice, which raised the masses to revolutionary struggle remain unrealized. The Shiite clergy, having taken over the power

in the country, first engaged in the restoration of outdated moral and aesthetic norms of the Koran and shariat in the social and spiritual life of the Iranian society. These norms, which correspond to the interests of the ruling regime, are imposed on all segments of the population without exception, and various methods of coercion are also utilized extensively. The "Islamic Revolution" gave rise to Islamic despotism.\* The main forces in the power of the Shiite clergy hold narrow, selfish class positions, which preclude radical social transformations. The social stage of revolution which was to improve the situation of the people came to a standstill. The unfortunate remained unfortunate. This causes alarm among the leading forces of the country, which has been honestly declared by the National Party of Iran (Tudeh) [as published], which for many years has fought against the monarchic regime and for social transformations in the life of the masses of people, and has been in favor of them since the overthrow of the shah. It is precisely because of this that they were subjected to mass severe repression on the part of Islamic authority who would tolerate no differences of opinion and declare any dissatisfaction with their policy to be contradictory to the norms of Islam. "The blow dealt by reactionaries to the Tudeh Party," as Professor R. Ul'yanovskiy notes, "is a blow to the Iranian revolution itself, whose conquests are now being threatened by a real danger from the right."

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\*See R. Ul'yanovskiy, "Iran--What Next? Moral Principles in Politics and the Area of Morality," LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, No 25, 22 June 1983.

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CSO: 1830/44

INTERNATIONAL

RADIO TASHKENT DESCRIBES 'REAL ENEMIES' OF ISLAM IN AFGHANISTAN

GF191711 Tashkent International Service in Uzbek 18 Jan 84

[Unattributed commentary: "Who Are the Enemies of the Religion of Islam in Afghanistan?"]

[Text] Dear listeners, the PDPA's and the DRA Government's policy toward the Muslims in Afghanistan was discussed during the recent meeting of the PDPA Central Committee Political Bureau in Kabul. At this point it is useful to recall that during the beginning of the second stage of the April Revolution--that is to say during the [word indistinct] months of 1980--the Revolutionary Council, which is the law-enacting supreme organization, approved the main principles of the activities of the populist sovereignty. As regards the Muslim community, these principles call for respect for the sacred religion of Islam, the national traditions of that country, and the legal rights and freedoms of the people as well as for the establishment of democracy.

We also deem it necessary to recall a number of remarks made by Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, regarding freedom of religion. On several occasions Babrak Karmal said that those who have grudges against Muslims, bring pressure on them because of their religious traditions, and oppose the sacred religion of Islam (?violate this principle).

In addition to the undeclared war against Afghanistan, the circles which are waging a real war against that country--that is to say those among the basmachis who harbor hatred against the revolution which was staged for achieving independence--are continuing to (?abuse) the religious feelings of the majority of the Afghan people. For example, the names of a number of organizations set up by the counterrevolutionaries, who have established lairs in countries neighboring Afghanistan, end with the word Islamic. Jami'at-e Eslami, Hezb-e Eslami, and Harakat-e Eslami are among them. As such, the religious nature of these counterrevolutionary organizations is being emphasized. However, these organizations are the centers of secessionist activities against Afghanistan. They have come under the influence of destructive organizations in imperialist countries and dark (?forces) in a number of Arab countries. The agents of these organizations have tried several times to destroy mosques and schools. Sometimes they have succeeded.

For example, once they tried to destroy the mosque in Mazar-e Sharif. A number of mullahs who called for support for the populist sovereignty have been killed by the murderers sent into Afghanistan. Once, Ghulam Daud, a member of the (?Muslim Brotherhood) organization from Herat, tore up the pages of the sacred Koran, wetted them, and then stuck them on places where people passed by. When the religious people became infuriated after seeing the torn pages of the Koran, Ghulam Daud appeared disguised as a mullah telling them that this gross sacrilege was the work of the populist sovereignty. According to his view, the populist sovereignty in Afghanistan intended to push the religion of Islam into oblivion.

This is empty calumny. The populist sovereignty is making a great effort in favor of the religious people. During the years which have lapsed since the April Revolution, dozens of new mosques have been built in Afghanistan and many millions of Afghans have been spent for repairing old mosques. Tens of thousands of Muslims in Afghanistan have had an opportunity to perform hajj. Don't the leaders of the counterrevolutionaries in foreign countries know this? Yes, they do. However, they do not wish to refrain from levelling calumnies against the populist government. The situation in that country is improving and many of the religious people and renown Muslim clergymen are expressing support for the populist sovereignty. During prayer times, the mullahs are calling on the people to support the populist sovereignty.

CSO: 1836/33

INTERNATIONAL

RADIO TASHKENT, MOSCOW ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM OF USSR MUSLIMS

Tashkent on Official Concern for Soviet Muslims

GF281418 Tashkent International Service in Persian 1600 GMT 27 Jan 84

[Unattributed commentary in series on Muslims in eastern Soviet Union]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners: In the fall of the current year, the people of Uzbekistan will celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the UZBEK SSR and the Uzbekistan Communist Party.

Dear friends, with a quick glance at the pages of history of the Soviet Union and the present way of life of the people, it becomes immediately clear that all the charges leveled by the opponents of our ideology regarding the (?lack of freedom) in the Soviet Union are nothing but lies. It should be recalled that Lenin, the founder of the CPSU and the first government of workers in the world in 1905 at a time when the Soviet government had not been established in the Soviet Union, wrote in his work entitled "Socialism and Religion" that every individual should be completely free to follow any religion or even not to believe in any religion, that is, to be an atheist.

It is a fact which proves the above that the followers of various religions in our country, which are about 40 in number, have their own organizations. (Yusef Khan Shaker) deputy chief of the organization for the religious affairs of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan said: [he speaks in Uzbek which is followed by Persian translation]: Our organization administers the religious affairs of the followers of the holy prophet through the imams of the mosques in the cities and villages of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and the Kirghiz SSR. According to Soviet laws, the doors of the mosques are open to the devout who offer daily, Friday, and 'Id prayers.

