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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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15 OCTOBER 1986

USSR REPORT
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

PRAVDA Hits Cherkassy Obkom Reaction to Criticism (M. Odinets; PRAVDA, 24 Aug 86)	1
Grossu Speech to Moldavian CC Plenum (SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, 12 Jul 86)	7
Niyazov Addresses Turkmen CP Plenum (S. A. Niyazov; TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 5 Jul 86)	27
Usmankhodzhayev Addresses Session on 'Unearned Income' Tasks (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 10 Aug 86)	49
Uzbek Central Committee Examines Sovkhoz, Kolkhoz Work (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 10 Aug 86)	52
Uzbek Buro Criticizes Local Party Work (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 17 Aug 86)	54

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

Armenian Party Daily Barred From Photographing Exam Session (KOMMUNIST, 9 Aug 86)	56
Western Charges of Repression of Ethnic Germans Refuted (V. Balkov; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 22, 27 May-2 Jun 86) ..	58

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

Post-Congress Concept of Socialist Self-Government Discussed (K. I. Varlamov; VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 7, Jul 86)	61
---	----

CULTURE

Speeches at 8th Writers Union Congress (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 2 Jul 86)	79
A. Adamovich (Belorussia)	79
G. Baklanov (Moscow)	81
V. Beekman (Estonia)	83
B. Belov (Vologda)	85
P. Botsu (Moldavia)	86
Yu. Drunina (Moscow)	87
M. Ganina (Moscow)	89
R. Gamzatov (Dagestan)	90
M. Ibragimov (Azerbaijan)	91
M. Kanoat (Tajikistan)	92
K. Kurbannepesov (Turkmenia)	93
D. Likhachev (Leningrad)	94
S. Mikhalkov (Moscow)	96
T. Minnulin (Tataria)	97
A. Mirzagitov (Bashkiria)	98
Yu. Mushketik (Ukraine)	98
B. Oleynik (Ukraine)	100
Ya. Peters (Latvia)	102
V. Petrosyan (Armenia)	103
A. Prokhanov (Moscow)	104
P. Proskurin (Moscow)	105
V. Rasputin (Irkutsk)	106
V. Rozov (Moscow)	108
V. Shugayev (Moscow)	110
M. Slutskis (Lithuania)	111
O. Suleymenov (Kazakhstan)	113
G. Tsitsichvili (Georgia)	114
G. Troyepolskiy (Voronezh)	116
Yu. Umarbekov (Uzbekistan)	117
 Demichev Chairs Cultural Foundation Committee Session (TASS, 29 Aug 86)	 120
 Ideological Aspects of Rock Music Debated (KOMSOMOLETS TURKMENISTANA, 22 May, 26 Jun 86; MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 8 Aug 86)	 121
Pros and Cons Debated, by Yu. Prudkov	121
Rock Music Defended, by V. Mikhaylov	124
Rock Music as Social Problem, by Yu. S. Saulskiy, et al.	126

Rock Show Held in Leningrad's Sport Palace
(TASS, 28 Aug 86) 132

Bykov, Astafyev, Aytmatov 'Flirt' With Religion, Says Critic
(I. Kryvelev; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 30 Jul 86) 133

SOCIAL ISSUES

Trial Census Held in Mingeaur
(Kh. Mamedov; BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 22 Jul 86) 139

AzSSR Institute Experiments With Self-Sustaining Student Club
(G. Tagiyeva; BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 3 Aug 86) 142

/9987

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

PRAVDA HITS CHERKASSY OBKOM REACTION TO CRITICISM

PM280751 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 86 Second Edition p 2

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent M. Odinets: "Concern for the Honor of the Uniform: How People in Cherkassy Reacted to Criticism"]

[Text] Cherkassy--People in Cherkassy awaited with particular impatience the party obkom plenum which was to discuss the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum. That is only natural. As well as examining other urgent questions, it was to give an exhaustive explanation of the disgraceful case of victimization of Communist A. Chabanov, who was removed from his post and expelled from the party on a farfetched and tendentious pretext and whose case was handed over to the investigative organs. Let me remind you of the essence of the case as it appeared in a report at the party Central Committee plenum. In Cherkassy there is a Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry plant and a scientific research institute in the same field. The institute, which was headed by A. Chabanov, developed new types of machine tools and control systems for them. They had won recognition at international exhibitions and orders were beginning to come in from our own enterprises and from abroad.

Yet the plant which should have been the first to exploit these achievements stubbornly ignored the new machinery. And when in July of last year Chabanov was appointed temporarily to carry out the duties of director of the plant too, he decided to organize production of the new output without waiting for the technical conditions to be established for it. Advanced machinery was brought to birth and the enterprise's financial position was rectified. But some workers started writing that the new leader had departed from instructions and permitted overreporting. What did the ministry and the party obkom do?

It cannot be said that they acted innovatively. The director was removed from his post and an investigation began. In order to get to the bottom of the case, the CPSU Central Committee and the General Prosecutor had to intervene. No abuses, still less crimes, were discovered. All is clear, you might think. But even after the truth had been restored, the party bureau expelled Chabanov from the party. Moreover, when some communists came to his defense and sent a letter to the party congress, it did not reach Moscow, the local organs removed it while it was in the mail.

The Party Control Committee took up the case. The main culprits were punished. But the question arises, and was raised bluntly at the CPSU Central Committee plenum: Where was the party obkom? Was it really unable to get to the bottom of the case in good time and prevent the violation of Soviet laws and victimization of a communist? This was the question which the members of the oblast party organization expected its leaders to answer from the platform of the obkom plenum.

But...strange as it may seem, the answer did not come. Obkom first secretary I. Lutak devoted only a few words to the episode, which took place at the Cherkassy special manufacturing equipment plant and the All-union Scientific Research and Design Institute of the Technology of Electrical Equipment Production and which had received extensive, unionwide publicity. It was said, more or less in passing, that the obkom bureau had adopted appropriate measures on this "vexatious case." Indeed, some time ago the bureau examined the matter and punished a number of communists and leaders. But the main questions raised at the CPSU Central Committee plenum remained unanswered and no precise, principled evaluation was given of the party obkom's actions in this unseemly story.

Soon, a few days later, a plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party gorkom took place in Cherkassy. People assumed that the case of A. Chabanov would be spoken of more extensively here. After all, obkom second secretary Yu. But was speaking here. And he is particularly well acquainted with all the circumstances: At the session of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee which discussed the incorrect attitude of workers of the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and Cherkassy Oblast party organs toward CPSU member A. Chabanov, he was reprimanded. Yet even at the party gorkom plenum, both in gorkom secretary V. Sokorenko's report and in Yu. But's speech, the ignominious case was mentioned only in passing, for form's sake, and Chabanov's name was not even mentioned. Nor, incidentally, was it heard at the party obkom plenum. Chance? Apparently not.

"We have many complaints about him," A. Romanenko, chairman of the gorkom party commission, told me during the break. "He is a dubious character."

Obkom first secretary I. Lutak seconded this characterization. Please note: All this was being said after the precise, unambivalent assessments made at the CPSU Central Committee plenum and in the Party Control Committee. What is the explanation for this attitude toward Chabanov on the part of the obkom first secretary and certain other leadership workers in Cherkassy?

In my view, the best answer to this came from the workers at the plant and the institute staffers whom I talked with. "What can you expect," they said, not without irony, "after all, Chabanov, in our leadership's opinion, held the oblast up to shame across the country..."

So that is what really lies behind the situation which has arisen here today: the injured "honor of the uniform." That is the only way to explain why to this day the proper explanatory work has not been carried out either

at the plant or at the institute in connection with the materials of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum and the decision of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. The documents relating to Chabanov's case were read out only at a production and economic conference devoted to summing up the results of the first half-year. Without any party assessment.

The unprincipled position adopted by the Cherkassy Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom leadership after the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum encouraged those people who were opposed to Chabnov even before, for various personal reasons. The Rotor Science and Production Association, to which the plant and institute belong and of which the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry appointed A. Chabanov general director, is today still suffering from factionalism. Various higher authorities receive a constant stream of letters from there, containing all kinds of conjectures.

Who is organizing and disseminating these letters? The name is known: a certain T. Grigoryan, who occupies the post of deputy chief of the information department at the institute. "Occupies" is the right word, because for a long time she has had no time to work. She devotes all her time to organizing the "malcontents."

You would have thought that I. Sukhomlin, secretary of the party bureau at the All-union Scientific Research and Design Institute of the Technology of Electrical Equipment Production, who was at the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee session and there received a severe reprimand, to be entered on his record, for violations of statutory requirements and bias in examining the personal case of A. Chabnov, ought to display maturity and wisdom in interpreting what is happening. But no. He continues to champion factionalism, not only failing to stop it, but actually encouraging it.

And these letters... Strange as it may seem, they now serve as the main arguments -- albeit highly dubious arguments -- intended to justify the inactivity of the party obkom and gorkom and Sosnovskiy Raykom in propagandizing and fulfilling the decisions of the CPSU Central committee June Plenum. Moreover, surprisingly enough, they are being used indirectly to refute everything that has been said about A. Chabnov's case in the higher organs.

"A letter is a letter," A. Birko, first secretary of Sosnovskiy party raykom, tells me, pointing to the latest effort of T. Grigoryan and her crew. "You have to take notice of it."

I was shown a similar letter by obkom secretary Yu. But at the obkom, and by party commission chairman A. Romanenko at the gorkom.

What can one say? Yes, letters have to be studied carefully. As the letter from Cherkassy was studied in Moscow, subjecting it to a very

thorough check. The truth was restored. Those guilty of distorting the truth were severely punished. But as you can see, not everyone in Cherkassy agrees with this just resolution of the question.

As far as attitudes to letters are concerned, it should be observed: First and foremost, objectivity and principles are needed here. But what happened and is happening in Cherkassy? On the one hand "you have to take notice of a letter." That applies to letters from Grigoryan and her group. On the other hand, when it is a question of letters with different contents, that is, letters in defense of the honor of communist Chabanov, not only can you take no notice of them, you can ignore them totally, even delay them and hide them, as happened with the letter to the 27th party congress. Where are the principles and objectivity here, one wonders?

And this is far from being the only instance of this unobjective attitude -- to put it mildly -- to letters in Cherkassy. I will recount just a few typical stories.

For a long time Cherkassy Obkom and Sosnovskiy Raykom had been receiving warnings that P. Pedenko, general director of the Kompleks science and production association, had surrounded himself with lickspittles and was violating state discipline and using his subordinates' work in preparing his dissertation. Each time, the letters were sent from the obkom to the raykom, and then, by way of a reply, the most rapturous accounts of the activity of the leader of the science and production association were sent "upstairs," utterly rejecting the criticism of Pedenko. And all at once it emerged that the director had concocted his dissertation, rewriting it entirely from his subordinates' work.

You would have thought that failure was inevitable for the luckless pretender to the rank of scientist. But the party committee, supported by the raykom, made every effort to save the disgraced general director and keep him in his post. That was the purpose of the following paper sent to the party raykom and obkom. "As a leader," party committee secretary L. Safonova wrote, "he bases his work on principled foundations, with his characteristic feeling for what is new and advanced and a great sense of responsibility for the task entrusted to him." It is embarrassing to read the fawning character references given by the party secretary to the disgraced administrator and to hear the laudatory, toadying speeches at the discussion of the director's personal case. All the same, despite this protection, Pedenko was recently relieved of his post. He incurred a severe party penalty. Yet all this need not have happened, if the obkom, together with the raykom, had studied letters more attentively, adopted the necessary measures in time, and really corrected a person who had taken the wrong path.

In the course of last year many letters were sent to the oblast organizations from Zhashkov, saying that rayon leaders I. Marishchenko, first secretary of the party raykom, and I. Nishchik, chairman of the rayispolkom, who had

set about improving their families' housing and living conditions, had displayed a lack of modesty and violated financial discipline and the proper procedures. However, the Cherkassy party obkom leaders did not attach significance to these grave warnings. Nothing out of the ordinary, they said, think about it for a while. And only when the case reached leadership bodies in Kiev and Moscow (a familiar route!) did people in Cherkassy grow alarmed and start taking steps.

Many letters were sent to Cherkassy Obkom from Talnoye. Time after time they reported that raykom first secretary V. Putiy tolerates major shortcomings in work with cadres, engages in oberbureaucratic administration, and turns a blind eye to improper behavior by certain leaders. Moreover examples were cited of the first secretary covering up for people who had committed serious misdemeanors and trying to clear them of responsibility. All this could not fail to affect economic activity -- the rayon did not fulfill 5-year plans for procurements of grain, sugar beet, sunflowers, vegetables, fruit, and meat. Here too the party obkom tried to drag out the case, on all kinds of pretexts. But in the end they were forced to punish the discredited leader severely, and the rayon party conference withheld confidence in him.

The work style of Monastyrishchenskiy Rayon has been arousing serious dissatisfaction in the working people in recent years, too. It was stated at the oblast party conference that there is no proper exactingness here toward cadres as regards compliance with state and technological discipline, and the majority of the farms are in a grave economic position. At a raykom plenum, obkom secretary K. Yastreb stated officially that the rayon leadership would be strengthened. But the statement remained hanging in the air, and affairs in Monastyrishchenskiy Rayon still leave much to be desired.

Disturbing thoughts are prompted by the following case too. Some time ago V. Kravchenko, chairman of the kolkhoz's leading Kommunist Kolkhoz, visited the obkom and spoke of the incorrect behavior of the Shpolyanskiy Raykom first secretary. The warning was heeded and the rayon leadership was strengthened, as PRAVDA reported. But here is a strange thing: After that, the conditions created for the work of the farm and its leader were such that the Kommunist is on the point of becoming one of the laggards. Is not this an attempt to beleaguer a principled, bold party member, an honest leader and communist? They are saying: "Don't interfere in other people's business."

A certain complacency can be detected in the oblast, a lessening of exactingness, even, it may be said, rapture at the successes achieved in livestock raising in the last 5-Year Plan. Deplorably enough, this has led to a situation where the Cherkassy area has begun to lose the positions it had formerly gained. Here are the facts: Nine rayons in the oblast not only failed to fulfill the half-year plan for milk purchases, but actually reduced that indicator compared with last year. And the oblast as a whole failed to cope with the plan for milk purchases for the first half-year. Ten rayons did not fulfill the 6-month plans for

meat procurements. The biggest shortfall in milk was on the farms of Umanskiy and Monastyrishchenskiy Rayons, and in meat Talnovkiy and Chigirinskiy Rayons. The feed situation remains strained, and in a number of rayons this important matter is left to look after itself.

The level of criticism and self-criticism has fallen markedly in the oblast party organization. Self-congratulatory reports, much empty talk, and unfounded assurances prevail at the plenums. You seldom find keen critical material in the pages of the newspaper CHERKASKA PRAVDA, and the effectiveness of its articles is low. Something else is worrying, too. Last winter the republican RABOCHAYA GAZETA published a criticism of the director of the Verkhnyachskiy sugar plant in Khristinovskiy Rayon. But the party raykom did not deem it necessary to heed the newspaper's voice. Moreover, when the correspondents arrived to prepare a second article, raykom first secretary V. Lukyanets summoned the journalists to a raykom bureau session and, trying to hamper their work, accused them of meeting with the authors of letters to the editorial office without his knowledge...

Speaking at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, I. Lutak, first secretary of Cherkassy party obkom, stated that the party committees (he apparently meant the obkom, gorkom, Sosnovkiy raykom, and the primary party organization) are drawing proper conclusions from the criticism at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum. He reported that the Rotor science and production association has been set up on the basis of the institute and plant, cadres have been strengthened, and measures are being implemented to stabilize and normalize the situation in the collectives, strengthen discipline, and develop and assimilate new, highly productive equipment...

Unfortunately, a great deal in this declarative statement, apart from the setting up of the association, bears, as we have seen, little relation to reality. The atmosphere in the collective is far from true normalization. Having embarked on the path of safeguarding their imaginary prestige, people in Cherkassy have utterly failed to take into account the highly relevant observation in the report by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "Party committees are called upon to safeguard the honor of the party, not the honor of the uniform." Safeguarding the party's honor -- that should be the most serious concern of the Cherkassy Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

GROSSU SPEECH TO MOLDAVIAN CC PLENUM

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 12 Jul 86 pp 1-3

[Article: "Let's Provide the Energy of Actions to the Five-Year Plan of Creation: From the Report of First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia S. K. Grossu"]

[Text] Information Report on the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia [MCP]

On 11 July a plenum of the MCP Central Committee was held in Kishinev. A report "Results of the June 1986 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Tasks of the Republic's Party in Implementing the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of Moldavian SSR in 1986-1990" was given by First Secretary of the MCP Central Committee S. K. Grossu.

Participants in the discussion that followed the report were: First Secretary of the party's Tiraspol City Committee, L. V. Tsurkan; First Deputy Chairman, MSSR Council of Ministers, Ye. P. Kalenik; First Secretary of the party's Dnestrovskiy Rayon Committee, A. I. Radevich; leader of a brigade of installation workers, Construction Administration No. 36, Beltsy Construction Trust, N. M. Omelyan; First Secretary of the party's Grigoriopolskiy Rayon Committee, I. K. Urzika; Chairman of the executive committee of the Kishinev city Soviet of People's Deputies, M. S. Platon; First Secretary of the party's Dondyushanskiy Rayon Committee, A. N. Sangeli; First Secretary of the party's Komratskiy Rayon Committee, G. D. Tabunshchik; MSSR Minister of Trade V. G. Bobutsak; First Secretary of the party's Dubossarskiy Rayon Committee, B. F. Palariya; General Director of the Plodselkhoz mash PO [Production Association], V. K. Chumachenko; and MSSR Minister of Local Industry N. D. Kudryavtseva.

An informational report "Rate of Fulfillment of the Decree of the Plenum of the MCP Central Committee Entitled 'Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization in Fulfilling the

Decree of the CPSU Central Committee Entitled "The Further Improvement of Party Guidance of the Komsomol and the Increasing of Its Role in the Communist Indoctrination of Youth"" was given at the plenum by Second Secretary of the MCP Central Committee V. I. Smirnov.

Participants in the discussion that followed the report were: First Secretary of the party's Lazovskiy Rayon Committee, A. G. Zhdanov; lathe operator of the Kriulyany Specialized Repair Enterprise of the Main Administration of Mechanization, Electrification, and Transport, MSSR Gosagroprom, V. P. Bobok; First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Moldavia, I. I. Buzhenitsa; First Secretary of the party's Kantemirskiy Rayon Committee, I. I. Buzhak; and Chairman of the MSSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, S. I. Lozan.

The plenum of the MCP Central Committee enacted the appropriate decrees dealing with the questions that were discussed.

Organizational questions were considered at the plenum.

In conformity with the CPSU Rules that were approved by the 27th CPSU Congress, the Party Commission under the MCP Central Committee has been renamed the Party Control Commission under the MCP Central Committee. The plenum approved P. S. Kozhukhar as its chairman.

The plenum relieved V. K. Kiktenko of the duties of member of the Buro of the MCP Central Committee.

The plenum elected N. A. Tsyu as a candidate member of the Buro of the MCP Central Committee and relieved him of the duties of chief of the Agriculture and Food Industry Department, MCP Central Committee as a result of his transfer to his new assignment.

The plenum considered and approved the questions proposed by the Buro of the MCP Central Committee, which are linked with the carrying out of the Fourth Session of the MSSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation.

Responsible worker of the CPSU Central Committee G. A. Shipilov took part in the work of the plenum.

Comrades! Not much time has passed since the 27th CPSU Congress, but that period of time is remarkable in that the social development has received a powerful, dynamic charge, which has led to an upsurge in the political self-awareness of the masses. The atmosphere of demandingness and truthfulness that prevailed at the congress is today exerting a mobilizing effect upon all practical matters. But, most importantly, the political line of the congress

is being actively supported in the party and among the people. There has been an increase in people's labor participation, discipline and order have been becoming stronger, and one has noticed in the country as a whole and in every region of it the tendency toward an increase in the rates of economic development.

In our republic the increase in production in industry during the first half-year, as compared with the same period last year, came to 6.4 percent; the activation of fixed assets increased by 26 percent; the use of funds for housing has increased by 17 percent; volumes of shipments of freight by general-purpose motor transport, by 13 percent; and by rail transport, by 12 percent. The amount of livestock and poultry sold to the state has been 16 percent more than planned; milk, 10 percent more; and eggs, 7 percent more.

Those are the first results. But they cannot serve as a reason for being deluded, but, rather, should be reinforced and developed farther. Our society, as was noted at the June 1986 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, is at the very beginning of a reorganization, but that reorganization itself has still being proceeding slowly, with interruptions. At many enterprises one continues to see the flourishing of hurry-up last-minute tactics, in the course of which the old slogan continues to prevail -- "The plan at any price!" There has been inefficient use of labor, material, and financial resources. The reorganization frequently is hindered by people "spinning their wheels," is pulled back by old approaches and measuring sticks, and there is a large amount of inertia. There have been situations when, in words, everything is fine, but there have been no real changes.

The time requires aggressive, immediate actions. It was with a consideration of such actions that the plan for the 12th Five-Year Plan was developed. The chief task of that five-year plan consists in increasing the rates and effectiveness of the development of the economy on the basis of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the technical re-equipping and remodeling of production, the intensive use of the created production potential, the improvement of the system of administration and the economic mechanism, and in the achievement on that basis of the further rise in the standard of living of the Soviet nation. It is exceptionally important that, for most of the quantitative, but also, more importantly, the qualitative indicators, the five-year plan has been oriented to the upper limit of the assignments of the Basic Directions that were developed by the 27th CPSU Congress. The same orientation on the acceleration of the rates of development must be maintained during the final modification of the republic's plan.

The draft of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of Moldavian SSR in the 12th Five-Year Plan, which was submitted for consideration by the plenum of the MCP Central Committee, basically conforms to the goals set by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 16th MCP Congress. Those goals maintain, and in a number of instances exceed, the goals defined by the Basic Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000. Thus, the average annual rates of growth of national income will be increased as much as 4.9 percent, as compared with 4.6 percent in the 11th Five-Year Plan. A very important

peculiarity of the plan is the fact that it stipulates the attainment of the acceleration of development with a substantial reduction in the rate of resource increase.

Machine-building and metal-working in the republic will develop at outstripping rates. The growth rates of production in these branches will double the average ones for industry. The branches that produce consumer goods will receive accelerated development. The increase in output in Group B will outstrip by 8 points the increase in output in Group A.

The plan completely reflects the party's keynote goals of improving the conditions and raising the standard of living for Soviet citizens. The per-capita real income will increase by 14 percent; and social consumption funds will increase by 21.5 percent. It is planned to build and activate more housing, schools, preschool institutions, hospitals, and clinics than during the preceding five-year plan.

As a whole the plan is aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the national economy and the active conservation of resources. It stipulates the concentration of efforts and funds in the key areas. The Buro of the MCP Central Committee feels that the plenum of the Central Committee has justifications for approving the plan draft that has been submitted and for instructing the republic's Council of Ministers to submit it for review by the session of the MSSR Supreme Soviet.

In order to achieve the goals that have been set, and to guarantee long-term and stable success, the speaker said, it will be necessary to carry out a large amount of work. The chief efforts of the republic's party organization must be directed at the acceleration of scientific-technical progress.

The plan draft stipulates the further raising of the level of fundamental and applied research, the reinforcement of the experimental base of science, and the creation and introduction into production of new generations of highly productive technology and of fundamentally new technological schemes. The expenditures for the conducting of scientific-technical measures in the republic's national economy will exceed 1.4 billion rubles, which is one-third more than in the 11th Five-Year Plan. However, the planned results from the carrying out of these measures cannot satisfy us. Over the five-year period it is planned to convert from manual labor to mechanized labor slightly more than 8000 persons. That figure is out of 86,000 workers in industry who are currently being used in manual operations. It is difficult to explain the position of the management and the party organizations at the Kishinev Experimental Plant imeni M. I. Kalinin and the Beltsy Electric-Illumination Fittings Plant, where, by the end of the five-year plan, it is planned even to increase the share of workers engaged in manual labor, respectively, by as much as 43.6 and 59.4 percent.

Nor can one consider to be sufficient the economic effectiveness of the planned scientific-technical measures. It is planned to obtain an increase in profit, per ruble of expenditures from the introduction of new technology, in the amount of 34 kopecks, and to increase to 2.9 years the period for repayment of the expenditures. In 1984 those indicators were much better. It

is necessary for Gosplan, jointly with the ministries and departments, within short periods of time to subject to expert analysis all the plan drafts for scientific-technical measures and to exclude those measures which are relatively ineffective and which do not conform to the tasks of scientific-technical progress, and to channel the funds thus freed into the introduction of the achievements of science and technology that make it possible to guarantee a considerable increase in labor productivity and the greatest economic and social benefit.

In addition to an improvement in the quality of the plans for scientific-technical progress, it is necessary to guarantee their absolute fulfillment. During the first half of the current year, the plan for the development of science and technology was implemented by only 94 percent. The assignments were not fulfilled by Gosagroprom, Molglavenergo, Minkhleboproduktov [Ministry of Bread Products], the cities of Bendery, Tiraspol, and Rybnitsa, and Drokiyevskiy, Rezinskiy, Lazovskiy, Chadry-Lungskiy, Nisporenskiy, and other rayons.

It is necessary to intensify considerably the party's influence upon the rate of scientific-technical progress, to set up a solid party barrier against backwardness, and to make the economic managers and specialists more strictly accountable for the results of fulfilling the plans for introduction of new technology. The party organizations at the ministries and departments are obliged to increase their participation rate sharply and to undertake, from party positions, the resolution of the cardinal questions of the technical remodeling and renovation of production.

In his report at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said, "We can achieve a considerable increase in the qualitative indicators of the economy, and primarily an increase in labor productivity and the return on investments, if we accelerate the renovation of production assets, if we act more quickly to free them of that which is obsolete, and if we use the technically improved machinery and equipment more intensively, including increasing their coefficient of shift operation."

The fixed production assets of our republic's national economy are characterized by a comparatively large amount of physical wear and tear, which constitutes in industry 36 percent and in construction 45 percent. The process of renovation of the fixed assets has been proceeding slowly -- approximately 8 percent of them are renewed each year. At the same time, a large amount of modern equipment has been standing idle at enterprises. As was shown by a study that was carried out, the share of equipment that is not in operation reaches 60 percent at individual enterprises, and the coefficient of its shift operation, 1.39. For example, at the Rybnitsa Pump Plant, the coefficient of shift operation for machine tools with ChPU [digital program control] constitutes 0.5; at the Elektroapparat Association in Tiraspol, 1.0; and at the Soroki Technological Equipment Plant, 1.05.

In light industry, 34 pieces of imported equipment with a total value of more than 800,000 rubles are constantly standing idle. At the Soroki Outer Knitwear Factory (director L. V. Vinnik, party organization secretary Ye. Ya. Martynyuk), out of 22 installed loopers produced by the Textim company, most

of them are hooded and standing idle; out of 30 Multikomet machines, only 15 are operating; and out of two Elitex lines, only one has been started up. At many enterprises more than half the machine pool is idle during the second shift.

The ways to resolve this problem are suggested by an initiative that has been approved by the Politburo of the Central Committee -- the initiative of the party's Leningrad Oblast Committee to convert to two-shift operation in industry. The crux of the matter consists in assuring that the new and progressive part of the production assets are used in two or three shifts, thus assuring the fulfillment of the plan for the five-year period, and in taking the obsolete equipment out of operation and using the area thus freed to set up modern production.

The process of the technical re-equipping of production can be substantially accelerated by increasing the self-interestedness of the labor collectives in mobilizing the internal sources for financing the operations. As is well known, the CPSU Central Committee rated highly the undertaking of the collectives at AvtoVAZ and the Sumy Scientific-Production Association, which set as their goal the achievement of high final results in work on the basis of self-financing of the development of production. Taking into consideration the high effectiveness of this method, the republic's economic agencies, jointly with the ministries and departments, should study it carefully and take steps for its practical application.

A very important question is the quality of the construction plans for technical re-equipping and remodeling. A random inspection carried out on the basis of a decision of the CPSU Central Committee showed that not all the construction plans conform to modern requirements. No provision is made for a substantial increase in the effectiveness of production, for example, in the plans for the remodeling of the Moldavtoremont Plant, the dyeing and finishing production entity at the Styaua Roshije Association, the Moldavkabel Plant in Bendery, or the Ungenskiy Biochemical Plant. That work is not yet completed. It is necessary, within the shortest periods of time, to submit to expert evaluation all the construction plans for technical re-equipping and remodeling that are planned for implementation in the 12th Five-Year Plan, and to rework fundamentally those plans which are based on obsolete technical decisions.

An area that requires special attention today is machine-building. The draft of the plan stipulates an increase in the volume of production in this branch by a factor of 1.5 in our republic. Most of the machine-building enterprises are oriented toward the intensive factors in assuring an increase in production.

At the same time, analysis indicates that individual enterprises of USSR subordination have not worked out with sufficient depth the possibilities of accelerating their development. Thus, at the Tiraspol Motor-Vehicle Trailer Equipment Plant, the Soroki Technological Equipment Plant, and the Oknitsa Experimental Plant, it is planned to increase the level of use of production areas by the end of the five-year plan by only 75-85 percent. The party's Tiraspol City Committee and the Sorokskiy and Oknitskiy rayon committees have

not expressed their well-principled attitude to this situation.

A matter of serious concern is the situation that is developing with respect to the remodeling of individual machine-building enterprises. Enterprises that are in need of the most rapid carrying out of this work today are the enterprises in the processing industry, especially, the canned-food, meat-and-dairy, soft-drinks, and bread-baking branches, where a considerable amount of obsolete, relatively unproductive equipment has been in operation for many decades and where there is no proper reserve of capacities for accepting and processing vegetables, fruits, and grapes during the peak periods, and where the processes of packaging and packing the finished output in modern packaging that is convenient for the customers have been mechanized to an extremely insufficient extent. The republic's Gosagroprom and Gosplan must keep under their constant scrutiny all the planned measures for developing the processing branches of industry and must search for additional opportunities for their preterm fulfillment.

And there is one more problem that is linked with the development of industry, and especially its base branches -- the training of cadres. It is necessary to take a new look at the work of the secondary special and higher educational institutions that are training cadres for industry. There is serious concern about the fact that the plans for the training of specialists with various areas of specialization frequently do not reflect the needs of the republic's national economy. Their formation is carried out on the basis of the unsystematized, unsubstantiated requisitions issued by the ministries and organizations, which do not bear any responsibility for the miscalculations. The requisitioning ministries and departments annually reject hundreds of graduates of educational institutions. Could this be the reason why many specialists are working in jobs that do not require the level of proficiency that they have achieved?

The party, Soviet, and economic agencies must devote more attention to the reinforcement of the material base of the institutions of higher learning and the technicums, to the integration of education, science, and production, and to improving the quality of specialist training and improving the public's recognition of scientific and engineer labor, and must take all steps to promote the expansion of the influx of talented young people into the sphere of scientific and technical activity. The educational institutions must bear a large amount of responsibility for guaranteeing the diplomas that are issued by them. When resolving these questions, it is necessary to be guided by the absolutely fundamental document -- the Draft of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "Basic Directions in the Reorganization of Higher and Secondary Special Education in the Country."

The most objective and most generalizing indicator of scientific-technical progress, as everyone knows, is the quality of output, Comrade Grossu emphasized. The implementation of this very important socioeconomic task must become a partywide and nationwide matter everywhere. It is necessary first of all to achieve a psychological reorganization in the work of cadres, the reinforcement of technological and labor discipline, the constant technical renovation of production, and the taking of an innovative approach to the job at hand.

Unfortunately, in many labor collectives this reorganization has not yet occurred. As compared with the first half of last year, the production of output in the highest quality category has even dropped by 13 percent. The Kishinev Refrigerator Plant, the Tiraspol Motor-Vehicle Trailer Equipment Plant, and a number of other enterprises whose articles are subject to certification failed completely during the first half-year to produce any output with the highest quality category. There has been a considerable reduction in the production of that output at the Elektromash Plant in Tiraspol and the Vibropribor and Mikroprovod plants in Kishinev.

There has been a doubling of the number of bans on the sale of output as a result of its having been produced without conforming to the requirements in the standards and specifications. An especially large amount of inferior output was produced by the Bendery Garment Factory imeni 50-letiy VLKSM (director T. I. Poloz, party organization secretary N. V. Kalugina). There the average percentage of conversion to lower grades and return of items for correction constituted 14.2 percent, and for individual articles 16.6 percent. The Soroki Garment Factory (director V. I. Sinitza, party organization secretary T. I. Kakabaliyeva) had returned to it for correction or lowered the assigned grade for 13.8 percent of the articles of children's clothing in the total number of items inspected.

The fight to improve the quality of work must become the norm for the everyday life of the labor collectives. The responsibility for producing inferior output rests with the organizers at all levels, from the enterprise manager to the foreman. The production of output that fails to meet the standards and specifications should be viewed as lack of professional training on the part of the production manager for the execution of his duties and as his unsuitability for the position that he is occupying.

The MCP Central Committee attaches exceptionally great importance to the development of the republic's comprehensive Quality-90 target program. The Council of Ministers, Gosplan, the ministries and departments, the party's city and rayon committees, and the departments of the Central Committee must strive for a situation in which this program becomes in actuality a mobilizing factor in implementing the goals of the 27th CPSU Congress with regard to improving the quality of output.

Then the speaker dwelt in detail on the key problems of developing the agroindustrial complex. The situation is especially critical with regard to assuring the stability of the production of output in vegetable husbandry, and especially the production of grain and fodder crops. This is the chief problem, the successful resolution of which will greatly determine the stable development of animal husbandry, the income of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and the economic situation of the processing enterprises.

In the next five years it is planned to increase the average annual production of grain in our republic to 3,260,000 tons and to guarantee an increase of 30 percent, as compared with the level of the 11th Five-Year Plan. It will also be necessary to reach that level of production without any rebates because of the weather.

The emergency conditions of the current year have especially illumined the shortcomings in the organization of grain management. Wherever there has been an optimal determination of the grain-crop structure, a good choice of the predecessor crops has been made, the intensive factors have been used skillfully, and all the agrotechnical operations have been carried out on time and at a high level, one could notice a considerably lesser negative effect of the drought. At the same time, in a number of rayons and on a number of farms, because of the irresponsible attitude of the managers and specialists to the fulfillment of the technological requirements and the recommendations of science and advanced practice, the sowings of winter crops did not withstand the severe conditions of the drought.

This is not the first time that these contrasts have occurred. On the Kolkhoz imeni XXII Partsyezd, Kaushanskiy Rayon; Kolkhoz imeni Lenin, Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayon; and Kolkhoz imeni Dimitrov, Tarakliyskiy Rayon, the average annual harvest yield of winter wheat during the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan came to 36-38 quintals. In the current year they are harvesting 35-40 quintals of grain per hectare. But the XXII Syezd KPSS Kolkhoz, Lazovskiye Rayon; the Pridnestrovskiy Sovkhoz, Kamenskiy Rayon; and the Nistru Sovkhoz, Novoanenskiy Rayon are now harvesting only 15-18 quintals of wheat per hectare. The harvest yield of wheat was also low on those farms during the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Similar examples could be given for corn.

It is time to analyze thoroughly the reasons for this state of affairs, to stir up the sluggish workers, and to force them to march in step with life, which persistently requires the changeover of the methods of cultivating all grain crops to intensive technological schemes.

Fodder production must develop in efficient combination with grain production, in order to create a reliable base for the guaranteed buildup of the volumes of production of animal-husbandry output. In the current five-year period it is necessary to take radical steps to increase the cross harvest of grain-legume crops by a factor of 1.7, and soy by a factor of 3.8. A large amount of attention must be paid to the production of coarse and succulent fodders, especially corn silage with cobs at the wax-maturity stage.

It is persistently necessary to carry out work to improve the quality of fodders and to reduce their losses. It is unforgivable that many cadres have not been making the proper conclusions from the lessons of recent years, and are continuing to carry out tardily and inefficiently the harvesting and laying in of coarse and succulent fodders. This year in Suvorovskiye Rayon 54 percent of the inspected haylage from the first mowing of alfalfa was put in the category of substandard, and in Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayon all the inspected mass proved to be in this category.

And now the most critical period of laying in the supplies of fodders has come. As of the reporting date, in terms of one standard head of livestock, only 2.8 quintals of fodder units have been laid in. This is 0.8 quintals less than last year's level. The departments of the MCP Central Committee, the party's rayon committees, the rayon executive committees, and MSSR Gosagroprom must make serious conclusions from this, must extend the

additional work among the fodder producers, must urgently complete the second mowing of alfalfa and prepare for the third, must organize the mowing of grasses on natural hay meadows (in the forests, bottom lands, ravines, etc.), and must achieve the overfulfillment of the assignment for laying in supplies of hay and haylage. It is necessary right now to extend broadly the preparation for carrying out the main campaign in the procurement of fodders -- the silaging of corn.

An inestimable reserve for increasing the production of grain and fodder crops is the expansion of the zone of irrigated agriculture. In this regard, MSSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Management must guarantee in full volume the fulfillment of the program for activation of irrigated land, especially in the southern rayons, and must locate additional reserves for overfulfilling the plan for the remodeling of old systems and for land reclamation, especially of the water-logged and swampy bottom lands. Nor can one tolerate any longer the serious shortcomings in the use of the irrigated land. Under the current year's conditions, in a number of places the machinery was not ready for operation, and they were operated poorly during the nighttime.

Analyzing the state of affairs in animal husbandry, Comrade Grossu remarked that during the past wintering-over period an increase had been achieved in the volumes of production for all types of output.

At the 16th MCP Congress the task was assigned to reach, in the 12th Five-Year Plan, the goal of 4000 kilograms of milk per cow. The basis for the fulfillment of this program is the implementation of the decree of the MCP Council of Ministers and the MSSR Council of Ministers, dated 10 July 1984, entitled "Steps to Improve the Pedigree and Productive Properties of the Dairy Livestock on the Farms of Moldavian SSR."

Noting the large amount of work to implement that decree, which work was carried out in Bessarabskiy Rayon (First Secretary of the party's rayon committee A. D. Gandrabura; RAPO [rayon agroindustrial association] chairman V. T. Kostov), the speaker subjected to criticism the farms in Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayon (First Secretary of the party's rayon committee I. I. Arnaut; RAPO chairman M. K. Pashaly). Those farms have not yet created shops for preparing the heifers for calving and for increasing their milk yield, have failed to introduce a shop system of milk production, and have been carrying out unsatisfactory work to grow young replacement animals. On a number of farms the dairy herd has been left without fodders for the winter. The same situation prevails on many farms in Kotovskiy, Komratskiy, Vulkaneshtskiy, Suvorovskiy, and Chernenkovskiy rayons. As a result, during the period of the year that is most favorable for milk production, those farms have had a sharp reduction in the productivity of the dairy herd.

Today there is no more important task than the restoration of the previously achieved rates of increase in milk production and the achievement of a further increase in the productivity of the cows in order to assure that by the end of the year the milk yield per cow will be increased to 3550-3600 kilograms, and by the year 1990 the guaranteeing of milk purchases of 1,160,000 tons, and achievement of an increase in the average annual procurements of this output

by 26 percent, as compared with the planned 14 percent. Purchases of livestock and poultry must be increased by the end of the five-year plan to 410,000 tons. An annual increase in meat procurements by 32 percent, as compared with the the planned 24 percent, must be guaranteed.

The indicators given mean that the goals stipulated for the end of the five-year plan for purchase of meat and milk by the state can and must be achieved by 1988. That will be a concrete response by the republic's animal husbandrymen to the Message of the CPSU Central Committee to the Workers of the Soviet Union, and their practical contribution to the fulfillment of our country's Food Program.

In meat-production animal husbandry, special attention must be paid to increasing the production of beef at the interfarm complexes, and to increasing the weight specifications of the animals. In the first half-year, on the whole, for all enterprises, the average live weight per head of livestock came to 497 kilograms. If that indicator can be raised to 600 kilograms, it is possible to produce additionally approximately 12,000 tons of meat. The fact that this capability exists is attested to be the experience of the Floreshty enterprise, where the turnover live weight per head of livestock during the current year has already reached 628 kilograms.

A major reserve for increasing the production of beef is the increase in the live weight of the rejected livestock, and keeping to the minimum the number of such animals slaughtered on the farms. For the republic as a whole in 1985, the state was sold from the rejected 100,000 cows only 65,000, each one of which weighed an average of 434 kilograms. If the farms were to preserve completely the rejected breeding livestock in the herd and if it was sold to the state with live weight of no less than 550 kilograms, it would be possible to procure additionally approximately 20,000 tons of meat. That is a feasible reserve.

Hog-raising has a tremendous potential and large opportunities for resolving the meat problem. It is necessary to guarantee the obtaining of average daily weight increases of no less than 400 grams in the maturing of hogs and 550-600 grams in fattening of them, and to obtain, for each head of hogs as of the beginning of the year, 150 kilograms of output from growing them. It will also be necessary to increase considerably the volumes of poultry meat production.

In the 12th Five-Year Plan it is necessary to carry out major measures for the production, procurement, and processing of fruit and vegetable output and grades. It will be necessary first of all to accelerate the operations involving in reorienting those branches to the production of output that has increased demand. In this regard it must be noted that the republic has been slow to resolve the questions of reorienting the wine-making, canned-goods, and food enterprises toward increasing the production of grape an fruit juices, beverages from fruits and berries, and other soft drinks, as well as children's and dietetic foods. It is necessary to accelerate considerably the resolution of these questions.