Seyyed Nureddin (Musa) from the DRA, who visited Uzbekistan last year as a member of the delegation of Afghan youths, said: The most interesting thing is that the Soviet Government and the Soviet people have paid great attention in protecting and maintaining Islamic historical monuments especially in safeguarding the mosques with due respect and [words indistinct].

Soviet Muslims Support Communism

GF071310 Tashkent International Service in Persian 1600 GMT 6 Jan 84

[From "Listeners' Program"]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners: A number of you in your letters addressed to Radio Tashkent have asked us about various aspects of the lives of the people of Soviet Union. You have asked us many questions, one of which is why the Muslims of the Soviet Union support the Soviet Government and the policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Our correspondents in interviews with Soviet citizens who work in a wide range of occupations asked them to answer these questions.

We begin with an old religious man. [his remarks translated into Persian by announcer] In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. He says: My name is 'Abdol 'Aziz Qadari and I am 80 years old. I remember that the Soviet regime has come to power by holding talks with the masses and respecting peace and friendship. Since coming to power it has concentrated on the welfare of the working people. This can be seen clearly in my own life and in those of my kith and kin. He added: We lead a prosperous life. Families of my sons and daughters also lead prosperous lives. I get a retirement pension. So why shouldn't I be satisfied with the Soviet Government and the noble work of the Soviet Communist Party? In my prayers I praise the Soviet Government and the Soviet Communist Party for giving me a peaceful and prosperous life.

Next we turn to Mrs Ma'rfat (Osmanolov), a religious mother who has many children. [her remarks are translated into Persian by announcer] She says: I am the mother of 11 children. Thank God all of them are educated and have gained expertise in many lines. My eldest son (Ummatollah) is a geologist. He publishes a magazine on scientific subjects. My daughter-in-law is an engineer. My daughter (Raizafam) has completed a course at the secondary teachers college. She has often been selected as their representative by people and at present holds the post of the head of the council of [indistinct]. She added: Another son (Arinjian) has completed his course at the cottongrowing agricultural college and is now working in the Uzbekistan department of agricultural machinery. My other children are also educated. They have been trained and help us in meeting family expenses. Physicians always looked after the health of my children. Like other mothers, I do not want a war. I wish that my children like all other children of the world can live healthy and peaceful lives. I therefore am grateful to the Soviet regime and the Soviet Communist Party which always works in the service of the people.

## Moscow on Soviet Muslims' Living Standard

NC141018 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1700 GMT 13 Jan 84

[Commentary by Igor Sheftunov]

[Excerpts] Greetings, dear listeners. Foreign guests, including Muslim dignitaries, who come to our country attach great importance to the progress achieved in the Soviet Union's central Asian republics, once they become acquainted with life in these republics.

But what is the basis on which these achievements were made? In his book "Islam and the Muslims of the Soviet Union," (mufti Ziaeddin Ibn Ishan Babakhan), head of the clerical department of central Asia and Kazakhstan, refers to this aptly and distinctively, and writes: The prophet's discourse, stating that water, pastures, and fire should belong to everyone, has motivated the pious Muslims to work together toward the nationalization of the major facilities that ensure the existence and development of society, namely factories, large industrial units, and electricity generators, which, like land and irrigation networks, form the infrastructure of the country's economy.

These achievements are noted everywhere, including in Iran. I remember during the Tehran International Fair last year, tens of thousands of visitors to the Soviet pavilion showed great interest in the displayed items which portrayed the progress achieved by the Soviet Union's eastern republics. Part of this pavilion devoted to the mountainous Kirghiz SSR was especially a great attraction. Visitors showed interest in everything and asked why Kirghiz SSR is at a higher level than West European countries in the field of higher education and how this republic surpassed these countries in the rate of housing. I approached an elderly man who was more inquisitive than the rest and asked why he was so interested in the situation in Kirghiz SSR? He answered: If the smallest and most remote republic of the country, which was previously the most underdeveloped, has made such spectacular achievements, then what can be said about the rest of the republics?

During our conversation, a group of ruffians entered the pavilion. The revolution guards were more than happy to allow them to enter our pavilion out of turn. The ruffians immediately approached the exit doors, shouted trite anti-Soviet slogans, and hurriedly left the pavilion amid the visitors' expressions of aversion to this behavior. The elderly man who was our companion in conversation said: Shouting and making empty promises--this is what they can do. But they never fulfill their promises. He related that after the revolution the people attached great hopes to the officials' promises on the uprooting of profiteering and unemployment, solving the housing problem, and distributing land among landless farmers. But almost nothing has changed during the past years; and if something has changed, it has once again made the rich richer and the poor poorer like before. He concluded: In short, the situation of the working Muslims has not improved.

Officials form anti-Soviet marches in order to hide the achievements by the Soviet republics, especially achievements in the Muslim-inhabited republics which are very unpleasant to Iran, in view of the present situation there. Now to, like before, the pages of Iran's publications are filled with trite and hackneyed accusations against the Soviet Union. For example, the TEHRAN TIMES recently referred to the voluntary integration, more than 60 years ago, of the central Asian republics into the USSR--something that paved the way for all our country's peoples to progress and flourish--and wrote that this can be defined as the occupation of the territory of Muslim people.

Apparently Iran's officials have become so entangled in unsolved domestic problems and difficulties, and in their empty promises to the people, that they allow themselves to concoct such balderdash. It is very clear that no anti-Soviet propaganda and slander can hide from Iran's social circles the reality of the Soviet Union's situation, and the progress achieved by our country's peoples, namely the peoples of central Asia. The adage that "by slinging mud at the sun you can hide its rays" does not appear to be mere words.

Dear listeners, I thank you for your attention and greet you, until my next talk, with hopes for your steadfastness and success.