Fruit-growing has been moving into the forefront of the economy. As was defined by the long-term program for its development, the emphasis must be made on the intensive orchards and on the increasing of their productivity.

The republic's Gosagroprom must devote attention to the existing shortcomings in the trade system for meat and dairy products, ice cream, kvass, soft drinks, and mineral water. The volumes of output being sold do not satisfy the needs of the population and do not reflect the capabilities that we have. M. M. Dermenzhi and A. F. Zazimko must be torn away from their paper work, and must engage more in practical affairs, primarily in providing the population with fruit and vegetable produce and meat-and-dairy products.

The accelerated development of agroindustrial production requires the improvement of its scientific support. The NPO [scientific-production associations] that were created in the republic more than 10 years ago have accumulated a large amount of experience in working under the new conditions. However, their activity has not yet been made directly dependent upon the final results of production. The republic's Gosagroprom must still this question in detail and make the appropriate recommendations.

In a word, our republic's agriculture is facing large and very important tasks. The complete mobilization of the available reserves and opportunities will make it possible not only to cope successfully with them, but also to achieve by 1990 a gross output in the volume of 5.8 billion rubles, that is, 150 million rubles more than is planned. The struggle to achieve that goal must constitute the basis of the activity of the party, Soviet, and economic agencies, the primary party organizations, the cadres, and all the Communists in the rural areas.

The speaker dwelt in detail on questions of capital construction. For the republic and union-republic management and the agroindustrial complex, he said, the overall volume of state capital investments will increase, as compared with the previous five-year plan, by 25 percent and will reach almost 6 billion rubles. It is planned to build a number of major projects intended for production purposes. An important peculiarity of the five-year plan is the considerable increase in capital investments in the social sphere. A large amount of attention is being devoted to carrying out the goals of the congress with regard to guaranteeing by the year 2000 that every family will have its own apartment or house, and to developing the social and everyday-services complex. For purposes of accelerating housing construction and removing the critical aspects of the housing problem, the plan provides for the activation in the 12th Five-Year Plan of 109 million square meters of housing, which is 3 million square meters more than in the previous five-year plan.

The Buro of the MCP Central Committee, in May 1986, considered this question and worked out an extensive program of actions. Specific measures were defined for the more complete use of the capacities of individual home-building, which make it possible as early as the second year of the five-year plan to reach the goal of 100-percent use of them. In 1987 the construction of the Droki KPD [large-panel housing construction] Plant for the building of housing in rural localities will be completed. By 1989, capacities for

210,000 square meters of housing will be turned over in Kishinev, and by 1990, a 120,000 square meter plant in Varnitsa. Starting in the second half of the current year, all the home-building combines and the construction subdivisions that are engaged in the installation of homes have been converted to a six-day work week.

In order to provide the planned construction with manpower, the party's city and rayon committees have been instructed to extend in the labor collectives the work to support the initiative of VAZ to work four days a year in constructing housing and projects for social and everyday purposes. It is necessary to use on a broader scale the in-house method of construction, especially of housing and other social projects.

The 27th CPSU Congress has posed the task of reducing the periods of time required to erect projects by at least one-half. Starting in 1987 it is planned to change over to the planning and carrying out of construction in strict conformity with the normative deadlines. It is necessary right now to prepare carefully for that work. Gosplan and the ministries and departments, jointly with the republic's construction organizations, when developing the plan for 1987 and the subsequent years of the five-year plan, must take into consideration the existing norms governing the duration of construction and form a precise program of operations, must put into mothball status (when necessary) a number of projects of less than primary importance, and must redistribute the manpower and funds.

The plans for capital construction for the 12th Five-Year Plan are extensive and strenuous. At the same time, the results of the first half-year allow us to conclude that the construction workers have been reorganizing slowly. The assignments for the building of housing and projects intended for social and everyday purposes during the half-year, for a number of rayons, ministries, and departments, were not fulfilled. The plan for activation of housing was fulfilled by 95 percent; kindergartens, 38 percent; schools, 61 percent; hospitals, 84 percent; and clinics, 56 percent.

To a large extent this was the consequence of the considerable worsening of the activity of Agropromstroy. Serious shortcomings in the work style of V. K. Yarutin and Yu. N. Zinovyev in the management of that sector were revealed, as well as their poor organizing work in fulfilling the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress. As recently as May, these comrades reported to the Bureau of the Central Committee that the one-and-a-half-year plan for activation of housing and projects for social and everyday purposes would definitely be fulfilled, but actually there has been complete failure: the plan for activation of clinics was fulfilled by only 21 percent; kindergartens, 47 percent; schools, 60 percent; hospitals, 91 percent; and housing, 94 percent. Gosagromprom (Ye. P. Kalenik) and the managers of Agrompromstroy must make serious conclusions and take urgent steps to correct the situation and eliminate the lag that has been allowed to occur.

In the territorial cross section, during the first half-year in Tarakliyskiy, Yedinetskiy, Kalarashskiy, Kutuzovskiy, and Strashenskiy rayons the plan for activation of housing was fulfilled by only 10-55 percent; in Goldyanskiy Rayon the activation of a kindergarten and hospital was disrupted; in

Chernenkovskiy and Bessarabskiy rayons, the activation of schools and kindergartens; and in Faleshtskiy and Floreshtskiy rayons, the activation of public-health projects. That was the result of the low level of management of construction by the party committees.

A number of customer ministries and departments have also been failing to show the proper concern for the acceleration of housing construction. For example, MSSR Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources] (Minister A. S. Kishlar) underfulfilled the plan for activation of housing by 4200 square meters; and Minzhilkomkhoz [Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services] (Minister V. G. Sinev) underfulfilled it by 4600 square meters.

The fresh wind of changes which have been occurring has not yet touched the managers of Minstroy [Ministry of Construction] and Minstroyaterialov [Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry] (ministers N. I. Uzun, I. I. Demchenko). More than a month has passed since the consideration of the question of the rate of housing construction at the Buro of the Central Committee, but as of the end of June those ministries have not yet issued even any official orders concerning the conversion of the house-building enterprises, the ZhBI [reinforced-concrete products] plants, and the construction organizations to the six-day work week and three-shift operations. Certain party rayon committees have also failed to react properly to the Buro decision.

The labor performed by the construction workers is largely predetermined by the rates of our forward movement, and their tasks are large and complicated ones. It is necessary to do everything to assure that they build up the necessary speed and reach the goals of the start-up year, thus creating a solid base for the fulfillment of the five-year plan. The success of the job at hand will depend largely upon the active position taken by the party's city and rayon committees, and their ability to make the complete use of the entire arsenal of political-organizational influence upon the improvement of construction production and upon the stabilization of the cadres and the indoctrination of the construction collectives, and will also depend upon the specific aid in creating for the construction workers the proper production and everyday living conditions.

The success of implementing our plans and tasks, it was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, is inseparably linked with improving administration and the methods of management, the speaker went on to say. We cannot turn production onto the path of complete intensification by using previous methods and old organizational forms, without decisively reorganizing them in conformity with the new conditions and the present-day requirements of economic development. That is why we cannot reconcile ourselves to the situation in which the managers of individual enterprises have not taken the proper steps to assure the thorough study and assimilation by the workers of economical methods of administration and have not created the necessary conditions for developing economic initiative and increasing the self-interestedness of the labor collectives in achieving high final results in labor. For these reasons, for example, the enterprises of Minbyt [Ministry of Consumer Services] (Minister V. M. Yukin) not only failed to achieved an improvement in their activity with the changeover to the new work conditions, but even lost the positions that

had been achieved. Almost half the organizations in that branch failed to cope with the plans for the first six months.

The apparatus of a number of ministries and departments continues to regulate the subordinate excessively, communicates to them various computed plan indicators that have not been stipulated by the established procedure, and requires them to submit numerous statements and summaries about their fulfillment. For example, the Kishinev Garment Factory imeni XXIII Syezd KPSS, at the request of the Minlegprom [Ministry of Light Industry] apparatus, submitted additional information on 56 forms which total approximately 50,000 indicators on an annual basis. This improper practice in administration must be stopped immediately.

The reorganization of the activity of Gosplan, Minfin [Ministry of Finance], Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems], Goskomtsen [State Committee for Prices], and the Moldavian republic offices of USSR Gosbank and Stroybank, which have been called upon to play an important role in the conversion to economical methods of administration, is being carried out slowly and their influence upon increasing the effectiveness of social production is not manifesting itself completely.

The situation with regard to planning work is in need of serious improvement. One of the reasons for the poor quality of planning is the extremely weak application of scientifically substantiated norms and standards. Frequently one observes a subjective approach in evaluating the capabilities of the collectives. As a result individual enterprises, despite the low level of the use of production capacities and labor and material resources, prove to be in a more favorable position as compared with the advanced collectives, since, by drawing on the available reserves, they are able with lesser efforts to overfull the reduced plans and to create the appearance of successful work.

The Tiraspol Spinning and Quilting Association of Minmestprom [Ministry of Local Industry], for example, overfulfilled by 8 percent the plan for the first half-year with regard to the volume of production, even though the production of output there dropped by 16 percent as compared with the corresponding period last year and there had been a worsening also of the economic indicators of production. At ZhBI Plant No. 6 of Minstroyaterialov during that period, the plan was overfulfilled by 6.3 percent although 8.6 percent less output was produced than last year.

The necessary precision, time-responsiveness, and mobility have not yet been assured in the work of Gosstab and the organizations subordinate to it, and there continue to be interruptions and disruptions in material-technical supply. Effective monitoring has not yet been set up over the efficient use of material resources, and poor use is made of economic levers in the fight for economizing them.

At the June Plenum of CPSU Central Committee, it was stated very definitely that the only way that we will be able to carry out the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress is by putting the human individual in the center of the party work. "The turn toward people, toward live work," Comrade M. S. Gorbachev

emphasized, "is what constitutes the main meaning of the fundamental reorganization of party work."

Today many party committees and organizations in our republic, realizing that the new tasks cannot be resolved by the old methods, are reorganizing their work completely, and are searching for reserves and paths to accelerate our forward movement. The experience of the advanced collectives has begun to be used more broadly; there has been an intensification of the demands made upon the Communists and the managerial cadres with regard to their resolution of the questions of economic and social development; meaningful work is under way to reinforce discipline and order; and business efficiency and organizational spirit are being confirmed. A sense of the new, and aggressive reorganization in conformity with the changed conditions, are typical of the Tiraspol city party organization and the Floreshtskiy and Bessarabskiy rayon party organizations.

However, the introduction of new work forms and methods that conform to present-day requirements has not been proceeding smoothly. The vestigial phenomena and backslidings to administrative-bureaucratic habits are still strong. Take, for example, the Cherenkovskiy Rayon party organization. Far from all the primary party organizations there have been imbued with the spirit of a creative attitude toward the job at hand, or a spirit of criticism and self-criticism. The party's rayon committee has made serious miscalculations in party-organizational and ideological work, and has not got renounced its managerial functions. One observes there the predominance of petty guardianship over the cadres and the attempt to perform the functions of the Soviet and economic agencies, thus reducing their responsibility and initiative. The command style of work has proven to be unusually viable, probably because First Secretary M. I. Krushelinskiy personally is an active adherent of that style.

The serious shortcomings in the party guidance of the economy have had an effect upon the results of the economic activity of the rayon. The rayon has failed to fulfill the half-year plans for the production of milk, and almost every third farm has failed to assure the fulfillment of the assignments for purchases of meat. The plans for construction, freight turnover, and consumer services have not been fulfilled. This is the completely natural result of people's adherence to old work methods. The party's Strashenskiy, Sorokskiy, Teleneshtskiy, and Kantemirskiy rayon committees also failed to disregard the need of the time and have been in no rush to renounce their customary but useless work methods. The party's city and rayon committees must gain a more complete mastery of the political methods of management, must take decisive steps to get rid of elements of administration by fiat, and must prevent the attempt to perform the functions of state and economic agencies or to be overly protective of them.

The republic also has a rather large number of primary party organizations where, following the old bureaucratic canons, the people create completely empty decisions and measures that cannot withstand checking. The party organization at the Kishinev Refrigerator Plant (secretary B. A. Yevtodiyy) has enacted several decrees, and and planned several measures to guarantee the normal work of the collective and to improve the quality of output produced,

but the plant continues to work erratically and the quality of the refrigerators to this day fails to withstand any criticism.

The vast scope and innovation of the work to be done are such that it is necessary to have a fundamental reorganization in the mental processes of everyone, from the ordinary worker to the minister, and the improvement of work style as a whole. Here the main enemy is formalism and paper-pushing. Recently the Secretariat of the Central Committee considered the question "The Article 'Behind a Forest of Words,' Which Was Published in the Newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA." The article and the discussion of the question showed that in the party organization of Ministry of Local Industry (secretary V. I. Tyukhtya) much has been discussed about the reorganization, but actually that reorganization is by no means proceeding in the manner that is required by the time. The ministry management (Minister N. D. Kudryavtseva) continues to slide along the well-worn track, seeing the only way of overcoming difficulties in the issuance of one order after another.

Something that has become one of the widely disseminated forms of paper "management" is the collection of various information that has not been stipulated by state statistical reports. The apparatus at 30 ministries and departments in our republic, during the current year, collected such material on 40 forms, with a volume of almost 800,000 indicators. The organizations that are especially fond of this method are the Ministry of Construction, the Ministry of Consumer Services for the Public, Gosagroprom, Gossnab, and Moldavpotrebsoyuz. The party committees and the city and rayon executive committees frequently not only fail to combat that tendency, but also, themselves, collect a vast amount of information that is not linked with the actual tasks of improving time-responsive management. It is necessary immediately to put an end to the shameful practice of collecting reports which have not been properly established, and various other kinds of information, and to take all steps to increase the responsibility of the cadres for the impeccable fulfillment of the party's requirements concerning the reduction of the flood of paper.

A large place in the report was given to the problem of cadres. It was emphasized that their aggressiveness, to a decisive degree, determines the achievement of the trajectory that was assigned by the congress for accelerating economic and social life in all links and at all levels. Unfortunately, our republic still has economic managers for whom the most important party requirement -- resolve the urgent questions boldly and renounce the obsolete methods and ideas -- remains a kind of abstract formula.

The managers who profess this shameful "style" simply are not moving in the same direction as the rest of us. That is precisely the conclusion that had to be made when considering the work of Moldavpotrebsoyuz to assure the intactness of socialist property. As a result of their passivity in executing the requirements of the party and government, their mismanagement practices, their lack of principles and their liberalism in evaluating the activity of the apparatus and the managers of their subordinate organizations, P. D. Kostin and his deputies, V. I. Madan and I. D. Bodur, were removed from the assignments that they were occupying. The Buro of the Central Committee will continue to follow the party's truly Leninist principle: if, over the course

of a definite period of time, the situation in a particular sector does not improve, the worker who heads it must yield his place to someone else.

For a long time, until the investigative agencies interfered, people on the XX Partsyezd Kolkhoz, Teleneshtskiy Rayon, engaged in various kinds of shady deals. At the end of every year, fictitious forms were filled out there, attesting to the sale of a large quantity of sheep and poultry to other farms, and at the beginning of the year, they were just as fictitiously bought back. Everything was entered correctly in the state reports.

Instances of regular misrepresentation of report data and of padded figures in reporting the amount of milk and the productivity of the cows were also revealed at the lead enterprise of the Dnestr NPO [scientific-production association] (former general director, P. I. Patron). The Presidium of the MSSR Supreme Soviet stripped the persons who had participated in these illegal actions of their republic awards. It was recommended to Gosagropromy that it resolve the question of the returning of all the illegally paid bonuses and valuable presents. These persons will also be punished in accordance with party procedures. Another person who was brought to strict responsibility was chief of the republic's Tssu [Central Statistics Administration], K. I. Kozub, who failed to check the reliability of the materials submitted for granting awards on the basis of the results of the socialist competition.

Today we are mentioning these situations again in order to emphasize that the fight against fraud, the squandering of state funds, and malfeasance is not a temporary campaign, but is a line that will be carried out constantly and strictly by the MCP Central Committee. No one must harbor any illusions otherwise.

In this regard I would like to mention again the decision of the Central Committee that is familiar to you from the press -- the decision to remove former chairman of MSSR Goskino, I. Ye. Iordanov, from the ranks of the CPSU for having misrepresented the party's cadre policy, for his amoral behavior, for his squandering of state funds, and his irresponsible attitude toward the job assigned to him. For anyone who fails to take into consideration the norms of party life and who tramples the laws, this finale is completely natural. But something else that is completely natural is the conclusion that this could happen as a consequence of permissiveness and poor supervision on the part of the departments of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, the party's rayon committee, and the primary party organization. A certain amount of the blame must also be borne by the financial and control agencies.

The task of the Central Committee, the party's city and rayon committees, the primary party organizations, the Soviet agencies, and the ministries and departments is to implement consistently and firmly the line aimed at the further embodiment of the Leninist principles of working with cadres, to find new effective approaches in that work, and to carry on a decisive struggle against the miscalculations and omissions that have occurred there.

The party committees and organizations must attach a large amount of importance to the reinforcement of labor discipline, order, and organizational

spirit, and to the assertion of the principle of social justice. The decisions enacted by the party and government concerning the steps to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism and to intensify the fight against unearned income direct the Communists to the development in every Soviet citizen of the striving for a healthy way of life, intolerance of the psychology of private ownership and money-grubbing, and enrichment at the expense of the state and other citizens, and direct them to the strictest observance of the socialist principle of payment on the basis of labor performed.

During the present-day period, when the party is channeling tremendous efforts into the confirmation of genuine efficiency in all spheres of social life, the task of confirming efficiency in the organization of ideological work becomes more persistent than it has ever been. The time requires that a barrier must be erected against empty phrases and actions carried out for show, and that barriers must be in the form of a strict system in work and constant concern for the final result.

The 12th Five-Year Plan is gaining strength. There are vast, responsible tasks ahead of us. In its Message to the Workers of the Soviet Union, the CPSU Central Committee called on the Communists and Komsomol members, workers and kolkhoz members, scientists and specialists, and cultural and artistic figures to extend broadly the nationwide socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of the assignments of the 12th Five-Year Plan, to show a high rate of creative participation, and to convert the bold plans and concepts into the energy of practical actions.

The republic's labor collectives and the advanced workers and production innovators, by their specific actions, have been responding to the party's Message. They are taking high socialist pledges for the preterm completion of state plans and assignments, the improvement of the quality of output, the reduction of production costs, and the above-plan acceleration of the rates of development in all branches of the republic's national economy.

For the republic as a whole, the preterm achievement of the planning goals will make it possible to overfulfill the plans for the 12th Five-Year Plan for the production of foodstuffs, articles intended for cultural and everyday purposes, and other manufactured output by at least 430 million rubles; for the production of agricultural output, by 400 million rubles, including 100,000 tons for meat, 450,000 tons for milk, and 100,000 tons for vegetables; and for activation of the housing fund, by 320,000 square meters. These are our landmarks, and the work of achieving them must constitute the main content of the activity of the party, Soviet, and economic agencies, primary party organizations, the trade unions, and the Komsomol.

It is necessary not only to approve and support the initiative of the labor collectives in locating additional reserves and opportunities for accelerating the development of the economy, but also to guarantee the high effectiveness of the socialist competition, to rid it of the rust of formalism, and to return to it inspiration, genuine competitiveness, and combativeness. It is necessary to strive for a situation in which every worker in the republic joins the ranks of the participants in the All-Union Socialist Competition

and, at his own work station, makes a worthy personal contribution to the common cause.

In conclusion Comrade Grossu, in the name of the participants of the plenum, assured the CPSU Central Committee that the republic's party organization would apply all efforts to cope efficiently with the tasks confronting it, which evolve from the decisions of the June 1986 Plenum of the party's Central Committee.

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CSO: 1800/098

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

NIYAZOV ADDRESSES TURKMEN CP PLENUM

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 5 Jul 86 pp 1-3

[Report by the first secretary of the CPTu Central Committee, S. A. Niyazov, at the Fourth Plenum of the CPTu Central Committee: "Restructuring Is a Requirement of the Times"]

[Text] Comrades!

Our Leninist party at its 27th Congress adopted a program for improving already-built socialism and for advancing further toward communism on the basis of the concept, already developed at the April(1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, of speeding up the country's socio-economic development.

The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee which was held on 16 June amid circumstances of highly demanding standards and unity discussed urgent problems of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy connected with carrying out the general line worked out by the congress, and it outlined the forthcoming problems which we will have to solve.

The report by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, M. S. Gorbachev, furnished a profound analysis of the initial results and lessons to be drawn from the post-congress restructuring. Therein he provided the specific forms and method to be used by our party in the decisive stage of implementing the party's economic strategy, speeding up the modernization of the national economy, managing the economy, and ensuring the further dynamism of the entire socialist system.

"The principal thrust of the decisions taken at this Plenum," M. S. Gorbachev noted in his speech at the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Congress in Warsaw, "can be defined as follows: without losing a single day in floundering back and forth, we must increase the pace of our forward movement and be bolder in abandoning everything which still hampers our creative labor, filled with initiative."

In summing up the results of the Budapest Conference of the PCC [Political Consultative Committee] of the Warsaw Pact member-states, M. S. Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted that during the course of the PCC Conference in Budapest there was complete support for the foreign-policy line taken by the 27th CPSU Congress and the congresses of the other fraternal parties, aimed at strengthening peace, eliminating weapons of mass destruction, and creating an all-encompassing system of international security.

Of particular importance is the joint initiative with regard to a wide-ranging curtailment of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe--from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The Central Committee Plenum fully approved the activity of the Soviet delegation headed up by M. S. Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the documents adopted by the conference.

The Communists and the working people of our republic accepted with complete approbation the decisions taken by the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee; they are filled with determination to make their own contribution greater, by means of specific deeds, to speeding up the entire country's economic and social development. The results of the first six months bear witness to this. The plans for economic and social development have basically been fulfilled. In comparison with the corresponding period of last year, the output of industrial products increased by 8.1 percent within a year plan of 3.5 percent. Labor productivity grew by 5.9 percent instead of the 2 percent specified in the plan. The amounts of capital construction increased, and plans for the introduction of housing, as well as facilities for social and cultural purposes were fulfilled.

There have been notable shifts in the republic's agro-industrial complex. The year plans for the requisitioning of cereal grain and mulberry-silkworm cocoons have been over-fulfilled, as have also the half-year plans for all types of livestock-raising products.

Enterprises and organizations of the republic's transport and consumer services have successfully coped with the plans for the first six months.

In Ashkhabad and Chardzhou Oblasts, as well as in other places, groups of the republic's petroleum and gas workers have developed active work by the party, soviet, and economic organs, and labor groups with regard to implementing the outlined plans, increasing production efficiency, and enhancing product quality.

It must be said that things are changing for the better in many places. There are visible signs of restructuring. The party's influence on the life and activities of labor groups, as well as on their lower-ranking sub-divisions, is increasing. During the period following the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee 72 primary and 165 workshop party organizations were created, along with 88 party groups. At present 74,000 Communists are employed in the sector of material production; this is almost three-fourths of the republic's entire party organization. A specific style of leadership and a business-like quality in work are being affirmed more and more; the role played by the collegial organs is increasing, ties with labor groups are being expanded, and the influence of the primary party organizations on their activity is becoming more objective.

The participation in restructuring have been correctly manifested by the party committee and administration of the Ashkhabad Cotton Combine. During the course of modernization, which led to a significant growth of labor productivity over the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan, it became clear that additional measures were necessary in order to reach the up-to-date frontiers. One such measure was making the transition to a three-shift operation. The group has successfully coped with this rather difficult task. As you know, most of the employees at this

combine are women. The first to go onto the night shifts were Communist women, members of the combine's party committee. Others followed their example. We hope that the Ashkhabad Party Gorkom and the city's party raykoms will manifest the necessary persistent attention to the exceptionally important example shown by the Communists and the other workers at this combine. And, of course, they should see to it that their example is followed by the Communists from all the city's other enterprises. Furthermore, all the party committees in this republic should adopt this example as part of their arsenal.

Nor can we fail to address a few warm words today to our glorious petroleum workers. In the spirit of the requirements of these times they set themselves a difficult task--that of stabilizing petroleum extraction and of providing 95,000 tons of Turkmen petroleum in excess of the plan. By skillfully utilizing internal reserves and having carried out scientifically well-founded organizational-technical measures, they achieved this goal. In my opinion, the petroleum workers of Krasnovodsk Oblast will not stop at this; by utilizing deep reserves they will increase petroleum extraction. We are confident of this. The task of the party gorkoms and, in the first place, the Nebit-Dag Gorkom, along with the soviet and economic organs, is to show the maximum concern for their everyday life and social problems. All of us must create for them every condition for their highly productive labor.

There are quite a few such examples in our republic, testifying to well-developed, active work by party, soviet, and economic organs, as well as labor groups, with regard to fulfilling the national-economic plans, economic and social development.

The main thing to do now is to reinforce what has been achieved and to further increase the rate of growth. It is a matter of top-priority importance to further restructure party work, establish in every party organization an atmosphere of creativity, of high-principled standards and self-criticism, of searching for new and effective solutions for socio-economic, scientific and technical, and ideological-educational problems.

The leaders of all ranks must provide information about everything frankly and objectively to the higher ranking party organs and to their own groups; they must manifest always and in everything highly exacting standards and honor. All this must be an unbreakable rule in our work.

The months which have elapsed since the congress have shown that the ideas of the restructuring have been accepted with understanding by most of the party personnel. There has been a rise in the level of frankness and sharpness in posing problems, in criticism and self-criticism. But only the first few steps have been taken. And it has become even clearer that to think in the new way, to ensure a speed-up in fact, and to increase the effectiveness of all work is much more complicated than to simply discuss the importance and necessity for changes. What is required here is a profound understanding of the existing problems, the capacity for solving them in a practical way, bringing something which has been begun to a successful conclusion, for everyone to work with fully expended efforts, moreover, on their own initiative, without pressure from the outside.

In practice, this has not turned out to be the case with all leading officials. We have heard many assurances from the leading officials of Mary Oblast about

guaranteeing the smooth operation of the nitrogen plant and the Bayram-Aliisk Oil-and Fat Combine. However, without objective reasons these groups have continued to fail in fulfilling their plans and are thereby causing harm to the national economy. Big promises were made in the course of this year by the top officials of Krasnovodsk Oblast and the republic's Gosagroprom /State Committee for Agro-Industry/ with regard to putting into order trade in vegetables and fruit for the population of this region. As of today, however, little has been accomplished there. In the markets of the cities of Krasnovodsk and Nebit-Dag tomatoes and cucumbers are sold by private operators at 2--3 rubles per kilogram, while at the same time in the enterprises of Ashkhabad Oblast these products become spoiled because of mismanagement.

Month after month the Turkmenmebel republic-level furniture firm fails to meet the state plans; a lamentable financial situation has taken shape here. Because of the drought, the public herd of livestock in Krasnovodsk Oblast is in very bad condition. But the director of the firm, Comrade K. I. Kovshakov, and the chairman of the Krasnovodsk Oblispolkom, Comrade T. B. Babadzhanov, with the permission of the party organs have calmly gone on trips for rest and recreation.

An impression is given that certain comrades, while paying lip service to working in the new way, are, in practice, continuing to adhere to obviously outmoded methods; they have become used to shortcomings and are not seeking out ways to overcome them.

Comrades! New problems cannot be solved by old methods. Everywhere we need new approaches and new solutions. We need energetic actions. And this, in turn, depends on personnel, on the initiative, competence, boldness, and decisive actions of leading officials.

Once again I want to emphasize that we must, guided by the decisions of the June (1986) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, in each sector, in each labor group make a high-principled, critical analysis of the initial lessons gained from restructuring. Our duty is to strengthen the atmosphere of creativity which was engendered by the congress, to multiply the efforts in the struggle for everything in the vanguard, everything progressive, to uncompromisingly oppose any attempts to operate by means of the old methods, to raise the exacting standards for the unconditional fulfillment of the State Plan--the principal law of our economic life.

Today's Plenum of our Central Committee has assembled in order to examine the five-year plan and those problems which must be solved in the light of the requirements of the June (1986) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee by the Communists and all the working people of this republic engaged in fulfilling it.

The draft of the five-year plan, as presented to the members of the CPTu Central Committee, on the whole, corresponds to the positions of the 27th CPSU Congress with regard to the basic parameters for developing the republic's national economy. Of course, not all the problems of speeding things up have been fully solved, particularly in the field of utilizing fixed capital assets and capital construction. We must still do some more work on this during the course of implementing the year plans.

But, in general, we have quite a precise program for this republic's economic and social development for the next five years.

In drawing up the five-year plan, we managed with regard to the most important general-economic indicators to come up to the high level of tasks assigned by the Basic Directions, while also maintaining an even growth rate for the individual years of the five-year plan. To what particular features of the plan should we pay attention?

In the first place, the plan provides for speeding up the pace of developing the economy and increasing the absolute growth of the national income, industrial and agricultural output, as well as retail-trade turnover.

At the Second Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee a decision was adopted to increase the growth rate for the volumes of industrial production during the five-year plan by 35--40 percent, instead of the 21--23 percent as provided. Acting in conjunction with this republic's Gosplan, the local organs are now carrying out work on coordinating the initial plans with the plan assignments. In order to implement them, we will require extremely great efforts, a high degree of organization and discipline, an innovative approach, boldness and decisiveness, and persistence in seeing something already begun through to a conclusion. There will be difficulties and complexities in this matter, but if it is tackled with faith and all determination, we are confident that the pace of forward movement will be increased.

In the second place, the plan aims at further increasing work with regard to stepping up the efficiency of the national economy, and, in particular, at seeing to it that the outlined tasks are carried out with a relatively lower increase in the expenditure of material, fuel-and-energy, and other resources.

In the third place, the planned growth of production efficiency is being reinforced by specific measures with regard to speeding up scientific and technical progress--this determining condition for the increase of labor productivity.

In the fourth place, one of the most important tasks is to speed up the introduction of fixed capital assets and to ensure the reduction of the amount of unfinished construction and uninstalled equipment. For this purpose more than 76 percent of the capital investments are being allocated to projects already underway, and there is a sharp reduction in the number of newly begun construction projects of the production type.

Furthermore, in accordance with the program instructions of the party, the plan has outlined a broad complex of social measures to raise the well-being of the working people, as well as to improve the conditions of their labor and everyday life. Plans have been made for a leading growth in the sectors of Group B and for an increase in the output of consumer goods. Large material and financial resources are being allocated for the further development of the agro-industrial complex.

The absolute growth built into the plan gives the most complete idea of the changes in the republic's economy. The most important of them are almost one-and-a-half to 2 times higher than in the past five-year plan. For example, the national income will increase by more than one billion

rubles, in contrast to 0.5 billion rubles in the 11th Five-Year Plan. The increase in industrial output will amount to 954 million rubles instead of 496 million rubles, and the average annual gross output of agriculture will be 309 million rubles, as contrasted with 228 million rubles.

In the new five-year plan the proportion of the accumulation fund in the national income will amount to 28.6 percent. This will create genuine conditions for increasing the absolute magnitudes of raising capital investments. For the national economy of the republic as a whole their increase is being raised from 28 percent for the years 1981-1985 to 44.1 percent. The plan has outlined a major program of retooling and modernizing existing enterprises. In comparison with the 11th Five-Year Plan, allotments for this purpose will increase by a factor of 1.5, while it is intended to almost double the amount of obsolete fixed-capital production production assets to be retired.

It is planned to ensure the dynamic growth of the material-production sectors and the increase in the effectiveness of the republic's economy by means of a broad-based utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. The comprehensive automation and mechanization of production, as well as the introduction of new technologies will be developed at an accelerated pace. During the 12th Five-Year Plan provisions have been made to introduce on an annual average more than 300 types of new equipment and measures regarding it; about 30 percent of these will be initial efforts. All this will create the prerequisites for improving working conditions and the provisional freeing up of 10,000 workers; we will be able to shift approximately 7,000 persons to mechanized and automated work, which is more by a factor of 1.8 than in the preceding five-year plan.

Provisions have been made for a complex of measures with regard to significantly raising the level of the efficient utilization of material resources, and this will allow us to reduce somewhat the material consumption of public output during the 12th Five-Year Plan.

In order to involve the maximum amount of this republic's existing labor resources in public production, organizational-technical measures were worked out, and they were approved at the Third Plenum of the CPTu. Their implementation will allow us to utilize the entire increase in the able-bodied population during the 12th Five-Year Plan and to reduce the amount of the unemployed population, as a whole, from 19.3 percent in 1985 to 12.9 percent in 1990. Over the five-year period it is intended to draw approximately 278,000 persons into public production, including as many as 25,000 persons by means of increasing the work-shift coefficient of enterprises.

This republic's Council of Ministers and the TuSSR Gosplan must develop more rapidly the problems of providing for the additional needs for material, financial, and other resources, connected with implementing the above-indicated measures, while the USSR Gosplan and the appropriate Union ministries should take them into account in their draft year plans.

On the whole, the complex of measures which the plan has provided for introducing the achievements of science and technology, the modernization and retooling of existing enterprises, the construction of new, labor-intensive production facilities, as well as improving the methods of administration and management will make it possible for us to step up the average annual growth rate of the national

income by as much as 4.2 percent or by almost half again as much as in the preceding five-year plan.

Based on a speeded-up development of the economy, it is intended to carry out an extensive social program. Real per capita income will increase by 9.8 percent.

Particular attention is being paid to solving the housing problem. We must build 6.3 million square meters of housing, while, at the same time, improving the quality of its construction. The foremost place in this development will be accorded to building housing in the rural areas. But these indicators must not lull us into a sense of satisfaction, inasmuch as they only partially eliminate the acuteness of the housing problem. Searching for ways to improve housing conditions in this republic must be continued, utilizing all possibilities; we must be more active in developing cooperative and individual construction.

There will be a substantial increase in the output of consumer goods; their assortment will become more diverse, and their quality will be improved; the volume of services rendered to the public will be increased.

The Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee considers that we have every justification for basically approving the draft plan and for entrusting it to the Council of Ministers so that the latter may submit it to the republic's Supreme Soviet for consideration, taking into account the possible remarks and suggestions which will be uttered today at this Plenum of the Central Committee.

In objectively evaluating the plan presented here, it must be said straight out that intensive work will be required in order to fulfill it. We must build, redesign, and retool more than 130 enterprises in industry, and, by means of this, achieve a substantial change in its structure, eliminate the negative tendencies which have piled up over a number of years in the agro-industrial complex, eliminate the lag in this republic's socio-economic development. In short, we must carry out a radical modernization of the national economy in order to create the conditions for the further growth of its effectiveness. And all this must be done, Comrades, during the next five years.

As proposed at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, now it is time to turn the energy of thoughtful intentions into the energy of actions.

We will be able to successfully carry out what has been outlined only if each of us profoundly assimilates, thinks about, and passes through his mind and heart that which was discussed at the 27th Congress and the June (1986) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, if the necessity for speeding things up becomes the personal need of all our people, if we determinedly reject the explanations of the objective reasons and difficulties, the obsolete stereotypes in organizing work, as well as in its style and methods, if we ensure a restructuring in the thinking and in the psychology of ourselves and of officials at all ranks, along with a change in their attitude toward this matter and toward their public duty.

The tasks are very complicated, but they can be worked out. A sharp turn in the direction of intensifying production, a widespread introduction of the achievements of science and technology, a rise in the technical level and the quality of products, a strengthening of the system of economies, an increase in the degree of organization, discipline, and responsibility--these are the main directions on which the Communists' attention, as well as that of all the labor groups in our republic, must be constantly focused.

Today not all of them are working with the necessary intensity. A considerable number of enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses are again this year failing to cope with the plans. The enormous production, scientific, and technical potential which we have here in this republic is not being utilized satisfactorily.

Here the party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms must critically analyze all the work done by each collective. They must put everything which proves itself to good use and rigorously eliminate everything that stands in the way of achieving high results.

The 12th Five-Year Plan must become a turning-point, crucial for Turkmenistan, while the current year must impart a precise rhythm to the entire period before us. In considering the five-year plan as a specific program of actions with regard to the accelerated development of this republic's economy, it is essentially important to approach the plan indicators as minimal tasks which must be achieved in each sector, rayon, city, and oblast, as well as in each production unit. Such an attitude must become the norm for labor groups.

The most persistent attention must be accorded to the decisive factor for increasing the effectiveness of the economy--growth in labor productivity--taking into account the criticism which was uttered in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee at the 27th party congress, directed at our republic. The productivity of public labor for the national economy as a whole is intended to increase by 12 percent during this five-year plan, in industry--by 16 percent, in the public sector of agriculture--by 12 percent, in construction--by 13.5 percent. Moreover, the proportion of the output increase by means of a growth in labor productivity for the national economy will amount by 1990 to 65 percent, in contrast to 56 percent in 1985.

The party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations, as well as economic officials must engage more actively in the certification and efficiency improvement of the work places. The gist of this work boils down to technical supply, better labor organization at each work place, and, in the final analysis, an increase in labor productivity.

We must strengthen our monitoring controls over the course of this work, bearing in mind that in our industry almost 50 percent of the workers are engaged in manual and heavy physical labor. Certification is not a one-time campaign but rather an active instrument for upgrading the organizational level of production and the growth of labor productivity.

The principal way to increase labor productivity is the universal speeding up of scientific and technical progress. But this extremely important trend has not yet become central in the work of the TuSSR Council of Ministers, the

ministries, departments, and their leading officials, nor of the party organs, and it is not by chance that only 5 percent of the increase in labor productivity in this republic's industry has been provided by means of introducing the achievements of science and technology.

The way to speed up scientific and technical progress today lies through science. However, restructuring in this republic's scientific groups is being carried out at a pace which is far from that which is required now. First and foremost, this applies to academic science. This republic's scientific institutions have lagged behind other centers of science with regard to development of an experimental-production and design base. Therefore, the contribution made by Turkmen scientists to the state and sectorial programs is extremely insignificant.

Within the total complex of measures for increasing production efficiency, more active measures are required to improve the use of the production potential which has been created. So far the growth of labor productivity has lagged behind the increase in the capital-labor ratio and the return on capital investment has been declining. The basic causes are as follows: low level of management, insufficient loading of equipment, late assimilation and incomplete use of production capacities, and a low level of the shift factor in the work of enterprises.

In our republic today more than half of the industrial enterprises are operating on one shift. The shift-factor coefficient in our republic is lower than the average Union level and that of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The machine-building, wood-processing, garment, shoe, meat-and-dairy sectors of industry are basically operating on a single-shift. These sectors are modernizing their producer assets too slowly. If we take into account the fact that the proportion of the machines being replaced in them is less than half the amortization of the fixed capital assets, then the following legitimate question arises--just how much time is needed to carry out the modernization of this obsolete equipment? And, although the five-year plan has provided for increasing the allotments for the retooling and modernization of the existing production facilities, their proportion within the total amount of capital investments still amounts to only 14 percent. Enterprises in these sectors must make the transition to a two-shift operation this year.

This republic's Gosplan, ministries, and departments must take into account the fact that we will be able to achieve a significant increase in the qualitative economic indicators, above all, a growth in labor productivity and in the return on capital investment only if we speed up the renewal of producer goods, more rapidly eliminate the obsolete parts from them, and if we use the technically up-to-date machines more intensively, including also by means of increasing the shift-factor coefficient.

Comrades! One of the most topical and urgent problems is how to improve matters in capital construction. Carrying out large-scale tasks in this republic's economic and social development during the 12th Five-Year Plan depends to a decisive degree on the state of affairs in this sector. During the next five years we must increase the volume of capital construction by a factor of almost 1.5. However, the state of affairs in this sector remains complicated and extremely stressed; its level does not meet the needs of the national economy.

The principal problem in construction is the insufficient capacity of the construction-and-installation organizations, the low level of responsibility for this on the part of officials of all ranks, although over the course of the last 10 years we have been repeating this fact in our reports at all the plenums and conferences; but there has been no shift in this matter. Brigade-type cost accounting, which was engendered by life itself, has not found the necessary development because of the passivity of officials and specialists. Large losses of work time, a low level of equipment utilization, insufficient vocational training of workers in the mass occupations, and the instability of their composition have become a chronic ailment for many groups.

As indicated in M. S. Gorbachev's report at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, retooling cannot be carried out without the radical improvement of capital construction. For this purpose it is necessary to raise the entire construction complex to a new industrial and organizational level, to curtail the investment cycle both in connection with modernizing enterprises as well as in building new facilities.

In order to successfully cope with this task, we must, first of all, institute the necessary order in the planning of capital construction, particularly in the part concerned with its continuation. But what does happen in our republic?

Let me cite the following example. The title list for 1986 just for the republic office of USSR Stroybank included more than 140 new start-up projects. We cannot reconcile ourselves any more to such a situation. The TuSSR Gosplan as well as the leading officials of the ministries and departments must pay attention to this. They must bear full responsibility for balance in the plans for capital construction.

We must no longer scatter and waste capital investments, whereas the limits on the contract work for each project must ensure the completion of the construction within the normative time periods.

Another trend where things are obviously not going well in our republic is the business of planning. The republic's Gosstroy (Comrade V. P. Kushpel) insufficiently directs the scientific-research and planning organizations to solve the main problems--the reduction of labor intensiveness and material expenditures in capital construction. Because of their low level of quality, many plans are returned by Gosexpertiza for finishing work. In solving this problem, the party organizations have been called upon to take more principled positions.