CSO: 4640/116

## INTERNATIONAL

### OFFICIALS AUTHOR BOOK ON PARTICIPATION IN UN ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS

Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 1, Jan 84 pp 50-52

[Book review by Nicolai Leventsev, Dr. Sc (Econ), of "The USSR in the UN Economic, Scientific and Technical Organizations" Editorial Board: Acad D. M. Gvishiani, chief editor, Ye. N. Makeyev, S. V. Tsukanov, I. M. Dmitriyev, G. A. Smirnov, Prof A. B. Frumkin; Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniya Publishing House, Moscow, 1983, 384 pp (in Russian)]

#### [Text]

The library of researches into the present stage of the United Nations Organization's activity was added to by an interesting and useful monograph written by a group of Soviet authors among whom are leading workers from the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade, the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations and a number of other ministries and departments as well as professors and lecturers of the All-Union Academy of Foreign Trade.\*

The authors consecutively and well-groundedly adhere to the idea that international organizations, especially such a universal organization as the UN are an important body of international economic, scientific and technical cooperation for all states irrespective of their so-

cio-economic systems. The monograph stresses that the Soviet Union considers the UN first of all as a political organization having unique possibilities for promoting the solution of a major problem facing mankind—the problem of peace and disarmament (p.8). At the same time the Soviet Union attaches great importance to multilateral cooperation within the framework of the United Nations Organization in the spheres of economy, science and technology as well as public health, education and culture.

This monograph analyzes the main aspects of the USSR's participation in the UN bodies. The obvious merit of the book is the problematic approach given to expounding the material which is of course justified as it is intended not only for practical workers dealing with the Soviet Union's foreign eco-

conomic relations but also for lecturers and scholars.

In the majority of cases the work's structure follows the "problem-organization" principle. This also refers to the matters of international trade (UNCTAD), the developing countries' industrialization (UNIDO), rendering technical assistance (UNDP), UN activity in environmental protection (UNEP), the peculiarities of organizing cooperation on a regional and subregional basis (the UN regional economic commissions), etc. This principle is especially vividly seen in chapter 14 showing the specificity of the Soviet Union's participation in the activities of such different organizations as, for example, UNESCO, the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Labour Organization (ILO), etc.

In the cases when the authors consider it expedient the Soviet Union's participation in the UN activity is analyzed on the basis of one complex problem without tying it to any specific link in the UN system. This can be said about chapters 3 to 5 (on restructuring international economic relations), chapter 9 (UN activity in the field of science and technology and the Soviet Union's participation in it), chapter 7 (TNC problems in UN activity) and chapter 12 (methodology and organization of international statistics).

The authors underline the necessity of further perfecting and raising the efficiency of the international

economic cooperation system, especially under the United Nations Organization.

The predominance of the developing countries' problems in UN's economic activity, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, the Western countries' attempts to split the ranks of the Group of 77, to cast aspersions on the socialist states' disinterested assistance rendered to young newly-free countries, the striving of the imperialist powers, through whittling down large problems into a series of small private questions, submit them for private consideration outside the UN—all these and many other factors cited in the monograph stress the qualitatively new character which the discussion of international economic cooperation problems attained on the threshold of the 1970s and 1980s.

The authors of the book well-groundedly, using numerous examples, prove that a prerequisite for achieving certain positive results in the sphere of restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis is the unification of the socialist and developing countries' actions. This important condition is particularly vividly seen in implementation of the concept of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) put forward by the developing countries in the mid-1970s at two special (6th and 7th) Sessions to the UN General Assembly. Despite certain drawbacks of this concept the Soviet Union politically suppor-

ted the NIEO idea. Our country acted in accordance with its international duty, the community of major interests of both groups of countries (socialist and developing) in the struggle for strengthening peace and security, for freedom and independence of peoples. Declaring its readiness to further promote the socio-economic progress of the young developing states in Asia, Africa and Latin America the Soviet Union and other socialist countries reject unacceptable points in the decisions adopted at the UNCTAD-5 as well as groundless claims addressed to the socialist countries contained in the programme documents of the Group of 77 (especially the Manila and Arusha documents). The monograph sufficiently fully (chapters 3 and 4) reproduces the substantiation put forward by the Soviet representatives who decisively decline attempts to make the socialist countries equally responsible with the Western countries for the developing countries' disastrous position and apply to them the same criteria as to the imperialist states, the real guilty parties of this situation.

The authors show the contradictory, non-consecutive position of the Group of 77 and differences in the attitude of some of its participants towards NIEO problems and other pressing questions of international economic cooperation. One of the approaches assuring all-round international cooperation under the UN and raising its efficiency is to take into account the interests of all countries irrespective

of their socio-economic system and guarantee a truly universal character to the major links in the UN system. This concept is confirmed in various parts of the monograph, in particular where the authors critically analyze the Western states' non-constructive, often obstructionist position in the UN bodies concerned with trade and economic cooperation of countries with different political systems.

A special section (chapter 5) criticizes the Western NIEO concepts. Other chapters as well critically analyze the bourgeois ideologists' outlooks.

The idea of "interdependence" widely spread in the Western countries, according to which an allegedly obligatory prerequisite for the developing countries' economic development is the Western countries' economic growth due to which it is in the interests of the developing countries to create suitable conditions for the Western countries, is absolutely untenable (p.58). Another concept of bourgeois theorists to a certain degree supplementing the "interdependence" idea in the economic strategy of the West and intended to disguise the predatory character of its policy towards the developing countries calls upon these countries to concentrate their main efforts on creating first of all labour-consuming production oriented on providing the minimum level of goods and services within the framework of the so-called population's "basic needs" concept (pp. 61-62, 92-93).

The idea of the "endogenous industrialization" in its ideological trend aimed against the developing countries' economic independence is close to the "basic needs" concept (pp. 170 and 171). It presupposes the development of small and medium industry, the infrastructure, sectors servicing agriculture and also "rural industrialization" and mineral extraction, primarily for export. Thus, through satisfying the "basic needs" it is meant to reduce the acuteness of developing countries' social problems and at the same time provide industrial capitalist countries' economies with deficit power resources and raw material.