At all the stages of its development our party has devoted constant attention to further increasing the prosperity of the Soviet people. The task assigned by the 27th CPSU Congress and the June Plenum of the Central Committee is to provide every family with a separate apartment or home by the year 2000 and to step up the pace of social, everyday, and communal construction. This requires from this republic's party, soviet, and economic organs a qualitatively new approach to solving this complicated problem.

The party committees, soviet, and economic organs must take these construction projects under more basic control, develop and support construction with initiative, as well as achieve the over-fulfillment of plans in every oblast and rayon.

Comrades! Within the framework of the five-year plan there are also many other reserves which are capable of imparting a speed-up to our forward movement.

One of the ways to more fully satisfy the needs of the national economy for up-to-date equipment and the growing demand of the population for various kinds of goods is raising the technical level and improving product quality. During the preceding five-year plan certain positive changes occurred in our country with regard to this.

However, the technical level and quality of many items produced in this republic still remain low. This is certainly one of the most vulnerable spots in our economy.

By the end of the five-year plan our republic must bring the proportion of high-quality products within the total volume of certifiable goods up to a minimum of 30 percent. It is necessary to specify the level of items being turned out, their correspondence to the best world models, and the parameters to which they must be brought in the immediate future. It would be feasible to create initiatory quality groups within the labor groups which would engage in seeking out and implementing innovative technical solutions, introducing progressive equipment and advanced technology. Deserving of more widespread dissemination are such forms as the following, which have justified themselves in practice: quality staffs and posts, thorough-going brigades distinguished by the quality of their work, competition for the right to work on their own, with a certificate of guaranteed quality. Upgrading product quality and the work being carried out must become the chief factor in evaluating the activity of each labor group. We have been keyed to this goal by the decree adopted in May of the current year by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers with regard to the problem in question.

Comrades! In our republic decisive changes must likewise be achieved in the utilization of material resources.

The party has proclaimed a movement for thrift and a struggle against mismanagement in nationwide matters. "Resource conservation," M. S. Gorbachev emphasized at the Plenum, "is a decisive source for satisfying the growing needs for materials, fuel, and electric power." By the end of the five-year plan in our republic approximately 65--70 percent of the increase in the needs for the basic types of material resources must be provided by means of economizing on them.

As you know, since 1984 the Comprehensive Program for Economizing and Effectively Utilizing Material and Fuel-and-Energy Resources until 1990 has been developed and is being implemented in this republic. However, not all ministries and departments are carrying out the measures outlined by this program, even though they themselves participated in working it out. As is always the case, they worked it out, made their reports, and forgot about it.

Thus, during the first quarter of this year the enterprises of this republic's Ministry of Motor Transport over-expended 1500 tons of automotive gasoline, the Mary Nitrogen-Fertilizer Plant--62,500 gigacalories of thermal energy, the

sub-divisions of the TuSSR Ministry of Construction--3,300 gigacalories, those of the Turkmen Gas Industry--5,600 gigacalories, while the Turkmenmebel Association managed to allow an over-expenditure of 1,300 cubic meters of lumber, 93,000 kW-hours of electric power, and approximately 900 gigacalories of thermal energy.

Of extreme importance in combatting this evil are the position and practical work of the oblast, city, rayon, and party committees. Moreover, many party officials, especially from Tashauz, Mary, and other oblasts, have concentrated their attention on helping the economic managers to "scrape up" funds for fuel, construction materials, etc., but are doing almost nothing with regard to organizing a genuine struggle for resource conservation.

It is impossible to operate this way. Nowadays the pivotal principle of management lies not in obtaining a few more resources but rather in making better use of them. This applies doubly to party officials.

Comrades! The execution of major tasks in the economic and social development of this republic depends, to a large extent, on the state of affairs in agriculture.

In accordance with the Food Program, a third of all capital investments are channeled into the republic's agro-industrial complex.

During the five-year plan for 1986-1990 it is intended to increase the average annual production of agricultural goods by 12-14 percent, as compared with the 11th Five-Year Plan.

But these plan indicators must be regarded as minimal. We must ensure their over-fulfillment. The goal of our practical work must become the attainment of an increase in the average annual output amounting to 17--19 percent. The republic's activists know that this is required not only for the purpose of increasing the contribution to the entire country's economy but also by the need to curtail and then to give up entirely the subsidy in food products for the population of this republic.

We must pay particular attention to increasing the head of livestock and poultry as well as to increasing their productivity. By 1990 we must bring the head of cattle up to 500,000 and sheep and goats up to 5 million head.

In the upswing of the economy an important place is relegated to all ways of increasing the production and improving the quality of cotton. Our task is to ensure the fulfillment of the pledge which we made--to produce 1,261,000 tons of cotton this year.

During the current year cotton wool will be accepted by the fiber output in certain regions. We must make the transition to this indicator everywhere next year. Already now kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and the cotton-ginning industry should be restructuring their own operations, taking the new conditions into account.

It is very important to achieve a situation whereby caring for the cotton plants does not cease prior to the beginning of the harvesting process.

Particular attention must be paid to preparing the crop for the harvest, as well as to repairing the equipment, field stations, sheds, and roads. During the days remaining here specific, intensive, and high-quality work must be developed. The leading officials of kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and the agro-industrial complex will be undergoing an examination of their political maturity. The task consists of fulfilling by 15 November the plans for the procurement of cotton wool for the republic as a whole. Special attention must be paid to the quality of the cotton wool. The involvement of students and school-age pupils in harvesting cotton will be stopped. Particular attention must be paid to mechanized harvesting and the fullest possible use of agricultural equipment.

There are less than two months remaining until the beginning of the harvest. The top-priority task of the employees in the cotton-ginning industry is to complete by no later than 20 August repairing the plants, receiving centers, means of mechanization, as well as preparing to receive cotton by fiber output.

We have all the possibilities to successfully cope with the major tasks assigned by the 12th Five-Year Plan. We must improve everywhere the use of land-water, material-technical, and labor resources, broadly introduce the achievements of scientific and technical progress and advanced experience, and ensure within the briefest time period the implementation of the program outlined by the Third Plenum of the CPTu Central Committee for basic improvement of the reclamation status of lands. In short, I want to emphasize the following main point once again: the path to the high productivity of fields and livestock-raising farms lies through the broad-based adoption of intensive technologies, but we do not always achieve this in the localities.

Let me cite merely a few examples on this level. At the present time in this republic large dairy complexes with capacities of 35,200 cows have been put into operation. But with regard to the number of head they are only 64 percent full, on the Druzhba Kolkhoz, Deinauskiy Rayon--by 15 percent, on the Sovkhoz imeni Gorkiy, Kunya-Urgenchskiy Rayon--by 26 percent, on the Krasnyy Oktyabr Kolkhoz, Turkmen-Kalinskiy Rayon--by 36 percent, on the Kolkhoz imeni Engels, Sayatskiy Rayon--by 38 percent, and the Pobeda Kolkhoz, Tedzhenskiy Rayon--by 40 percent.

Large funds have been expended on their construction, but there is no payback. Only by means of the full utilization of the complexes with an average level of milk yield per cow can we obtain about 30,000 tons of output.

The fodder complexes are not operating satisfactorily in our republic; there has been practically no development of cattle raising or pig farming for meat production.

It must be said straight out that the process of restructuring in agriculture is proceeding too slowly. Many secretaries of party raykoms do not have enough political willpower or keenness, or even party principles in evaluating

shortcomings; they lack persistence, steadfastness, and exacting standards in eliminating these shortcomings. In general, work is carried out entirely as it was previously; there are many positions, decisions, and demands with regard to these questions which do not reach those persons performing the work.

This republic's Gosagroprom [State Committee for Agro-Industry] and its organs in the localities are too slow in arranging their work. They still do not render the necessary aid to the kolkhozes and sovkhoses for improving the use of the land or introducing organizational-technical measures with regard to intensifying production; their influence is too weak on solving economic problems or on introducing cost accountability and collective contracts.

Agro-industry's style of work still lacks precision, operational effectiveness, and the activity of certain Main Administrations is still characterized by inertia, old methods and principles. All this has a negative effect on the work results of the Gosagroprom's enterprises and organizations.

Everybody knows that the basis of the upswing in livestock raising is fodder. In recent years many major shortcomings and acute problems have accumulated in fodder production.

The over-all state of the fodder base does not measure up to the tasks of intensifying livestock raising either in a quantitative or in a qualitative sense; the harvest yield of fodder crops, on the whole, has amounted to less than 30 quintals per hectare.

Because of the low quality of these animal feeds, their unsatisfactory storage, processing, the feeding operation itself, and, on a number of farms, even instances of "padding," a considerable over-expenditure of feeds has been permitted per unit of output produced.

Thus, for example, with a norm of expending 12 quintals of fodder units per quintal of added weight of beef on the farms of the Khodzhabasskiy Rayon, there is an over-expenditure of 52 quintals of fodder units, in the Karabekaulskiy Rayon--49, the Oktyabrskiy Rayon--40, the Tedzhenskiy Rayon--43, and the Maryiskiy Rayon--28 quintals. In the Bakhardenskiy, Bekil-Bazarskiy, Sakarskiy, Tashauzskiy, and several other rayons per quintal of milk production there is an expenditure of feeds which ranges from 1.5 to 2 times the norm.

It must be said with all frankness that fodder production continues to be regarded as a matter of secondary importance.

Having thoroughly studied the state of affairs in our republic, the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee on 1 July of this year noted the unsatisfactory status of the work being done by the party, soviet, and economic organs of the Turkmen SSR with respect to providing feeds for livestock raising. We need to put fodder production into good order. And the demands on leading officials for this sector of work will be intensified.

In according such great importance to fodder production, the Central Committee Buro considered it necessary to place this question second on the agenda for examination today at the Central Committee Plenum.

Comrades! In the work which confronts us with regard to speeding up this republic's socio-economic development there are, of course, other complex problems which require our constant attention.

The problem of problems is to saturate the marketplace with items needed by the population. Here we have many omissions and shortcomings.

Speeding up the development of consumer-goods production must become an extremely important matter for all ministries and enterprises, regardless of their departmental jurisdiction. By 1990 these goods will be produced in an amount totalling more than 1,623,000 rubles. The growth rate of their production will reach 34.9 percent, as compared with the level attained in 1985.

What is required is a radical improvement in the quality of the items being produced, as well as the creation of a flexible and effective system for renovating their assortment in accordance with changing demands. Our people ought to have a wide choice of clothing and footwear, cultural-everyday and household goods which are locally produced.

We must sharply improve the quality and broaden the assortment of dairy, bakery, and pastry items, along with fruit and vegetable produce and other food items, and we must make the transition to their predominantly factory packaging. We anticipate objective and decisive steps to be taken in this direction by the TuSSR Gosagroprom and its services.

The year 1986 must become a turning-point in the development of a system of paid services. The main thing here is to achieve a situation whereby paid services are rendered to the population by all enterprises and organizations. We must do everything to see to it that people can obtain the most diverse services which they need. Moreover, this should be not just at their places of residence but also at their places of work.

The party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, as well as the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies are obligated to systematically and profoundly analyze the situation evolving in the localities with regard to providing the population, which has growing monetary incomes, with the necessary commodity resources and services, as well as to achieve constant improvement in their balance.

Comrades! As you know, the 27th Congress assigned us the task of genuinely mastering the economic methods of managing the national economy. "...All our radical reforms are doomed to failure," V. I. Lenin noted, "if we are unsuccessful in our financial policy."

It must be said straight out that such extremely important economic categories as finance and credit, price formation, monetary circulation, balance between the amount of currency and the ability to cover it, as well as many others, still remain essentially outside the field of vision of the leading officials of our ministries, departments, other economic organs, and even the party committees.

The level of financial discipline in this republic's national economy gives us cause for serious concern. There is a great deal of mismanagement, along with other serious shortcomings and violations. But at the present time the most acute problem is that of the formation and effective utilization of our own and borrowed working capital. We are becoming more and more convinced that this is the key to many other financial problems of our enterprises and the principal cause of the unsatisfactory financial position of many of them.

Under the conditions of capitalism an entrepreneur who has squandered his own working capital is invariably on the brink of bankruptcy. The humanistic principles which lie at the foundation of the socialist system of management allow some of our negligent managers to cover their expenditures on production from their own working capital, which they frequently supplement by means of funds from the state. It is fortunate for them that this money does not come out of their own pockets. We have begun to notice that certain managers have come to manifest parasitical attitudes; they have forgotten how to keep accounts of their money, to manage effectively, or to observe the basic principles of cost accountability.

As of 1 July, overdue loans amounted to 368 million rubles, whereas unpaid documents on reciprocal accounts which are due came to 343 million rubles. The situation is particularly bad with regard to this republic's Ministry of Light Industry, Ministry of Construction, and Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry. Let me dwell on merely one example. At the Ashkhabad Glass Combine the workshop engaged in thermos-bottle production turned out products worth 360,000 rubles, but the expenditures on their production came to 3.5 million rubles. Moreover, 95 percent of the items produced were defective. Do we need to ask whether such products are necessary at all, or whether it is worthwhile to continue making them? We are waiting for a response to this question from the republic's Council of Ministers, Gosplan, and the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry. Comrade Avdeyev, you have already been working as minister for more than six months. We are giving you all the help necessary, but you have to tackle matters more decisively.

We also need to institute order in the price formation on consumer goods. At the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee M. S. Gorbachev noted that "key importance" is being assigned to the problems of price formation. "Under the pretext of modernization, prices are being raised on machinery and equipment, as well as on the estimated construction costs. Shifts in the assortment and chasing after 'gross volume' often bring about unjustified price increases on consumer goods."

This, in turn, leads to a "washout" of the cheaper items in everyday demand; certain consumer goods have begun to disappear from the shelves of our stores.

As soon as prices were set on cooked and semi-cured sausages at 3 rubles, 50 kopecks and 3 rubles, 30 kopecks per kg., respectively, the less expensive sausages such as the following were no longer for sale: "countryside" at 1 ruble, 60 kopecks, "tea" at 1 ruble, 60 kopecks, "students" at 1 ruble, 20 kopecks, and "southern" at 1 ruble, 80 kopecks per kg.

After the price on fruit juice was set at 20 kopecks per liter, grain-type kvas, priced at 12 kopecks per liter, disappeared from sale. Formerly in Ashkhabad they used to make city-type and road-type flatbreads priced at 50 kopecks per kg., but as soon as the price of 1 ruble, 20 kopecks was set on flatbread with sesame seeds, the cheaper varieties were no longer available.

To blame in this matter are the leading officials of the TuSSR Gosagroprom (Comrades Charyyev and Dzhumayev). "Ancillary" participants in these disorders are TuSSR Gosplan, the TuSSR Ministry of Finance, the State Committee on Prices, and other control organs.

It is likewise necessary for this republic's Council of Ministers to penetrate more deeply into the activities of the ministries and departments while examining the annual balance-sheets, cash plans, and other financial documents and to provide up-to-date correction of any distortions in financial management.

The economic and all sectorial departments of the Central Committee, as well as the secretaries of the Central Committee, must attentively follow up on how this work is being carried out within the sectors under their jurisdiction, at enterprises, in organizations, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and in the appropriate regions.

In solving the problems put forth by the 12th Five-Year Plan, as before, a large role and great responsibility are being assigned to our central economic organ--the republic's Gosplan. The measures being outlined with regard to speeding up socio-economic development require from the employees of the Gosplan apparatus and its Communists an active restructuring of work style and methods, a profound reworking of the problems of providing a balance between the tasks being outlined and the funds for solving them and including them in the drafts of the year plans.

However, the comrades are carrying out the restructuring process too slowly, they are not manifesting the requisite activity, they are issuing too few initiative-type proposals with regard to stepping up the pace of production, eliminating the existing disproportions and shortcomings in developing the economy, improving the management of this republic's national economy, nor are they carrying out good contacts with other economic organs.

Furthermore, we too are guilty of not giving them enough opportunity to restructure themselves. Constant instructions flow out to them from the Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of this republic. The republic's Gosplan very often performs dispatcher-type functions. The number of announcements of conferences to be held and other papers snowballs. In 1984 the republic's Gosplan sent more than 17,700 documents to the ministries and departments. In 1985 this number grew to 19,000, and during the first five months of the current year it has already sent out 8,300 such documents. As you can see, the comrades have been caught in a drift. You understand very well that restructuring is indivisible from a radical improvement of economic work in all units, in each ministry and department, as well as at every enterprises. What we are talking about is a serious increase of economic analysis in connection with

adopting economic decisions, as well as seeking out reserves for speeding up development of the sectors. Here too I would like to emphasize once again the role and responsibility of Gosplan; it must shock people from their placidity, turn on the current, and establish closer contacts with the ministries and departments; it must not occupy merely a passive position in solving national-economic problems.

Not merely Gosplan but many of our administrative organs have whipped up a frenzy of paper creativity, a great many needless sessions producing nothing but fuss and bother. A large number of check-ups wasting an enormous amount of paper and distracting people from their work are conducted by this republic's various monitoring organs.

In 1985 at the Ashkhabad Cotton Combine more than 212 check-ups were carried out by 34 organizations and departments, at the Ashkhabad Machine-Building Plant-more than 130 check-ups by 28 organizations; the Kolkhoz imeni Karl Marx, Sakar-Chaginskiy Rayon was subjected to check-ups 35 times, while the factory for primary wool-processing in the city of Mary was so subjected 27 times. This list could be continued for a great many of our republic's enterprises. The party committees must not just passively look at these numerous empty check-ups but rather decisively curtail them.

The entire trouble lies in the fact that these check-ups frequently produce nothing useful, but merely a statement of the status quo. Thus, not one of the 150 check-ups conducted at the Ashkhabad Glass Combine imeni V. I. Lenin by a single commission stated any business-like proposals or recommendations, although there are many problems which need to be solved at this enterprise. Analysis of data received by the People's Control Committee concerning the execution of the decisions adopted by the committee on the part of the ministries and departments bears witness to a pro forma attitude toward eliminating various shortcomings. To put it more succinctly, as a rule, pro forma answers are sent, in accordance with which a certain decree of the People's Control Committee is removed from control. Such a pro forma approach must be rooted out, Comrade N. V. Makarkin.

Many of the republic's party committees likewise set their hopes on the force of paper. Thus, for example, during the first five months of the current year the Chelekensk Party Gorkom sent the city's primary party organizations 584 decisions (as compared to 509 in 1985). This averages out to 15 decrees for each party organization. Moreover, with regard to most of them, it was proposed that the party organizations discuss the matter, work out measures, and within the appropriate time periods present written information to the gorkom. The following question may be asked: just when do the secretaries of the party organizations, most of whom have not been freed from their regular duties, deal with problems of concern to the Communists and the group?

Party committees at all levels must sharply curtail the number of decisions being taken, strictly inquire about the quality and results of the check-ups being conducted, and persistently root out showiness and formalism. They must ensure, in fact, the performance of the control tasks--not merely to sift through a number of measures--and achieve the solution of timely problems, as well as unconditionally correcting the shortcomings revealed.

Nowadays the slightest breakdown in work or negligence, an imprecise or incomplete execution of the directives from the party and the government result in large-scale losses. And, of course, behind every instance of poor organization, mismanagement, and lax discipline there are specific persons. And they must be held strictly to account.

In short, comrades, our task consists in creating everywhere such an atmosphere within which an irresponsible attitude, lack of initiative, a parade-type showiness, a bureaucratic approach, or the slightest deviation from the norms of our life would receive the necessary evaluation.

And we should be aided in this by well-put criticism and self-criticism, as well as by an increase in its effectiveness. You know about the fundamentally unsatisfactory evaluation given to the status of this work in the Mary city party organization, an evaluation made by the Buro of the Central Committee and for which this gorkom's first secretary, Comrade A. Valiyev, was held strictly accountable.

Such shortcomings, it must be frankly admitted, have also been allowed in other party organizations of this republic. Party activists and many Communists up to now have not been able to find within themselves the courage to openly speak out loud about our shortcomings. As before, most speeches resound with self-reports; through the commas they list the same old shortcomings year after year without analyzing their causes, without the names of those to blame for creating the situation, or talking about how these shortcomings are to be eliminated. We have not yet rooted out the habit of giving empty promises, to provide assurances and to do nothing to carry out one's words. And the party committees neither hold anybody to account, nor do they punish anybody for uttering empty words.