On many problems analyzed in the monograph the authors followed the line of Soviet researchers who had been describing the same problems and their evolution over the previous decades and characterized the state of problems at the present-day stage of their development (the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s). As to certain matters (the transnational corporations, environmental protection) the monograph fully describes them to the Soviet reader for the first time and explains the Soviet Union's participation in solving them. All these questions and their institutional formulation refer to the last decade (for example, the UN Environment Programme, elaborated in 1972, the UN Commission on Transnational Corporations and the Centre on Transnational Corporations set up in 1974, etc.).

In this connection the short historical excursus with which the authors preface their analysis in necessary cases is worthy of approval as it provides the desired background against which the peculiarities of the contemporary stage of solving specific problem is seen more vividly. We think this is rather successfully done in a condensed form in chapters 8 (the developing countries' industrialization problems), 10 (technical assistance) and 13 (regional economic, scientific and technical cooperation within the UN framework).

In spite of the rather high scientific level of research, the monograph has a few drawbacks. Not all the chapters dwell on the questions in proper detail. In chapters 11, 12 and 13 the reference and information material dominates the problems. In our opinion, in the chapter dealing with certain features of the USSR participation in regional cooperation within the UN framework the analysis of the regional commissions' activities ought to have been prefaced with a generalized section characterizing the major processes occurring in the system of the UN bodies.

A general conclusion one can reach after reading monograph is the following: the Soviet reader received a valuable and, what is important, compact research into diverse modern problems of the UN economic, scientific and technical activities and the Soviet Union's specific contribution to it. The monograph convincingly confirms the

words of Yu. V. Andropov in his speech at the June (1983) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee that "in our epoch it is socialism that proves to be the most consistent defender of the more wholesome elements in international relations, the defender of detente and peace, of the interests of each and every nation as well as the human race as a whole."

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**CSO: 1812/107**

INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

SOVIET MEDICAL TEAM IN PRC--A Soviet medical workers delegation led by (Buynen), director of the Soviet Central Institute of Reflex Therapy [as heard], has been visiting Beijing at the invitation of the Chinese Ministry of Public Health. Guo Ziheng, Chinese vice minister of public health met with the members of the delegation. The Soviet medical workers visited institutes and clinics and obtained information about Chinese traditional medicine practitioners' research and new achievements in acupuncture. [Text] [OW290100 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to China 1430 GMT 28 Jan 84]

CSO: 4008/147

NATIONAL

ARGUMENT FAVORING 'POSITIVE HERO' COUNTERS DISPUTES FROM WEST

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 52, 27 Dec 83 p 7

[Article by V. Volkov in the column "Culture": "A Hero Coming from Life"]

[Text] Western propaganda, attempting to cling to its values, asserts that contemporary art does not need, it says, a positive hero, inasmuch as one 'does not exist in life'. What is the groundlessness of such opinions?  
V. Barbashina, Moscow.

First of all, let us look at where the positive hero comes from in the pages of books, on movie screens and in the theater. This problem traditionally is posed by journalists in dialogues with writers and dramatists. As a rule, the answer follows simply: naturally, from daily life. Especially noteworthy are hard workers who beautify our land with their labor, making it better, and become prototypes of one or another literary hero. We are not even mentioning the fact that our newspapers, radio and television allot so much space to the story of our best people. Therefore, the groundlessness of attempts of bourgeois propaganda to prove that in our society there are no people whose life can serve as a model for imitation becomes obvious. Now let us discuss this further.

When the "Voices of Radio" assert that a positive hero is unnecessary either to literature or to the reader, it should be kept in mind, first of all, art occupies very different positions in the USSR and in the West. If the art of socialist realism is permeated with social-historical optimism, bourgeois art has been hopelessly mired in deep pessimism and unbelief in social progress, in subjectivistic concepts distorting reality.

Of course, there are prominent artists in the West who hold independent views and whose creativity serves the ideas of humanism and progress. But as a rule for some reason their creativity, however, does not lie within the field of vision of the reviewers of the "Voices of Radio", and they are mentioned only among others if they are mentioned at all.

It is also characteristic that "Sovietologists" struggling with the field of literary criticism are not limited by examples from bourgeois culture but extend their nihilism (otherwise having no bases for this) to both Soviet literature and Soviet art. In particular, they assert that the positive heroes

of Soviet literature are contrived, which the reader of them simply does not perceive.

Such a view of Soviet literature is obviously biased. "Sovietologists" speculate about how there were years when so-called no-conflict existed in Soviet literature, the glossing over of reality. This, naturally, also gave birth to a certain ideal "rose-colored" hero, who in many works is sketchy and artistically inexpressive. However, this insignificant and artistically weak course, in the first place, received a just party evaluation, and, in the second place, and this is undoubtedly the more important, it certainly is not in a position to cancel the important achievements of Soviet literature of the thirties to the fifties.

Meanwhile "Sovietologists" up to now also claim that such works as "Chapayev" by D. Furmanov and "Kak zakalyalas' stal'" [How the Steel was Tempered] by N. Ostrovskiy, which have become classics of Soviet literature, have "only documentary-historical value", and the heroes of these books are far-fetched and impracticable.

In addition the fact is absolutely not taken into account that not just one generation of the Soviet people grew up on these works. It is also known that during the years of World War II, dozens of partisan detachments in France, Yugoslavia and Italy were called by the name Chapayev, and children are named Pavel Korchagin even in places as far away from the USSR as Africa....

Therefore there is every basis for speaking not of the "documentary-historical value" but rather of the worldwide-historical role of the books indicated and of the vitality and necessity of their heroes.

The search for a positive, ideal here always inspired the creative forces of genuine artists such as M. Gorkiy, M. Sholokhov, A. Fadeyev and L. Leonov. Through such heroes the writers, painters, dramatists and film writers aimed and are aiming to express their dreams, wishes, and hopes.

An understanding of the "positive hero" must not be considered as something set and static. The hero changes with the passage of time. And it is hardly possible to find a simple solution to this many-faceted problem. But the necessity for socially active, civic-minded characters was and remains one of the basic requirements of Soviet literature and art. This task is complex and it is all the more pleasant to note our achievements in the last few years. And for the most brilliant and complex forms created in literature one may refer to Yedigey in the novel "Buranny polustanok" [Buranny Station] by the Kirghiz writer Ch. Aytmatov, Kirill Zabolotnyy in the book "Tvoya zemlya" [Your Land] by the Ukrainian man of letters O. Gonchar and Anton Sobolev in the book "Gryadushchemu veku" [To the Next Century] by G. Markov. In dramaturgy it is the engineer Cheshkov in the play "Chelovek so storony [Man from the Side] by I. Dvoretzkiy who is the contemporary economic leader who knows the decidedly full order for undertakings opposing indifference and inertia which are required of both himself and others. It happens that Dvoretzkiy's hero also makes mistakes, but this cannot hide the most important thing in him--the aspiration to make the life of the people better. Torel, the secretary of the raykom of the party, in

the film of the Georgian producer R. Chkheidze, "Tvoy syn, zemlya" [Your Son, The Land], is also similar to Cheskov in many traits.

Therefore, is a positive hero necessary? In response to this question, Soviet writers, critics and readers are unanimous: he is necessary, very necessary. He is necessary for writers because such a person most completely reflects his times, his characteristics and purposes. Only by means of a positive hero is the writer capable of answering the question of what the Soviet man and the Socialist form of life are. Only such a hero struggling for the new, the progressive and the just helps the artist to discover not far-fetched but true conflict, without which a work cannot be significant. And, finally, an important and outstanding character is absolutely necessary for the reader, especially the young person who is seeking a reference point in life, examples and worthy imitations.

What then are the distinctive features of the positive hero of Soviet art?

In the first place, he is collectivist and perceives as his personal business everything relating to the interests and fate of his people, his native land. (This trait irritates "Sovietologists" because they believe that a person must oppose society.)

In the second place, he is an upright man who believes in such concepts as "conscience", "honor", "nobility" and "justice". (Opponents of Soviet culture ironically are concerned with understanding Communist morality.)

In the third place he is a dialectician, complex, now and then contradictory, and socially, publicly and civilly active. (This is also not understood by many "Sovietologists", who assume that all mankind today is consumed by skepticism and social pessimism.)

The positive hero comes to art from life. He comes back to life together with thousands of those who agree with him.

12410

CSO: 1800/231

REGIONAL

KGB OFFICIALS ATTEND NORTHWEST BORDER DISTRICT CONFERENCE

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 83 p 1

[LentASS article: "Conference of Borderland-Communists"]

[Text] Yesterday, a party conference of the Red Banner Northwest Border District took place.

The delegates elected an honorary presidium with enthusiasm, composed of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo headed by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Yu. V. Andropov.

A report was given by the Chief of the Army Political Section of the Red Banner Northwest Border District, Maj Gen P.A. Ivanchishin.

The secretary of the party commission V.S. Plotnikov delivered a lecture "On the Work of the party commission attached to the political section of the district armed forces."

The delegates expressed unanimous support of the Leninist course of party and Soviet government internal and external policy, the goal-oriented activity of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, directed at reducing international tensions and strengthening peace throughout the world, toward increasing the economic and defensive power of our motherland. Communists outlined the road for further improvement of party work.

The Deputy Chief of the Political Department of the USSR KGB Border-Guard Troops, Maj Gen A.S. Turukin, spoke at the conference.

The following participated in the work of the conference: Yu. F. Solov'yev, Col Gen D.N. Nosyrev, the chief of the USSR KGB Department for the Leningrad oblast; Lt Gen V.S. Nechayev, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Department of the Order of Lenin recipient, Leningrad Military District, Rear Adm A.I. Korniyenko, chief of the political section of the Leningrad Red Banner Naval Base, and of the military VMF [Army-Navy] institutions in Leningrad; N.V. Belyayev and N. S. Tikhonov, the secretaries of the CPSU Murmansk and Karelian party obkoms.

12505

CSO: 1830/179

REGIONAL

AZERBAIJAN CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE BURO MEETS ON LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 20 Dec 83 p 1

[Article: "In the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] At its regular meeting, the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Buro examined the question and outlined measures for the further development and increasing effectiveness of the brigade form of labor organization and stimulation in industry.

Having heard the report of the republic Ministry of Local Industry, the CP Buro noted that the ministry is conducting certain work to increase production, expand the variety of products and improve consumer goods. However, the measures still do not meet the requirements of the 26th CPSU Party Congress, the 30th Azerbaijan CP Congress and the most recent decisions of the party and government concerning fuller satisfaction of public demand for consumer goods. The ministry was allowed a two year waiver of its targets in the 11th Five Year Plan with respect to the overall volume of production and labor productivity. Plans for product deliveries in assortments stipulated by contracts are being disrupted. Few articles for children, sporting goods, or construction materials, which are already in critically short supply, are being produced. The specific share of production from local raw materials and from industrial by-products is significantly below the all-Union average. The quality of production has aroused many complaints.

In the resolution adopted, the attention of the collegium of the Ministry of Local Industry and Minister S.S. Akhunov personally was directed to the serious omissions in the work to increase consumer goods output, to expand their variety, and improve their quality. Specific measures, directed at eliminating shortages and improving the activity of local industry enterprises in the republic, were decided upon.

A resolution was also adopted regarding the work of the AzSSR Ministry of Light Industry to implement party and government decisions concerning strengthening the campaign against poor bad quality products.

The CC Buro examined the question of low quality joiners' goods manufactured by the Alyat woodworking combine of the republic Ministry of Forestry and

Woodworking Industry for the construction of civil housing projects. The resolution adopted notes that the leaders of the combine and the Ministry of Forestry and Woodworking Industry treat the implementation of party and government directives about improving product quality in an irresponsible manner. For several years, joiners' goods delivered at construction sites have been of low quality, which adversely affects the quality of civil housing projects being put into use.

Serious violations of production-technological and executive discipline are being allowed at the combine; technical documentation for the goods is missing, as are technological charts of labor processes and basic technological charts of labor processes and basic technological production regimes. Large scale shortcomings in labor organization and production appear to be the reason that the combine has not fulfilled the plans for all technical-economic indicators for a period of many years and produces poor quality goods.