We need to take all measures to intensify critical conversation in the spirit of the congress. "We need fundamental criticism, having a precise target and revealing the causes of the shortcomings and omissions, as well as ways which are capable of eliminating them, criticism which supports a spirit of uneasiness, a healthy dissatisfaction with what has been achieved," M. S. Gorbachev noted in his report at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Let me cite the following example. Many of you remember that the Accountability Report of the Central Committee at the 23rd Congress of the CPTu subjected to criticism the Tashauz Party Obkom (Comrade B. Atayev) for its ineffective handling of adopted decisions. This was shown in the example of the bad state of affairs in the Leninskiy Rayon. Just how did the obkom react to this notification? Very simply. Once again, on 15 April of this year the following question was discussed at the buro: "On Serious Shortcomings in the Activity of the Leninskiy Raykom of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan." The title itself speaks about the contents. Having listed all the shortcomings in the work, the obkom remained completely silent about the fact that this had been discussed at the congress; it did not note what measures had been taken by the raykom in response to the criticism, nor did it define the tasks of the obkom's departments with regard to rendering aid to the raykom. At the same time it assigned the discussion of the adopted decree to a meeting of the primary party organization of the party raykom's apparatus, as well as the task

of specifying measures to eliminate the noted shortcomings. But why could not the obkom itself specify such measures? Or is it so much easier if one piece of paper engenders a second one? All the more so in that the obkom's decree contains not one specific point with the exception of the first one-- to issue a strict reprimand to the first secretary of the raykom, Comrade M. Palvanov, with an entry in his record book. What more? Because, of course, the state of affairs in this rayon has not changed. It turns out that the obkom limited itself to merely discussing the problem. We cannot reconcile ourselves to such an approach. An oblast party committee must be fully responsible for everything which is being done in its oblast.

Comrades! In discussing questions of this republic's prospects, in outlining measures for the future, we ought not to lose sight of the problems of the current moment. Success in fulfilling this year's plans and, consequently, those of the entire five-year plan depends on correctly solving such problems.

In agriculture, despite the well-known difficulties, our present top-priority task is to successfully complete this year, to ensure the over-fulfillment of plans for the production and procurement of all the products of cultivating the land and livestock raising.

We must decisively cut short efforts by certain managers to seek out various types of objective reasons for not fulfilling their plans.

Instead of explaining such reasons, it is necessary that they genuinely tackle the business at hand, more persistently solve the problems of doing away with bottlenecks and eliminating mismanagement, which is still quite common on many kolkhozes and sovkhoses, as well as in many enterprises and organizations.

We are now entering upon a responsible period in the activities of enterprises engaged in industry, capital construction, and transport. And, although the results of the first six months in the activities of these enterprises are considerably better than they were last year, we must not, however, flatter ourselves or labor under any delusions. Since the beginning of the year in this republic 24 industrial enterprises have failed to fulfill their sales plans, and 24 have failed with regard to commercial production. Out of the 80 most important types of products, 25 brands have not yet been completely developed. There have been shortages in deliveries of items in accordance with the products lists specified in agreements and contracts in amounts worth 19.9 million rubles.

There are also many laggards in the sub-divisions of the construction ministries and departments.

In short, we must still work and work fundamentally in order to impart a genuine persistence to the shifts which we have outlined here. It is important to prepare the national economy in time for work during the autumn-and-winter period. A decree on this question is now being specially prepared in the Central Committee of the CPTu and the republic's Council of Ministers. It is necessary for the party, soviet, and economic organs to see to it that the population does not experience inconveniences in their daily life,

that labor groups may work under a normal production schedule, and that the economy may develop successfully, picking up its pace as it goes along.

Based on the level of work and the final results obtained in each production section, we will make judgements as to the capability of the personnel to mobilize themselves for solving the genuinely complex and difficult problems.

Comrades! Today as never before in the matter of implementing the party's plans a great role is being played by the mass media of information and propaganda, functioning as the collective organizers of the workers' creative efforts. As noted at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, it is now particularly important for our press to sensitively discern the young shoots of the new and the progressive being born in all spheres of life, and to help them to be accessible to everyone. So far our press has insufficiently propagandized the experience of economic restructuring or the work of those enterprises which are already working successfully to carry out the plans, which provide for a growth in the production of industrial output by 35--40 percent.

The intensive tasks of the five-year plan require that all work be conducted under the conditions of wide publicity, principled criticism, and an effective reaction to sharply worded articles appearing in the press. In handling this problem there must be no divergencies of views among the workers in the press on the one hand and party and management officials on the other hand. The sole measuring-rod for our efforts consists of party honor, conscientiousness, and high principles. Of course, this likewise pertains to the press workers themselves, for whom any departure from truthfulness and the other party principles cannot be tolerated.

There have been noticeable shifts in the positions taken by a number of party committees, ministries, and departments with regard to articles appearing in the press. Recently the Collegium of the TuSSR Ministry of Consumer Services examined the question of reacting to critical articles appearing in this republic's party press. This is a fine thing. Such a practice deserves to be disseminated everywhere.

All of us are even now undergoing a strict exam as to our ability to work in the new way. To carry out the lofty assignments of 1986 means to demonstrate by deeds that the speed-up is becoming a genuine process, that individual positive shifts are growing into a profound restructuring of the economy. Our immediate task this year is to reach the maximum possible milestones in all sectors of the national economy, to do everything in order to fulfill and over-fulfill the plan assignments, to lay during the first year of the five-year plan a firm foundation for its completion as a whole.

The practical reality of our plans has always been and is still determined by the high degree of activity among the masses, by the motivated, responsible labor of each worker and kolkhoz member, by each specialist and scientist. The main thing today is to see to it that such a powerful and tested source of economic development operates at full strength. This has been called for by the Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee to the Working People of the Soviet Union, which was adopted by the June (1986) Plenum; it contains a

precise program of actions for the party organizations as well as for each Communist. It is, in fact, the Communists who are obliged to become the soul and the prime mover of socialist competition for the successful completion of the tasks of the present year and those of the entire five-year plan, to be in the front ranks of those competing, to inspire people by their personal example to fulfill the assigned tasks.

"Let us work in such a way," states the Appeal, "that Soviet people will live more abundantly in a material and spiritual sense, that the country's economy will grow steadily stronger, and that its defensive shield will be more solid. Every one of our achievements along the path outlined by the 27th party congress will be a new step toward firming up the positions of socialism and the cause of peace on Earth."

Ahead of us lie many tasks--large in scope, interesting, and responsible. In carrying them out, every party organization, every party committee, and our republic's party organization as a whole will be undergoing an exam for maturity.

Permit me in your name to assure the CPSU Central Committee that our republic's party organization will apply all its forces to fulfill the plans of the five-year plan, will make its own worthy contribution to speeding up the country's socio-economic development, and will persistently implement the decisions of the June Plenum of the party's Central Committee.

2384

CSO: 1830/693

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

USMANKHODZHAYEV ADDRESSES SESSION ON 'UNEARNED INCOME' TASKS

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 10 Aug 86 p 1

[UzTAG report: "Meeting of the Uzbek CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The tasks of our republic party, soviet, economic and public organizations toward intensifying the struggle against unearned income in light of the requirements contained in resolutions by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers were discussed at a meeting of the Uzbek CP Central Committee held on 9 August. Participating in the meeting were the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol aktiv, the second secretaries of party obkoms, deputy oblispolkom chairmen, heads of ministries and departments, officials of law enforcement organs, and workers in the mass media.

A report was presented by I. B. Usmankhodzhayev, first secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee.

In that report and in speeches by S. M. Nesterenko, second secretary of the party's Tashkent Obkom, B. A. Allamuradov, second secretary of the Syrdarinskaya Obkom, A. V. Buturlin, UzSSR procurator, R. U. Turakulov, republic deputy minister of finance, G. D. Kotovrasov, first deputy chairman of the Fergana Oblispolkom, Yu. S. Vasilyev, second secretary of the Samarkand Obkom, and N. Kh. Saidakhmedov, chairman of the Bukhara Oblast Committee for People's Control, it was noted that documents passed recently have been aimed at increasing state and public control over the measures of labor and consumption and consistently implementing the basic principle of socialism: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor." The struggle against various sorts of negative phenomena which was unleashed in this republic in the wake of the 16th Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee has definitely yielded results. There has occurred improvement in the morale and moral atmosphere in many labor collectives, and workers' political, social and labor activism has increased. Decisive measures have been taken against those who flagrantly violate the standards and principles of our socialist way of life and of social justice. However, as participants in the meeting emphasized, these are merely the first steps toward a restructuring which should encompass all spheres, both economic and social.

Cause for great concern is the fact that as yet not all the loopholes in economic and legal practices which can lead to unsupervised transfers of finances have been closed, and efforts by some individuals to live at the expense of society and in a manner harmful to it have not always been countered. There have been quite a few instances in which people have obtained unearned income by dealing in embezzlement, speculation, acceptance of bribes and other forms of illegal activity. Some of them are using for the sake of personal profit cars, equipment, means of transport, housing, fuel, and raw materials belonging to the state. In the fields of retail trade and household, municipal and medical services and at educational institutions cases of extortion of extra payments for services, misappropriation of payments, defrauding of citizens and protectionism have still not been eliminated. Often persons in responsible positions also begin using the power of their offices for personal gain. These and other horrible phenomena are incompatible with the socialist way of life, are at odds with the interests of honest working people and provoke their justified outrage. Therefore, it was pointed out at the meeting, work to prevent manifestations of greed needs to be improved radically. This is a party-wide, nationwide task of great political, socioeconomic and didactic significance.

Objectively appraising the current situation, participants in the meeting noted the shortcomings which exist in work to monitor compliance with state discipline, record keeping and accountability. We have still not overcome the problems of shortcomings being overlooked and accounts falsified. And not all party organizations and labor collectives are conducting an implacable and uncompromising struggle against this evil. It is a cause for alarm that the number of petty thefts at a number of enterprises and construction organizations has not declined. Order should be established at the kolkhoz markets, which are still accessible to speculators and resellers. Specific proposals aimed at creating a dependable barrier against thieves, bribetakers and those who like to live at state expense have been adopted.

Those at the meeting noted that all party committees, soviets of people's deputies, trade unions, and Komsomol and economic organizations, law enforcement organs and control organs are urged to play an effective role in eradicating unearned income, a thing which is alien to the nature of socialism. Party committees should not only increase their demands on officials and leadership cadres, but should also mobilize all communists and all working people for the fight, to guarantee the security of the people's property from thieves and spoilage and eliminate conditions which encourage poor management, the acceptance of bribes and theft. The fight against unearned income should be conducted in strict accordance with the law and simultaneously with regularization of individual labor activity, which should be encouraged in every way possible so long as it is done for the good of society; on this question formalism should not be permitted.

Particular attention was devoted to ways to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of ideological educational work by party committees and trade union and Komsomol organizations and to improve the style and methods of that work.

Members and candidate members of the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro took part in the meeting.

12825

CSO: 1830/713

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

UZBEK CENTRAL COMMITTEE EXAMINES SOVKHOZ, KOLKHOZ WORK

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 10 Aug 86 pp 1,3

[Article: "In the Uzbek CP Central Committee"]

[Text] On 9 August the Central Committee of the Uzbek CP studied the results of cross-checks on compliance with the socialist obligations undertaken by our republic's sovkhozes and kolkhozes. Reports were heard from the heads of cross-check brigades from the other cotton-producing republics: T. Kh. Orudzhev (AzSSR), A. N. Maksumov (TaSSR), and B. Yazkuliyeu (TuSSR).

It was noted that agricultural workers in our republic have successfully completed their socialist obligations for the sale of silk cocoons to the state and are working hard to bring in the cotton harvest and other crops, despite the necessity of overcoming the effects of natural disasters and poor weather. It was underscored that the traditional socialist competition between fraternal cotton-producing republics has been a major mobilizing factor in the struggle to achieve high final production figures.

Cross-checks indicate that in some oblasts and rayons and at some kolkhozes and sovkhozes there are occurring violations of agrotechnical standards with respect to the care of cotton plants, maintenance is lagging behind, fields have not been cleared of weeds, and cultivation and fertilization are being carried out inadequately. There is a lack of supervision over irrigation work, there have been instances of both under- and overwatering, and the struggle against agricultural pests and cotton plant diseases is not being carried on aggressively. As a result, in some fields in Andizhan, Navoi, Kashkadarinsk, Samarkand, Fergana and other oblasts plants are too thin and the cotton bolls have been slow to form.

Considerable shortcomings were revealed during harvest preparations and during the procurement and processing of the 1986 cotton harvest. In a number of oblasts, repairs on cotton-harvesting equipment and other machinery and the preparation of the cotton plants, produce procurement centers and baling areas so necessary for separate cotton storage are going slowly.

All the available reserves are not being utilized with respect to sales of fruits, vegetables and livestock to the state. A grave situation has arisen

in the area of fodder production, and farms are behind schedule in preparing their livestock for the winter period.

The Central Committee of the Uzbek CP underscored the urgent necessity of stepping up supervision by party, soviet and agricultural organs, trade unions and Komsomol organizations over fulfillment of socialist obligations by farms, brigades, production sectors and livestock farms.

In light of this, the Council of Ministers of the Karakalpak ASSR, oblispolkoms and rayispolkoms, the State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex, the UzSSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the Main Administration for Central Asian Sovkhoz Construction, their local organs, farm managers and primary party organization are to take the most urgent measures to eliminate the shortcomings exposed during cross-checking and to mobilize the efforts of all our republic kolkhoz and sovkhoz collectives for absolute fulfillment of their socialist obligations for the first year of this five-year plan.

Party, soviet and agricultural organs, kolkhozes and sovkhozes are assigned to step up their care for cotton plantings prior to harvesting time, devoting particular attention to fields in which the cotton plants are not developing properly. They should step up the pace and complete in reduced time the preparation of cotton-harvesting machinery, the procurement network, drying and cleaning shops and cotton plants so that they will be ready to receive and process the new crop. They should be prepared to carry out defoliation of the cotton plants at the proper time and with a high level of quality, relying primarily upon equipment on the ground.

It is essential that the harvesting of corn for grain and silage be conducted without losses. The land thus freed up should be used for sowing second crops and interim fodder crops. Labor resources and physical resources should be allocated in such a way as to increase the pace of harvesting and procurement of fruits and vegetables; their unimpeded delivery to the retail trade network and to processing plants should be arranged for, and the supply of these products to the public should be improved.

Goals have been set specifying absolute fulfillment by each farm of the established plans for the production and procurement of livestock, for increase in the number of head of livestock, and for an increase in the productivity of cattle and fowl. The need for strict compliance with the technology of fodder cultivation and procurement was emphasized, as was the need to increase demands on farm managers and specialists with respect to creating a guaranteed surplus of coarse and succulent fodder for the upcoming winter period.

It is proposed that party committees, primary party organizations and Komsomol organizations step up the effectiveness of their organizational and mass political work at field camps and livestock farms and impress upon each agricultural worker in our republic the importance of his personal contribution in bringing in the harvest of cotton and other agricultural products, increasing productivity in the area of livestock breeding, and successfully fulfilling socialist obligations.

12825

CSO: 1830/713

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

UZBEK BURO CRITICIZES LOCAL PARTY WORK

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 17 Aug 86 p 1

[Article: "In the Central Committee Buro of the Uzbek CP"]

[Text] On 16 August a regular meeting of the Central Committee Buro of the Uzbek CP was held.

The results of the work of the party commissions attached to party gorkoms and raykoms in Syrdarinskaya Oblast were examined. In resolutions passed on this subject it was noted that, along with positive changes, the level of operations in many party commissions is, on the whole, not keeping up with increasing demands. Not all primary party organizations have created a businesslike, self-critical mood, a high level of mutual exactingness and intolerance of deviations from charter requirements. The party's obkom, gorkoms and raykoms have been assigned, in accordance with the guidelines set forth at the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress, the tasks of consistently and firmly implementing a course toward further reinforcement of party and state discipline, directing the efforts of party commissions and primary party organizations toward the creation in every production collective of an atmosphere in which high standards and condemnation of any violations or abuses prevail and severely punishing officials and party members who violate the law.

At its meeting the Central Committee Buro discussed a memorandum from the Central Statistical Administration and the UzSSR Committee for People's Control concerning instances of fraud against the state, alteration of records and distortion of statistical accounts at republic enterprises, organizations and farms. The resolution passed on this matter will be published by the press in full.

The article "Inconceivable But True," published in IZVESTIYA on 26 June 1986, was discussed. It was acknowledged that the newspaper's critique had been justified. The attention of the Tashkent Oblispolkom was directed to the serious slackening of its work at places of residence, particularly among teenagers, as well as to violations of passport regulations and lack of attention to children needing state care and protection. It was officially noted that by decisions of the oblast buro of party committees a group of workers in those organs which were guilty of a heartless attitude toward the

fate of children not provided for by their parents was subjected to intraparty discipline. Also, in the village mentioned in the article improvements have been made, workers' living conditions improved, and a number of social and cultural facilities have been set up and are now in operation. The Syrdarinskaya and Dzhizak obkoms were given the task of reviewing the question of whether the officials guilty of not taking the appropriate measures to help the children and teenagers mentioned in the article are liable to intraparty discipline.

The Central Committee Buro pledged republic party committees and the ispolkoms of republic soviets of people's deputies to change in a radical fashion their attitude toward matters of protecting the rights of orphaned children or children who are not provided for by their parents and toward educational work with difficult teenagers. In this matter they should be very exacting with internal affairs organs, people's and professional organs for education, health care and social security, and commissions on juvenile affairs. Measures have been outlined which will guarantee increased responsibility on the part of republic ministries and departments for the sociocultural development of settlements and towns attached to enterprises, organizations and institutions under their jurisdiction.

The Central Committee Buro discussed the results of an investigations of statements concerning shortcomings at the Tashkent Institute for Irrigation and Agricultural Mechanization Engineering (TIIIMSKh). The institute rector, S. Iskanderov, was relieved of his duties on account of serious shortcomings in his academic work with students and colleagues, falsification of records concerning the success rate and effectiveness of research work, violations of rules governing the selection, distribution and training of the faculty of professors and instructors, and extravagance in connection with finishing work done on an administrative building. In accordance with the CPSU Charter the question of whether he is liable to intraparty discipline will be decided by the institute's primary party organization.

The Tashkent Gorkom has been assigned the task of deciding on the desirability of using Kh. Khayrullayev for the job of secretary of the institute's party committee, and of determining the degree of responsibility of the other individuals involved. It is to take the necessary measures to improve the morale and psychological atmosphere in TIIIMSKh labor collectives and in the institute's academic affairs.

At the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro meeting discussions were conducted and decisions made on several other questions pertaining to party and economic work.

12825

CSO: 1830/713

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

ARMENIAN PARTY DAILY BARRED FROM PHOTOGRAPHING EXAM SESSION

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 9 Aug 86 p 2

[Article under "Rejoinder" rubric: "Who Gave Them the Right?"]

[Text] In the vuz's the exciting time for entrance examinations has begun. It is a crucial time, for those who today are preparing to become students will be teaching children tomorrow, as well as managing our economy, production sectors, and solving the many facets of acceleration.

We wanted to use the medium of photojournalism to present a practical discussion of all this. We chose as our subject the Yerevan State University, as it is the most prestigious.

Even for journalists, getting into a classroom during exams is a complicated procedure. You have to prepare and take your permit application to the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in advance. Then back to the ministry to get your signed pass with its official stamp and the minister's signature.

There is nothing to argue about here--established procedure is established procedure. And yet. . .

At the university entrance our newspaper's correspondents presented their editorial board identification and their signed passes from the ministry. With no difficulty at all they were admitted into the classroom where future radio-physicians and mathematicians were taking their examinations. However, just as our photojournalist stopped to prepare to take pictures, there appeared V. Sarkisyan, secretary in charge of the acceptance commission for the natural sciences faculty:

"What are outsiders doing here?"

Our newspaper people presented their passes signed by the minister. But the secretary remained adamant:

"Your passes are not valid here. Go and see the management, and if they give their permission...."

Accompanied by A. Sardaryan, deputy secretary in charge, we went up to the vice-chancellor's office. The doors were locked. Nor was the party committee secretary in. In any case, having tried every door in succession, we found no one in.

"There's nothing I can do. You'll have to leave," announced A. Sardaryan.

Thus we were unable to report on the entrance examinations. To make up for it the management of the newspaper "Kommunist" put several questions to the university management:

"How could the minister's directive, the personally signed pass, have simply been ignored by V. Sarkisyan and A. Sardaryan. Who gave them the right to do that?

And perhaps these comrades from the university think that they are totally beyond criticism and control?"

We think that the Myasnikyanskiy rayon party committee and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education are going to take this unprecedented arbitrariness very seriously, and that V. Sarkisyan and A. Sardaryan are going to be held strictly responsible for this same crude arbitrariness and tactless attitude toward representatives of the party press.

12659

CSO: 1830/699

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

WESTERN CHARGES OF REPRESSION OF ETHNIC GERMANS REFUTED

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 22, 27 May-2 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by V. Balkov under the rubric "Rebuttal": "How Germans Live In the USSR"]

[Text] "The West is not above making accusations of human rights violations in the USSR and incidents of oppression. Our reality refutes these fabrications completely," declared Natalya Gellert, a tractor driver at the Sovkhoz imeni Amangelda in Tselinograd Oblast and an ethnic German, speaking from the podium of the 27th CPSU Congress.