Elimination of the serious shortcomings in the activity of the combine and the undertaking of measures to guarantee the production of joiners' goods for construction sites in accordance with the requirements of GOST [Government Construction Administration] were required from the leadership of the AzSSR Ministry of Forestry and Woodworking Industry and the Alyat wood-working combine.

For serious shortcomings in the work of the Alyat woodworking combine and the low quality of joiners' goods the minister of forestry and woodworking industry, comrade A.A. Ayriyan, was reprimanded; the deputy minister, comrade S.G. Gamidov was severely reprimanded with a notation entered on his record card; and the first deputy minister, comrade G.D. Gadiyev, was severely reprimanded.

After examining the question of measures for the further improvement of artistic education and training of children in the republic, the Central Committee Buro noted that, in recent years, party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, the ASPS [Azerbaijan Council of Trade Unions], the Azerbaijan Komsomol Central Committee, the ministries of education, higher and secondary specialized education, and culture and the creative unions conducted specific work in this field. At the same time, the level of this education does not fully meet the requirements of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The number of children participating in various forms of artistic education is still insignificant; the network of study circles and other creative associations in schools and in non-school institutions, especially in rural areas, is poorly developed. Provision of educational institutions with musical instruments, equipment and materials for fine arts activities is unsatisfactory. There are shortcomings in the popularization of artistic creativity among children. The potentials of republic higher and secondary artistic educational institutions, theaters and other creative institutions are being poorly utilized.

Specific measures were outlined in the adopted resolution to strengthen the attention given to artistic education and training of children, the

development of a network of musical and artistic schools, schools of the arts, societies, children's creative sections in palaces and houses of culture, clubs and parks.

The CC Buro also examined a number of other questions in the economic and general-political life of the republic.

12505

CSO: 1830/192

REGIONAL

READERS 'OUTRAGED' AT PENTACOSTALISTS' INFLUENCE OVER YOUNG

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 25 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by correspondent of SOVETSKAYA LITVA, L. Kreschenskaya: "Marathon to 'Nowhere'"]

[Text] The article "'Hunters' of Mens' Souls" published in this year's October 4th and 5th editions of our newspaper drew a wide response among our readers. It must be said that they basically expressed the same opinion in their letters and are in agreement with the author. This simplifies my task in the review of letters. Also gratifying is the fact that people discuss the place of religion in our reality in a sensible and interested manner.

"If one recalls recent history," writes Yu. Misyavichus from Vilnius, "everyone knows that in our republic there were many believers up to the establishment of Soviet rule and that seemed natural. With the arrival of Soviet rule, the majority of people became atheists and gradually we came to the idea that society could do without priests who would be more concerned with their own welfare than with the welfare of society.

It greatly disturbed me that among the number of sectarians there are people with a higher education, as well as young people. And their leaders cannot be called anything but fanatics. Without question, we cannot allow some renegade or other with a dark past to turn our young people away from reality..."

Further, the author justifiably notes that it is necessary to work with people in a better manner and to show them in a more comprehensible way the full absurdity of their blind adherence to God.

One cannot disagree with the thoughts of the reader. In our society, which is free from whatever fears there might be about our future, there is no need for a slavish submissiveness, which for ages has been inculcated by religion. On the contrary, participation in communist construction and a manifestation of an active, vital position are essential for every Soviet person. But a religious ideology sees the main aim as waiting for posthumous heavenly bliss. Translating all this into generally-understandable language, we can say that spiritual fathers lead their "children" along the road to "nowhere."

Other readers as well share interesting thoughts in their letters. Not one letter contains regret or sympathy toward "those who have lost their way" in

their searches for the meaning of life. However, the readers with complete justification, point to unsatisfactory atheistic work in work collectives as well as in middle schools and VUZ's. One cannot but agree that many of the methods err in their formalism and do not touch the heart and mind of each person.

The readers express many strong accusations against the spiritual father, I. Bondarenko.

"How could it happen," writes a veteran of two wars, a worker at the artificial fibre plant in Kaunas, A. Kharkevych, "that the 'Nedobityy' [deserving of extermination] servant of Adolph Hitler, although he had received punishment at one time, is now able to bring an obvious moral harm to the people and propagate unrealistic fantasies about a mythical paradise by using the humaneness of Soviet laws? From what I know, during the time of the Great Patriotic War, people prayed in all churches on the territory of Russia for the victory of the Soviet nation and publicly rejected as anathema the monster Hitler and his underlings."

Twenty million people perished liberating the land from the raving Fuhrer and his royal dogs. And it is entirely natural that the readers and all of us cannot understand so-called "brothers and sisters in Christ" who today calmly listen to the former fascist stooge. How could they have forgotten the human blood which flowed like a river from the hands of those like him? As Kharkevych states in his letter "...If one calls things by their proper name, then the 'presbyter' is now committing still another crime against the nation, entangling young souls in sectarian nets."

One cannot read the lines of the open and bitter letter of V. Surblena, resident of Kleypeda, without agitation. She tells about her misfortunes. We will not dwell at length here to consider the upheavals in her life. It is incomprehensible to this woman "...why all [favorable] conditions were created for individuals like I. Bondarenko. How can one reconcile oneself with his statement that he has been in a secret sect for 38 years in disregard of an existing law in this field concerning religious cults?"

An entirely reasonable question. In fact, it interests a lot of readers. But it is not so easily answered. Our Soviet laws are humane. They do not rush to punish those who have broken them and they give them the opportunity to change, to reconsider. I. Bondarenko already received his deserved punishment for crimes against the people. But now he pretends to be a "son of God" and he skillfully hides even his leadership in the sect and his role in corrupting human souls. They say he is only an infirm and sick old man, seeking peace of mind in intercourse with God. One thinks that the responsible organs will still have their say about I. Bondarenko. Further on, the reader poses still another not unimportant question: "Why do young people join sects and churches?"

You must agree that to give a full answer to such a question in one newspaper article is just not possible. Therefore, I will try without pretenses to generalize to express my point of view on this subject.