This worker's words are an appropriate reply to those ill-wishers who proclaim that there is "discrimination" against Germans in the USSR. This is not the first year that a noisy propaganda campaign has been conducted in the West, particularly in the FRG, the organizers of which are attempting to prove that citizens of German ethnicity in the Soviet Union allegedly do not enjoy equal rights and are subject to persecution. The tone of this campaign, the climax of which was discussion of the issue of Soviet Germans by the West German Bundestag, has been set by activists from right-wing parties in the FRG and the leaders of revanchistic refugee leagues. In broadcasts on the DEUTSCHE WELLE and in handbills, brochures and other anti-Soviet literature which Western intelligence services are attempting to dump onto our territory the main thrust is the assertion that the true homeland of Soviet Germans is not the USSR, but rather the FRG, and that they should be returned to their "Vaterland" as soon as possible.

Yet how can one speak of ties between Soviet Germans and a homeland in the FRG, if their ancestors began to immigrate to Russia over two centuries ago? The first German colonists appeared in our country in the second half of the 18th century. They fled from Germany to escape religious persecution. The Great October Socialist Revolution gave Germans in the Russian Empire equal rights. Ethnic German workers fought side by side with members of other USSR nationalities and nations to defend the gains of the October Revolution, and later built and defended socialism. The hopes cherished by the leaders of the "Third Reich" of turning Soviet citizens of German background into a "fifth column" for fascism crumbled.

They helped forge the Victory in the rear, restoring the economy which had been destroyed by the war; today they are making a significant contribution to the implementation of the party's course toward acceleration of our country's socioeconomic development. The Germans who live in the USSR have firmly joined their destinies to that of their socialist Motherland.

Broad Representation

Citizens of German ethnicity participate actively in the political, social and cultural life of our country and in the administration of affairs of state. Approximately 18,000 Soviet Germans have been elected to soviets at various levels, from village and settlement soviets to the USSR Supreme Soviet. In the highest organ of power in the Soviet Union they are represented by four delegates. These are N. Gellert, who was mentioned above, Svetlana Sokh and Sofya Gennig, livestock breeders from Severo-Kazakhstanskaya and Omsk oblasts, respectively, and Fridrikh Shnayder, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov in Altayskiy Kray. All four come from among the people and have won the honor and respect of their countrymen on account of their dedicated labor for the good of society. N. Gellert has been awarded the Order of Lenin, Order of Friendship Among Peoples, and the Order of the Red Banner. Fridrikh Shnayder has earned the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. This title has been bestowed upon dozens of Soviet citizens of German ethnicity. Recently it was received by Ivan Enns, the chairman of the Zarya Kommunizma Kolkhoz in Omsk Oblast. Enns is one of the two Soviet Germans represented in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. A total of 10 citizens of German ethnicity have been elected to the highest organ of power in the Kazakh SSR. One of them is Ivan Sharf, general director of a production association in Tselinograd Oblast and a member of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium. In the KiSSR Supreme Soviet, Soviet Germans are represented by four deputies. A total of 12 Germans were chosen as delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress.

Attempts by Western propaganda to "prove" that Germans living in the USSR are deprived of the right to hold positions of leadership and are denied access to higher education are completely without substance. In Kazakhstan alone there are over 100 sovkhoses which are headed by citizens of German ethnicity. All of these individuals are specialists with higher education. Well known in our country are the names of pianists Svyatoslav Rikhter and Rudolf Kerer and stage and screen actress Alisa Freyndlikh. Many Soviet Germans have made contributions to Soviet science. Among them are Petr Vibe, a doctor of medical sciences and head of a research center in Sukhumi; Vladimir Genning, doctor of historical sciences and deputy director of the UkSSR Academy of Science's Institute of Archaeology; Nikolay Gilts, director of the Forest Institute of the Karelian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Ernst Boos, corresponding member of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences; Lev Ernst, vice-president of the All-Union Order of Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin (VASKhNIL); Germanic linguist Andreas Dulzon; and art expert Georgiy Vagner.

The rightist bourgeois FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG assures its readers that statistical data on the German population of the USSR are not published in our country. This, to put it mildly, does not correspond to the truth. Data on Soviet Germans, as on other peoples in the USSR, are regularly published in

statistical handbooks and journals. According to data from the 1979 census, there are over 1.9 million Germans in the Soviet Union, or almost 20 percent more than in 1959. Of these approximately one-half live in Kazakhstan, to which region they were evacuated during the last war in connection with military operations. The remainder live in the RSFSR, Kirghizia, Tajikistan and other union republics. Virtually all of them speak Russian, yet roughly three-fifths of them consider German their native language.

In the Mainstream of a Multiethnic Culture

Also groundless are claims by bourgeois ideologues to the effect that Soviet Germans are deprived of the proper conditions for development of their native language and ethnic culture. In the USSR, three newspapers are published in German: NEUES LEBEN ("New Life" - Moscow); FREUNDSCHAFT ("Friendship" - Tselinograd); and ROTE FAHNE ("Red Banner" - Altayskiy Kray). Twice yearly the literary, arts and sociopolitical almanac HEIMATLICHE WEITEN ("Native Expanses") is published in Moscow. In Moscow, Alma-Ata and Barnaul, books by Soviet German writers (of which there are approximately 100) are published. Recently Soviet German Literature Days were held in Karaganda.

The actors of the German Drama Theater tour in regions where a large number of Soviet Germans live. Their home theater is in the city of Temirtau in Karaganda Oblast. A German workshop has been established at the Higher Theatrical School imeni M. S. Shchepkin in order to provide new members for this theatrical troupe.

In the USSR the German language is heard not only on the stage, but also over the airwaves and in classrooms. Radio studios in Alma-Ata, Barnaul, Omsk and Frunze, as well as the Karaganda television center, regularly broadcast for Soviet Germans in their native language. At their parents' request, German children may study their native tongue in special groups, beginning with first grade. Teachers of German as a first language are being trained in Novosibirsk, Kokchetav, Orenburg and other cities in our country.

These are the facts. But Western propagandists are not interested in reality. Their objective is to cast aspersions on the CPSU's Leninist nationality policy at any price, to undermine the unity and solidarity of our society, and to provoke Soviet Germans to anti-state acts and encourage them to emigrate from the USSR. Alas, some people fall under the influence of bourgeois propaganda and leave their Motherland in search of the promised "paradisiacal life" in the West. But in the FRG disappointment awaits the so-called "Spätsiedler" [late settlers]. The very first months of life in the West are enough to sober gullible individuals.

12825

CSO: 1830/722

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

POST-CONGRESS CONCEPT OF SOCIALIST SELF-GOVERNMENT DISCUSSED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 7, Jul 86 (signed to press 26 Jun 86) pp 18-32

[Article by Professor K. I. Varlamov, doctor of historical sciences, under rubric "Questions of Theory and Methodology": "Marxist-Leninist Concept of the Socialist Self-Government of the Nation"]

[Text] At the present time there are probably no more important questions that are linked with fates of millions of people, with the prospects of socialism, and with the future of every individual, than those that were posed at the 27th CPSU Congress. The decisions of the congress are a banner for Communists, a banner with which the party openly and honestly moves toward the nation and inspires hopes and the spirit of the struggle for the attainment of the ideals of the laboring people.

The party's innovative strength was expressed primarily in the development of a well-extended concept and strategy for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, in the most complete, best-rounded substantiation of its various objective and subjective factors. Thus, the theory and practice of communist building have been significantly enriched by the further development of Marxist-Leninist ideas concerning the socialist self-government of the nation. They were given an indepth elaboration in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee, in the new edition of the CPSU Program, and in the other congress documents. Whereas the cardinal use of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution is the chief lever for accelerating our country's socioeconomic development, the more complete carrying out of the socialist self-government of the nation is in the front rank of the key accelerators in this process. The crux of the question lies in ascertaining how to bring to life the new influx of the tremendous energy that lies concealed within the nation, and what should be done to assure that the spring of the organizing talents of millions starts welling at full force.

It is well known that over a prolonged period of time, in research projects on the social sciences, there have been impoverished, and at times one-sided, treatments of self-government. The shortcomings can be summarized basically as follows. First, self-government at one time was linked with the vital activity only of individual cells in socialist society (production or territorial). Secondly, in certain works it was contrasted with state

government. Thirdly, the practical implementation of the principles of self-government was postponed until the transition to the highest phase of communism (Footnote 1) (See: Gorbachev, M. S., "Zhivoye tvorchestvo naroda" [The Live Creativity of the Nation], Moscow, 1984, p 15).

The socialist self-government of the nation is an acute ideological problem that causes discussions and the conflict between various concepts. The opponents of Leninism attempt to seize the initiative, to act in the role of the apostles of self-government, and to represent the situation as though, in the USSR and the other countries in the socialist community, that problem is not being resolved. Even bourgeois theoreticians pose as enthusiastic supporters of self-government, which allegedly develops under capitalism in various forms -- "social partnership," "worker participation," "the workers' control," etc. Suffice it to state that at the most recent, 10th International Sociological Congress in Mexico City, bourgeois scientists gave dozens of reports dealing with these questions.

As has been shown by the events of recent decades, both the bourgeois scientists and the revisionists of various kinds have been actively speculating with the ideas of self-government. Some of them attempt to free self-government from politics, from the class approach, converting it into some kind of totality of final systems, cybernetic devices, and self-governing mechanisms. Others launch attacks on the Leninist concept of self-government under the slogan of "liberalization" and "democratization." They also have no aversion to mentioning "worker self-government" or "worker democracy," but without the leadership by the Communist Party, and they propose reconsidering the relations among the party, the state, and society. Still others "advise" rejecting centralized state planning, and suggest actually making enterprises the property of individual collectives, making them dependent upon the domestic and foreign market, unleashing competition with the purpose of the maximum extraction of profit, and offering the "free market" the possibility of eliminating the disproportions that inevitably arise with this kind of organization of the economy. State government is depicted in general as the complete opposite of socialist self-government. In it they see the source of bureaucratic centralism, "statism," and the "dictatorship of the apparatus." And, finally, yet another group of theoreticians attempt to prove that the socialism that was built in the Soviet Union is not socialism at all, that the CPSU has practically betrayed Marx and Lenin, has rejected their theory concerning the dying out of the state, and thus has rejected the principles of the self-government of the nation.

All this makes the problem of the genesis, growth, and development of the Marxist-Leninist concept of socialist self-government a vitally important one theoretically, politically, and practically.

What are the roots of the Marxist-Leninist concept of self-government? They lie concealed in the revolutionary strivings of the masses of the people. In the totality of the various historical movements toward socialism there was not a single one that did not advance the idea of public self-government. Beginning with the earliest, most primitive, Utopian forms of expression, this idea absorbed the striving toward justice in people's communal life.

As early as the pre-Marxist theories concerning self-government under socialism, the question of the relationship to the state became a stumbling block. And the attempt was made in various ways to resolve that question. The state was viewed either as the chief obstacle on the path of self-government, the embodiment of every evil, of every human tragedy, or was depicted as the halo of good, the tool for organizing "that political system which would have as its goal labor for the public welfare with the aid of the sciences, arts, and handicrafts" (Footnote 2) (Sen-Simon [Saint-Simon], "Izbrannyye sochineniya" [Selected Works], Vol 1, Moscow-Leningrad, 1948, p 452).

However, both the opponents and the adherents of the state were always united by one thing -- the lack of understanding of its class essence, of its historic nature. Therefore their ideas of the correlation between the state and the self-government of the nation were also devoid of any worldly roots, but rather were abstracted from the real economic, social, political, and spiritual processes. It is precisely there that lie hidden the gnosiological sources both of the anarchistic or anarcho-syndicalistic ideas concerning the nonstate, powerless, decentralized self-government under socialism, and the hypertrophy of state authority and coercion for purposes of "making people happy."

The merit of scientific socialism consists in that scientific socialism ascertained the essence of the state as the product of the development of the class, primarily production, relations, analyzed the real interrelationship and inner unity of state government under socialism and the self-government of the nation, searched for its roots in the historical process itself, in the class struggle of the proletariat, and defined its economic, sociopolitical, and ideological prerequisites.

The founders of scientific socialism, characterizing the material, economic prerequisites of socialism, showed that socialist society cannot be a society of disassociated producers. Socialist, and subsequently communist, society is a highly organized society of free and conscious laborers, a society of associated producers. The self-government of this kind of society cannot arise as a parceled, communal phenomenon. Its economic roots go back to the objective process of the socialization of production of labor, which proceeded through the successively developing "transitional forms from the capitalist method of production to the associated" (Footnote 3) (Marks [Marx], K. and Engels, F., "Soch." [Works], Vol 25, Part I, p 484). and which created the prerequisites for the organizational structure of the future society. "That organization of society which is created by factory production is the true organization of society" (Footnote 4) (Ibid., Vol 42, p 239). Developing the principles expressed on this score by K. Marx and F. Engels. V. I. Lenin in particular wrote, "And if the working masses that are introducing socialism are unable to adapt their institutions in the way that large-scale machine industry must operate, then there cannot be any talk at all of the introduction of socialism" (Footnote 5) (Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch. [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 157).

Very important sociopolitical prerequisites for the arising of socialist self-government are the promotion, by the very course of objective historic

development, as the most advanced class of society and the leader of the revolutionary struggle, of the working class, the formation of its union with the peasantry and with all the exploited masses, the creation of a Communist Party that has been called upon to unite scientific socialism with the workers movement, as well as the creation of Soviets, trade-unions, youth, women's, cooperative, and other organizations for the workers themselves.

A significant role in implementing the principles of socialist self-government was played by the formation of its ideological prerequisites. "In a few words," Lenin wrote, the merits of Marx and Engels to the working class can be expressed as follows: they taught the working class self-knowledge and self-consciousness and replaced dreams with science" (Footnote 6) (Ibid., Vol 2, p 6). Those prerequisites provided the opportunity for the working class to rise to an understanding of its position in the system of social relations and its common interests and ideals, and to the awareness of the need to win political power.

The question of the political power of the proletariat, of the content and specific forms of that power, is the chief question that is directly linked with the carrying out of socialist self-government.

As early as the first keynote document of the Communists, "The Manifesto of the Communist Party," Marx and Engels pose the question of the use of the state for organizing the political dominance of the proletariat, for centralizing in its hands the tools of production, and for quickest possible increase in the total amount of productive forces (Footnote 7) (See: Marks, K. and Engels, F., "Soch.", Vol 4, p 446). The experience of the European revolutions in the late 1840's led to the conviction that the old state bourgeois machine had to be decisively broken, and that the essence of the new state was the dictatorship of the working class (Footnote 8) (See: Ibid., Vol 7, p 31). That dictatorship is not a goal in itself, but "a necessary transitional stage toward the annihilation of class differences in general, toward the annihilation of all production relations on which those differences rest, toward the annihilation of all social relations that correspond to those production relations, toward a revolution in all the ideas evolving from those social relations" (Footnote 9) (Ibid., p 91). The dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary for appropriating the producer goods, and for subordinating them to the associated working class (Footnote 10) (See: Ibid., p 40). The unfading exploit of the heroes of the Paris Commune made it possible to concretize the posing of the question of the construction of a new type of state, a state of the Commune type, as the initial factor in social self-government.

"The great social measure of the Commune," Marx wrote, "was its own existence, its work. Individual measures that were undertaken by it could designate only the direction in which the administration of the nation by means of the nation itself was developing" (Footnote 11) (Ibid., Vol 17, p 350). The Commune was "a working-class government," an open political form of the economic liberation of labor under which "everyone will become workers, and productive labor will cease to be the property of a certain class" (Footnote 12) (Ibid., p 346).

When the ordinary workers first decided to make encroachments on the privilege of its "natural leadership element" -- the privilege of administration -- they understood that that was only the beginning, the starting point of a prolonged historical path. "The working class did not expect any miracles from the Commune. It does not think of carrying out... ready-made and final Utopias. It knows that in order to achieve its liberation and, at the same time, to achieve the highest form to which modern society irrepressibly strives by virtue, properly speaking, of its own economic development, it will have to withstand a prolonged struggle and experience a number of historical processes which will completely change both the circumstances and people" (Footnote 13) (Ibid., p 347).

Carefully researching the real historic processes, the founders of scientific communism laid the foundations for the scientific concept of the self-government "of a society that consists of the unification of free and equal producers engaged in social labor in accordance with a common and efficient plan" (Footnote 14) (Ibid., Vol 18, p 57), where "the collective individual, and associated producers efficiently regulate... their exchange of substances with nature, put that exchange under their common control, instead of allowing it to dominate over them like a blind force; they carry it out with the least expenditure of efforts and under conditions which are most worthy of their human nature and which are adequate to it" (Footnote 15) (Ibid., Vol 25, Part II, p 387).

In the Marxist concept, the self-government of the nation first of all is linked with the liberation of labor; with the guaranteeing of the harmonious interaction between man and nature; with the overcoming of the division of labor that had developed in the class society and the substantial social differences that were linked with that division; with the confirmation of the directly social nature of labor and production; and with the economizing of labor, which acts as a factor for its intensification and the acceleration of social progress. The basic achievement of Marxist thought concerning self-government is the substantiation of the need for its carrying out of a proletarian state. Marx and Engels showed that the path for the political development to communist self-government is measured by successive periods and phases of the development of the communist formation. During the transitional period from capitalism to socialism the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary. A proposal was expressed concerning the necessity of the state also at the first phase of communism. It is only at the highest phase of the communist society that the state exhausts itself.

The ideas of Marx and Engels were rendered concrete by the revolutionary creativity of the masses themselves and they found further scientific substantiation and development in the works of Lenin.

Lenin's contribution to the theory and practice of self-government over a prolonged period of time was studied insufficiently. That served as a certain cause of the sometimes imprecise placement of the theoretical and practical emphases. And yet the problems of the winning of political power by the working class, its arrangement, and the organizing of the socialist administration of the country and the self-government of the workers run like

a constant theme through all the basic works of Lenin both before the October Revolution and especially after its victory.

During the first years of the Soviet authority, the acuity of the struggle for the confirmation of the Marxist principles of self-government was aggravated by outbursts of anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism, the social source of which was the existence of petty-bourgeois elements. Anarchism, which denied the necessity of the state, and anarcho-syndicalism, which preached the transfer of the railroads to the railroad workers, the rivers to the river workers (the Volga to the Volga boatmen), the mines to the mine workers, and, as G. V. Plekhanov jokingly added in his day, the awl to the bootmakers, acted in various forms and with a large number of nuances. However, the representatives of all these tendencies were united by the idea of decentralization.

The slogan of decentralization was proclaimed by the anarcho-syndicalists, the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionaries, and the representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia. They all cultivated local self-interests, separatism, and the weakening of state authority. Under the flag of self-government the anarcho-syndicalists, for example, asserted that, in the area of economic construction, the trade unions were the only possible agencies of administration. As for questions of the administrative arrangement, the local agencies were to be completely autonomous with respect to the central ones.

Nor was there a lack of opportunistic concepts of self-government which were expressed at various times within our party by the "leftist Communists," the "detsisty" [decentralists], the "working opposition," and the Trotskiyites. Their ideas of "decentralized socialism" were preached in various theories: "a free federation of communes," "worker democracy," "production democracy," "worker self-government of socialized industry," "self-organization of the working class," and certain others which proclaimed the necessity for the abolition of the state, the transfer of the administration of production to the trade unions, and the creation of autonomous "self-governing communes." When the question of the reconsideration of the party program was being discussed at the 7th RKP(b) Congress, the leader of the "leftist Communists," Bukharin, proposed including in the party program a statement concerning the need to abolish the state, and giving a description of the "well-extended socialist system in which there is no state" (Footnote 16) (See: "Sedmoy Ekstrenny syezd RKP(b). Mart 1918 goda. Stenograficheskiy otchet" [7th Extraordinary Congress of the RKP(b). March 1918. Stenographic Report], Moscow, 1962, p 160).

Lenin took an extremely critical attitude toward this idea, which was linked, in his opinion, with "learned rubbish," "academic stupidities," and a "game of concepts" (Footnote 17) (See: "Leninskiy sbornik XL" [Leninist Collection XL], pp 428, 429). He spoke out against including in the Program a description of "socialist society in extended form," of "completed socialism," just as he spoke out against recommendations concerning the proclamation of the dying away of the state (Footnote 18) (See: Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 36, p 65). Lenin attempted consistently to convince the Communists, the workers, and the peasants that the time had come not only to speak of great programs, but also to learn how to build, how to manage, how to administer,

with the aid of the new state, better than the capitalists did, how to pass the examination of the domestic and international market, and how, within very brief periods of time, to win the competition with the capitalists in the ability to administer (Footnote 19) (See: Ibid., Vol 45, pp 79-86).