In point of fact, why is it that not only old women in dark shawls and grey-haired grandpas go to prayer houses today, but young people as well? "They, these young boys and girls, who are not devoid of a natural musical gift," writes one of our readers "should not waste it on the mournful singing of psalms and songs of praise to Jesus Christ. They should not babble incoherent prayers, rolling their eyes to heaven, asking the lord for special mercy and forgiveness. But if it's singing, they should sing; if it's dancing, they should dance in the way the absolute majority of young people do. They should not hope for manna from heaven, but they should strive for the desired good by themselves, through their own work efforts and with persistence as, once again the majority does."

Of course, the author of this letter is profoundly right. But here is how some young sectarians with whom we spoke explained the reason for their conversion to religion. I will say immediately that this reason, in my opinion, can in no way be called a serious one.

"I got fed up with everything around me; it became uninteresting, boring. So the novelty of it attracted me..."

Doesn't it seem to you, dear readers, that one sees in these words an indifferent and lazy attitude toward real life? There also emerges irony in these words when they say they decided to "associate" with God.

In my opinion, such indifference and irony (I expect that not all will agree with me) are the results of some extremes in our education and the formation of a person, beginning from diapers up to the last days of his life. By extremes, I imply the word "a right". From the very time a person appeared on earth, he already has a right... in practical terms, to everything. Parents give him their maximum concern and attention; they even make the impossible possible for him. For example, afterward in school the reluctance of an offspring to study, is a responsibility borne first of all by the teachers. At production facilities, mentors are responsible for each young person. Young people hear the very necessary words "should" and "must" with increasing rarity. But if, regardless of all the care, a youngster, to put it mildly, has stumbled and fallen into the category of "tough cases", then the list of all those at fault often hides his personal responsibility in our eyes. Consequently, personal demands from him are lowered. It seems to me it is precisely a consumer orientation that leads to pessimism and boredom. And then from all of this--it is only a step to religion. "The novelty" of the sensations--is attractive...

It's true, we also cannot but agree with the statements of some sectarians who explain their conversion to religion by entirely different motives. They say, in real life somewhere they were misunderstood; people did not hear them out, simply brushed them aside or displayed callousness. But here in the sect they were treated sincerely and with understanding. To be honest, sometimes, due to the large scale of the tasks being resolved for the good of society, we forget about the actual person. We direct our basic attention on mass measures; we try to encompass the boundless and let slip from view individual work with people. But as we know, all a person who has experienced some shock or adversity needs is some simple, friendly concern and a good reassuring word. But church people, however, if I can express myself in this way, "cultivate" every "victim" individually, as well as painstakingly and persistently.

Of course, there are also those among the "brothers and sisters in Christ" who have received their faith in God with their mother's milk, as they say, from grandmas and grandpas. Reasons for converting others to religion could also be tied to the peculiarities of their psychology (this by way of prolonged research has been proven by medical people).

"Brothers and sisters in Christ" about whom we speak make an impression on people who, one might say, are infantile. They await happiness "in the other world" only because it is promised to them. And why not believe it? Why not try it? Alas, for that, practically speaking, one does not even have to lift a finger.

This is not the place to demonstrate the harmfulness and absurdity of religious ideology. The rigid, closed system of the sect, about which we speak, is suited only for those who are guided by meek and silent mechanisms and are blindly subordinating themselves to someone else's will. Such automatons, not opposing any evil on this earth, hope for a "reward beyond the grave".

The absolute majority of us, Soviet people, are not guided by the mythical marathon to "nowhere". We are heading toward a communist tomorrow confidently and hopefully.

I do not know, dear readers, whether I have been able, along with the readers who responded, to prove how offensive and harmful a conciliatory position is with respect to all kinds of sectarian "seekers" of God's truth. Of course, we are obliged to respect the feelings of believers, to treat them with greater tact, but we should also fight for their minds and hearts as patiently, consistently and flexibly as, we must admit, sometimes do the priests and sectarians.

12505

CSO: 1830/179

REGIONAL

UKRAINE KOMSOMOL CHIEF ON 'POLITICAL NAIVETE' OF SOME YOUTH

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Nov 83 p 2

[Interview with Viktor Ivanovich Mironenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee, by PRAVDA UKRAINY, date and place not specified: "The Sons Are Falling Into Line"]

[Excerpts] The speech of Khar'kov worker V. Aleksandrov, "If not I, then who?..." was published on 25 September of this year. Many responses are coming in. Not only are veterans sharing their thoughts about young people and the problems of their education, but young people, as well, are writing about the times and themselves. We showed these letters to V. I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee, and asked him to answer the questions upon which our readers are pondering.

[Question] Viktor Ivanovich, the word "continuity" is encountered almost in every letter. In your view, what is the specific meaning of this concept?

[Answer] Speaking of the continuity of generations of Soviet people, we see its concrete manifestation, first of all, in the development of a revolutionary tradition, and in the continuity of passing on the labor and military feats of our nation. As Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov said at a meeting with party veterans in the CPSU Central Committee: "So is woven the bond of times. To each generation falls its share of the common, great work."

The young builders of atomic electric power plants of the republic are continuing with honor today the traditions of shock work established by the builders of the Dnepr Hydroelectric Station. The young people carefully observe, as well, the Stakhanovite commandment, "Share the fire!" With their active participation, six high-capacity mines have been brought into operation, three of which rightly bear the name of the Ukrainian Leninist Komsomol, "Komsomol'skaya" or "Komsomolets Ukrainy." The building of new, giant mines at the earliest possible dates is imminent, and 3 of them together will yield more coal than all 37 of the enterprises built with Komsomol participation in the 1950's.

One may present quite a few similar examples. Each of them will again confirm: A worthy young generation is growing up. The merit of the older generation is great in this matter, too. Suffice it to say that there are more than 10,000 veterans just in the lecturer groups of Ukrainian Komsomol committees.

At the same time, we well understand that no sorts of lectures or discussions will serve as substitutes to modern youth, who have grown up in good circumstances, for never having seen a class enemy in person or having had constant live contact with people to whose lot fell more than difficulties. Their life experience is of the utmost importance.

[Question] That's really true. But nonetheless, let's be frank. The political naivete of some young people, which V. Aleksandrov mentioned in his speech, compels us to be wary? Whence does it come? How can it be overcome?

[Answer] In most cases, and it was necessary to convince ourselves of this more than once in discussions, the political naivete of individual young people is connected with their lack of sufficient life experience and, speaking more generally, of social experience. You know, it's one thing to collide with the class enemy face to face, so to speak, as matters were in the 1920's, and another to know about him from the textbook, from stories. It is not accidental that such concepts as "imperialism," "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and "zionism" often remain abstractions for young people and are perceived speculatively. Hence the necessity for young people to study the history of our country more thoroughly. It has been noticed that publications about the life and activity of the flaming revolutionaries, the Leninist bolsheviks, and heroes of the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars, elicit genuine interest in young people. Unfortunately, not all of them know the biographies of their native forefathers. And, you know, each of these is a genealogy; that is, a history of struggle, labor and victories; a history of social reforms. Such rich life material! How we underrate it at times!

There is another cause. At the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee plenum it was noted that our society has not been freed of contradictions. There still are economic deficiencies, and objective developmental difficulties exist as well. The majority of young people correctly understand the temporary nature of these difficulties and actively participate in their elimination. But there also are those young people who are inclined to accept on faith the fabrications of bourgeois propaganda in this connection. One cannot but worry, as well, about the still existing manifestations of indifference to politics and the fascination of certain young men and women with western symbolics, religious attributes, and elements of the so-called "mass culture." Unfortunately, by no means all Komsomol organizations give facts of this kind the proper evaluation.

Beginning this academic year, a course entitled "Your Political Culture" will be introduced, by way of an experiment, into the Komsomol political training system in Volyn, Transcarpathian, Rovno and Chernovtsy Oblasts.

Graphic propaganda also must play a part in work on the aforementioned class training of young men and women.

The main thing in ideological training work with young people is the conscious participation of the young men and women in social life. Only in this way is the necessary social experience acquired for working out their own correct evaluations of current events.

12319

CSO: 1800/194

## REGIONAL

### ORENBURG OBKOM CHIEF ON LEADERSHIP STYLE

[Editorial Report] Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 24, December 1983 (signed to press 6 December 1983) publishes on pages 14-20 a 3,500 word article entitled "The Communist Leader: The Authority of Word and the Authority of Deed," by A. Balandin, first secretary of Orenburg Obkom. Balandin writes about the importance for leading party members to maintain unity of word and deed, to preserve discipline, and to set a personal example for others to follow in fulfilling economic tasks and labor obligations.

### CHECHEN-INGUSH OBKOM CHIEF ON IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

[Editorial Report] Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 24, December 1983 (signed to press 6 December 1983) publishes on pages 48-64 a 5,000-word article entitled "International Education in the Labor Collective" by A. Vlasov, first secretary of the Chechen-Ingush Obkom. Vlasov writes about the importance of conducting internationalist education of workers in the multi-national labor collectives of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR in order to ensure harmonious social development and high economic productivity. He mentions that the Chechen-Ingush Obkom is acting jointly with the Severo-Osetin, Dagestan, and Kabardin-Balkar obkoms in strengthening ideological and atheist education and educating workers in the spirit of internationalism and friendship of peoples.

### SVERDLOVSK OBKOM CHIEF ON IMPROVING RURAL CONDITIONS

[Editorial Report] Sverdlovsk URALSKIYE NIVY in Russian No 11, November 1983 (signed to press 21 October 1983) publishes on pages 2-6 a 3,000-word article entitled "Comprehensive Development for the Villages" by B. Yel'tsin, first secretary of Sverdlovsk Obkom. Yel'tsin writes about agricultural production in the oblast and the efforts required to improve the social, economic, and labor conditions in the villages.

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## REGIONAL

### KOMI OBKOM CHIEF ON TIMAN-PECHORSK TERRITORIAL PRODUCTION COMPLEX

[Editorial Report] Moscow DRUZHBA NARODOV in Russian No 12, December 1983 (signed to press 6 December 1983) publishes on pages 194-197 a 2,000-word article entitled "In Whose Hands is the Key?" by I. P. Morozov, first secretary of the Komi Obkom. Morozov writes about the underdevelopment of the Timan-Pechorsk Territorial Production Complex, an area which he emphasizes is rich in natural resources and holds great potential for the national economy if properly developed and managed. He discusses the factors which he feels have hindered and continue to impede the rapid and effective exploitation of the region. According to Morozov, these factors include: the absence of effective means of interbranch coordination and existence of departmental disagreements; the erroneous opinion held by some in the central planning organs that coal mining in the region is uneconomical; administrative overlap between territorial administrative divisions and different interests of the ministries and departments involved; and the lack of sufficient authority on the part of local party and soviet organs to influence plans concerning social, economic, and cultural development. However, Morozov maintains that these problems can be resolved. He advocates, among other things, the creation of a single, competent organ of management in order to unify the interests of local, central, and departmental organs, and the creation of an interdepartmental commission under the chairmanship of a plenipotentiary at the USSR Council of Ministers level residing in Syktyvkar. Morozov concludes by saying that the key to resolving the problems already exists and that it is very important that it find its way into the hands of a "zealous and competent master."

CSO: 1800/258

REGIONAL

BRIEFS

NEWSPAPER COMPLEX IN VILNIUS--Vilnius, 17 Jan--Two million copies of publications will come off the conveyor belts every day at the newspaper production complex of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee's publishing house--the biggest such complex in the Baltic Region--which produced its first print runs today. The printing giant has grown up in a new housing area of Vilnius near a high-speed track which is the shortest route linking the combine to other districts of the republic's capital and intercity main lines. In the print shop, a rotary offset machine manufactured in the GDR capable of producing half a million copies of newspapers an hour, has been installed. By the end of the year about 30 republican and city newspaper will be produced here, as well as central newspapers transmitted via communications channels. [Text] [PM190850 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 84 First Edition p 2]

CSO: 1800/257

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