As early as the eve of the October Revolution, the involvement of the masses in the construction of a new state apparatus, teaching "the nation how to administer itself," was viewed by Lenin "as immediate access to real self-government by the nation" (Footnote 20) (Ibid., Vol 34, 316).

Among the large number of facets and nuances of the problem of the practical organization of self-government, Lenin's special attention was attracted by the correlation of the state administration of the economy and the development of democracy, the resolution of the economic and social tasks. The chief condition and inexhaustible source of the high rates of development of socialism was, in his opinion, the inseparable link between economic construction and the improvement of the sovereignty of the nation.

Defining the place of democracy in the system of social relations, Lenin explained that, as a political category, it is typified by all the natural laws underlying politics, all its direct and indirect ties and its feedback with the economy. "Every kind of democracy, as, in general, every kind of political superstructure (which is inevitable until the annihilation of classes is completed, and until a classless society has been created), serves, in the final analysis, production and is determined, in the final analysis, by the production relations of the particular society" (Footnote 21) (Ibid., Vol 42, p 276), he wrote.

Socialist democratism, Lenin pointed out, is "the factual participation in the administration of the state by the gigantic majority of the nation, specifically the workers" (Footnote 22) (Ibid., Vol 38, p 91). As a method of administration and self-government, democracy is typified by centralism and initiative; joint responsibility and individual managerial responsibility; good management and executive efficiency; administrative methods of exerting an influence, which are expressed directly in the form of an order or an instruction, and economic methods, the implementation of which is linked with the objective status of the labor collectives and individual laborers in production and sociopolitical life; and the forms of state arrangement and social organizations.

Marxist-Leninist thought has unceasingly sought and continues today to seek for ways to guarantee that correlation among these categories with which every laborer will be provided with a broad vista for the manifesting of his initiative, creative forces, intelligence, and economic dexterity, so that everyone can participate not only in the fulfillment of assignments from above, but also consciously, acting from one's own motivation, can bear his share of responsibility and demonstrate his self-interestedness in the nationwide job of accelerating social progress. Making the ordinary person the subject of administration, allowing him to sense that he is one of the owners of the state, is the task of self-government. In Lenin's concept, one can clearly discern three basic directions for implementing that task. First, the advancement as a first-priority measure of the acceleration of the

development of country's productive forces. To substantiate this direction, Lenin cited fundamentally new arguments that warn from the very beginning against taking the usual attitude toward the problem of the multiplication of production forces. He directed attention not to the productive forces, in and of themselves, but, rather, to the "interests of the development of productive forces," considering them to be "the highest criterion of social progress" (Footnote 23) (See: Ibid., Vol 16, p 220) and linking with them the qualitative, socialist transformation of society. He had in mind the place of the people of labor in the system of productive forces, their interrelationship with the tools of labor, with the machine, their working conditions, and the interests of the workers. Developing the problem of the involvement of the workers in administration and substantiating the internal tie between the interests of the workers and the acceleration of the development of productive forces, of which they are the main component part, Lenin gave a definition of the basic interest of the working class after coming to power. "The most important and most fundamental interest of the proletariat after they have won state power," he wrote, "is the increase in the quantity of production, the tremendous increase in the productive forces of society" (Footnote 24) (Ibid., Vol 44, p 345).

Secondly, in order to create a new organization for the administration of society, and by means of that, to accelerate the social progress, it is necessary to have a new nature and a special method of uniting the producer with the means of production, a method that is based on social ownership and that would create and reproduce the relations of cooperation and collectivism among the workers in producing the blessings of life, and would make the producers in essence, rather than formally, the completely empowered owners of production, the immediate subjects of the administration of production. In this sense it should be emphasized that the essence of self-government, unlike administration, should be sought not only in the conscious effect exerted by various administration institutions upon the development of productive forces and social relations, but also in the process of implementation, by the workers themselves, of their rights as co-owners of the means of production, the rights of the true owner of production. Fighting against the slightest manifestations of anarcho-syndicalism, Lenin constantly sought forms for the implementation of that right, the development in the workers and their collectives of the self-interested sense of being an owner. He saw them, in particular, in the decisive introduction of cost accountability, the expansion of the rights of the enterprises, and the organization of socialist competition. He emphasized, for example, that the success of the entire matter of liberating labor requires the development of independence, payment for one's own indebtedness, the self-financing of enterprises, and the reorganization of the administration of the plants. The plant administrations, "which have been drawn upon according to the general rule on principles of individual management, must also be independently responsible for establishing the amount of payment and the distribution of scrip, rations, work clothes, and all other kinds of supply, with the maximum freedom of maneuvering, with the strictest checking of the actual successes in increasing production and operating without a loss, the profitability of production, with the most serious selection of the most outstanding and most skillful administrators, etc." (Footnote 25) (Ibid.). This is a large scientific and practical task. Proceeding from Lenin's ideas, the 27th CPSU Congress

emphasized the necessity "to improve the scientific elaboration of the theoretical questions of administration, which are linked primarily with the dialectics of the interaction among the productive forces and the production relations under socialism, with the development of socialist ownership, with the use of commodity-monetary relations, and with the combination of centralism and the independence of economic organizations" (Footnote 26) ("Materialy XXVII syezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1986, p 104).

According to its social essence, self-government under socialism means the creation of nationwide cooperative action in labor, "of a single, nationwide, state 'syndicate,'" "of a single cooperative that is led in a proletarian manner" (Footnote 27) (Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 23, p 101. See also: Vol 36, p 186), in which there is an association and an economizing of the labor performed by free and equal producers, a conscientious consideration is taken of the entire production and consumption, and the opportunity is created "to economize the labor by means of centralization" (Footnote 28) (Ibid., Vol 34, p 320). This serves to guarantee the highest productivity of labor.

Thirdly, self-government also presupposes a new method of uniting the workers with the political power. The kind of "arrangement of the state power," the extent to which and the manner in which the working masses are involved in carrying out the various political functions, and the various interactions with respect to state power that exist among the various political institutions -- the Communist Party, the Soviets, the trade unions, the youth organizations, the labor collectives -- all these questions were of great concern to Lenin and found their scientific substantiation in his works. The concepts of "the system of the workers themselves," "know how to assure that the state that you have taken into your hands will operate the way you want it to" (Footnote 29) (See, for example: Ibid., Vol 45, p 86), run through many of Lenin's works. He viewed the guaranteeing of the active participation of broad masses of the workers in the resolution of the most important questions of state life as an objective necessity that is influenced by the change in the nature of the administration of the state. For the first time in the newest history of civilized nations, in administration "the preferential significance is attached not to politics, but to economics" (Footnote 30) (Ibid., Vol 36, p 130), and there is no longer any need to advance as the chief goal of administration the preservation of the dominance of any classes at all.

But does that mean that politics exhausts itself after the victory of the revolution? On the contrary, the role of new, Communist politics in developing self-government increases sharply.

The task consisted in being able to subordinate politics to the interests of the development of the productive forces and its acceleration, and to make technical progress and its basis at that time -- the electrification of the country -- to use Lenin's words, the base of democracy (Footnote 31) (See: Ibid., Vol 42, p 381), the meaning and content of which is the involvement of the workers in administration, the "uniting" of electrification with the Soviet authority. In conformity with the Leninist approach, the 27th CPSU

Congress, having defined scientific-technical progress as the base for the acceleration of socioeconomic development, noted that the strategy of acceleration includes within itself "the renovation of the content, forms, and methods of the work of political and ideological institutions, and the deepening of socialistic democracy" (Footnote 32) ("Materialy XXVII syezda...", p 107).

The chief peculiarity of the Leninist methodological approach to the consideration of the problem of self-government is the analysis of the objective tendency of its origin, the interaction between the development of the productive forces and the transformation of the production relations, the dialectics of economics and politics, of politics and democracy, and of democracy and scientific-technical progress. As early as "Materialism and Empiricocriticism," Lenin formulated "the highest task of mankind," which lies in assuring "the encompassment... of the objective logic of economic evolution (the evolution of social being) in general and basic features in order, in the most distinct, clear, and critical manner, to adapt to it one's social consciousness and the consciousness of the advanced classes" (Footnote 33) (Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 18, p 345). One should not lapse into hazy, day-dreaming strivings for some kind of perfect system, for some kind of abstract socialism, but should research the real historic process, should study its objective laws, adapt social consciousness to them, and, if necessary, reorient it, and use the opportunity offered for the first time to the proletariat by the revolution, the opportunity concealed deep within the bowels of history itself, to administer social life intelligently, by one's own efforts. Self-government is a completely natural requirement for the development and the most efficient organization of the life of society. Acting as its important attributes are, first, the objective laws which express the most substantial, most stable ties, which form independently of consciousness, which are not created and are not engendered by it, but, rather, which represent a conditioned form of the determination of the relations among people. Secondly, acting as an attribute of self-government is awareness as a factor that is linked with the purposeful activity of people, with the creation of the specific institutions of self-government.

The 27th CPSU Congress emphasized that "the improvement of socialism occurs more successfully in proportion to the precision with which politics takes into consideration the objective natural laws underlying social development and the aggressiveness of the role of Marxist-Leninist theory in interpreting living practice" (Footnote 34) ("Materialy XXVII syezda...", p 118). Properly speaking, the basic sense of the socialist revolution lies in the fact that it not only opens up the opportunity for, but also necessitates, the self-government of the nation, without which socialism as a society with the highest organization is inconceivable.

It would seem that as a result of the revolution, society already came to its natural condition -- to self-government. However, the concrete-historical condition of society at first did not make it possible immediately to implement the opportunity that had been opened up. There were many reasons for this: the social heterogeneity of the working class; the difference in the levels of social participation and political awareness of the workers; and the low level of public education. And although one knows of a rather large

number of examples in which persons born into families of workers or very poor peasants, persons who had not graduated from a course to teach them literacy, by virtue of their class sense had participated actively in revolutionary activity and in the building of the world's first socialist state, the problem lay in the fact that, on the whole, as Lenin remarked, "an illiterate person stands outside of politics, and first of all has to learn its alphabet. Otherwise they can be no politics, otherwise there can only be rumors, gossip, fairy tales, and prejudices, but not politics" (Footnote 35) (Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 44, p 174).

In his report on the party program to the party's 8th Congress, Lenin said, "..We have not yet achieved as situation in which the working masses can participate in administration -- other than the law, there is also a cultural level which you cannot subordinate to any law. This low cultural level creates a situation in which the Soviets, which, according to their program, are agencies of administration through the workers, are actually agencies of administration for the workers, through the advanced stratum of the proletariat, but not through the working masses" (Footnote 36) (Ibid., Vol 38, p 170).

The Marxist-Leninist concept has been permeated by the idea of the bringing of administration and self-government closer together, the idea of the greater and greater improvement of the content of the administrative relations as relations that are based on conscious cooperation. The beginning of that process is laid by the dictatorship of the masses, acting as a complicated self-regulating system, with a new nature, a new character, a new style of administration, a new political dynamism and system. For the first time in history a political party has been moved into the center of the administrative system -- the Communist Party, the only force which "is capable of leading its country," of "leading the masses" (Footnote 37) (Ibid., Vol 39, p 360; Vol 35, p 94). That did not mean the conversion of the party into an organization that was placed over society. The party acts as a part, as a nucleus, of a single whole. No organization in the single whole, including the party, can exist separately, without losing its quality, just as there is no system than could exist after losing a particular element. It is only in the totality of the stable relations among all the parts that one sees the demonstration of the attributes of the self-government of society as a whole or of its individual links.

Lenin called for the taking of decisive action both against the absolutization of self-government, and against the negative of its relatively independent importance. He also fought against the attempts, which are completely typical also of modern revisionists, to advance to the category of the basic link, instead of the Communist Party, some other organization. Recommendations were expressed, for example, to abolish the party as a result of the fact that the majority in the Soviets belonged to the Communists. The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries were in favor of the "Soviets, but without Communists." Trotskiy's platform equated the dictatorship of the proletariat with the state. There were recommendations not to convert the Soviets into a state organization. In the concepts of the "detsisty" and the "worker opposition," the guiding role in the national economy was given to the trade unions. The "detsisty" proposed depriving the party of the right to be the guiding force

of society, but keeping it as one of several organizations having equal rights.

There were also ideas in accordance with which the entire system of the dictatorship of the proletariat was described in the form of a kind of hierarchical pyramid (with the party on the top, the Soviets below the party, the trade unions still farther below, etc.). The party in this artificial scheme was represented not in the center of the system, not as the guiding force of Soviet society, but as a kind of commanding organization standing above it. All this gave cause for the proclaiming of the anti-Leninist thesis of the "dictatorship of the party," the equating of it with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin consistently unmasked that "most improbable and hopeless confusion of thought," "Herculean columns of absurdity," and "monstrously large mistake" (Footnote 38) (See: Ibid., Vol 41, pp 24, 26). According to Lenin, the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not something that is frozen or static. He viewed that system, like every other living organism, from the point of view of its condition and functioning at the given moment and its changes in time, in its internal and external dynamics, in the process of development. The path to self-government lay through the development of the political organization of society of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism -- the dictatorship of the proletariat -- to the political system of socialist society, which system expresses the interests of all classes and social groups, all of society, and from it to communist social self-government.

It is from the Leninist evaluation of the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, then, that the new edition of the CPSU Program evolves. "The dictatorship of the proletariat that was established as a result of the socialist revolution," the Program states, "played a decisive role in creating the new society. In this process it underwent changes itself. With the liquidation of the exploiter classes there was a gradual disappearance of the function of suppressing the resistance of the overthrown exploiters, and the carrying out of its chief, creative tasks was fully extended. After fulfilling its historic mission, the dictatorship of the proletariat developed into the political power of all the workers, and the proletarian state developed into the nationwide state" (Footnote 39) ("Programma Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza. Novaya redaktsiya. Prinyata XXVII syezdom KPSS" [CPSU Program. New Edition. Adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1986, p 45).

These and other program evaluations and principles advanced by the 27th CPSU Congress reproduce the Leninist system of views concerning the socialist self-government of the nation. Based upon a study of the natural laws underlying social development, upon the generalization of the experience of the sociopolitical revolutionary creativity of the working class and the working masses, and upon the complete consideration of the Marxist ideological heritage, the Leninist ideas concerning socialist self-government act as a system of concepts and ideas concerning the prerequisites, paths, and forms of the resolution of the main question of the socialist revolution -- the question of political power, its nature, organizational forms, dynamics, and prospects. They encompass the state and social aspects and stipulate the real carrying out by the workers themselves of the administration of the

production, state, and social affairs. Linked with the self-government process, in which the Communist Party acts as the leading force, is the functioning of the political system, the activity of the Soviets, the social organizations, and the labor collectives.

The Leninist principles concerning socialist self-government are the results of the scientifically substantiated and thorough analysis of the completely natural, consistent development of society along the path toward socialism and communism. They are organically linked with life, and they serve cause of the revolutionary organization of the masses. The experience that has been accumulated in the course of socialist construction in the USSR and other countries has confirmed their viability and has marked the practical carrying out of the self-government of the workers. That experience attests to the fact that the system of socialist self-government could form only as a result of the live creativity and active independence of the masses, of the increase, from stage to stage, in their participation in the work of the agencies of state authority and the people's control, in the administration of production and distribution, in the implementation of social and cultural policy, in the carrying out of jurisprudence, and in the activity of social organizations.

The merit of the 27th CPSU Congress in this area consists in the fact that there has been revealed, with the entire force of adherence to party principles, the basic content and intransitory importance of the Marxist-Leninist concept of self-government for improving socialist society, and for accelerating its development. The congress has aimed the Communists and all the workers toward evaluating the condition of self-government not by the yardsticks of yesterday, but by the scope and complexity of the new tasks.

In the new edition of the party Program, a fundamentally new task has been formulated: "The CPSU feels that, at the present-day stage, the strategic line in the development of the political system of society consists in the improvement of Soviet democracy, in the increasingly full carrying out of the socialist self-government of the nation on the basis of the active and effective participation of the workers and their collectives and organizations in the resolution of the questions of state and public life" (Footnote 40) (Ibid.).

The Program has defined specific orientation markers in the development of the political system of socialism. It is a matter of the necessity for a decisive reorganization of the work of all its links in the light of the Marxist-Leninist concept of self-government, the even greater democratization of its institutions, the deepening of its nationwide nature, and the reinforcement of the tendency toward improvement and toward integrity. Its development in the direction toward integrity, to use Marx's words, "consists precisely in assuring the subordinating of all the elements of society to itself or the creation from it of the agencies that it still lacks. By this method the system in the course of historical development is converted into an integrity" (Footnote 41) (Marks, K. and Engels, S., "Soch.", Vol 46, Part 1, p 229).

Thus, at the present time it is a matter not only of the outcroppings of the future communist social self-government, but also, primarily, the purposeful and planned development of the integrity of the system of socialist self-

government of the nation, a system that encompasses absolutely all spheres of state and social life. This is the party's vitally important, concrete, practical task. The congress noted that the entity acting as the leading force and the chief guarantee of the increasingly complete carrying out of socialist self-government is the Communist Party, the activity of which embodies the highest form of the sociopolitical self-governing organization, and the principles that are the prototype of the self-government of society. The party unceasingly strives to implement the Leninist requirement -- "bring the revolutionary organization, and discipline... to the highest degree of perfection" (Footnote 42) (Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 4, p 194), and develop Leninist style, principles, functions, and methods of self-government and the guidance of society. The 27th CPSU Congress mentioned as "a matter of first-priority importance" the "guaranteeing of the fundamental reorganization of party work" (Footnote 43) ("Materialy XXVII syezda...", p 114). In conformity with this, there has been included in the CPSU Rules a statement concerning the obligation borne by every party member to work effectively to promote the increasingly complete carrying out of the socialist self-government of the nation (Footnote 44) ("Ustav Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza. Utverzhden XXVII syezdom KPSS" [CPSU Rules. Approved by the 27th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1986, p 5).

At the party conference, attention was drawn to the Leninist principles of the socialist self-government of the nation, "that is," as is noted in the CPSU Program, "assuring that the administration is not carried out not only in the interests of the workers, but also in a regular manner, becoming to a greater and greater degree the immediate job of the workers themselves, who do not know above them, to use the words of V. I. Lenin, any power other than the power of their own unification" (Footnote 45) ("Programma Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza", p 46).

The deepening of the process of the socialist self-government of the nation on the basis of the indicated principles largely depends upon the extension of intraparty democracy and the increase in the active participation of the Communists who are working in all links of the political system, and upon the precise delimitation of the functions of the party, Soviet, trade-union, Komsomol, and other organizations. The party has deemed it necessary to include in its Rules a new section: "The party and state, social organizations."

The new edition of the CPSU Program has defined as the chief link in the socialist self-government of the nation the Soviets of People's Deputies (Footnote 46) (See: Ibid.), which represent the political basis of the Soviet socialist state. Here too the party has proceeded from Leninist ideas of the state sovereignty of the nation. It is not officials who are irresponsible to the nation, who stand over the nation, but, rather, "it is the nation... itself, united by the Soviets -- that is who must administer the state. That is who establishes the necessary procedure, that is the kind of power that the workers and peasants will not only obey, but also respect" (Footnotes 47-48) (Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 31, p 188).

The Political Report of the Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress contains the clear-cut conclusion that "self-government principles develop not

without, but within our state system, penetrating more and more deeply into all pores of state and social life, enriching the content of democratic centralism, reinforcing its socialist nature (Footnote 49) ("Materialy XXVII syezda partii Sovetskogo Soyuza," p 55). Self-government in the Leninist understanding constitutes the essence of the Soviet authority.

The special measures to improve the Soviet state system, which were planned in the congress documents, are aimed at guaranteeing the expression of the essence of the Soviets as agencies of the power of the nation, the deepening of popular representation, the development of the Soviet electoral system and the forms of representative and direct, immediate democracy, and the systematic renovation of the makeup of the deputies.

A large amount of importance is attached to the improvement of the work performed by the state apparatus. We might recall that during the post-October years Lenin did not cease to be greatly concerned about the questions of whether the apparatus would become overgrown in the manner that is so typical of the usual bourgeois state, whether it would be a source of excessive centralization, whether it would become a branch of the bureaucracy, and whether it would become an obstacle on the path of the birth and growth of the self-government of the nation. The new edition of the CPSU Program notes the necessity of "striving for the simplification of the administrative apparatus and the reduction of its costs, the elimination of excesses in the table of organization, the persistent eradication of any manifestations of bureaucratism and formalism, or of a departmental or local self-interest, and getting rid promptly of workers who are incompetent or who lack initiative. Lack of conscientiousness, malfeasance, careerism, the striving for personal enrichment, nepotism, and protectionism must be decisively stopped and punished" (Footnote 50) ("Programma Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza," p 48).

The party program develops the Leninist principles of the role of the trade-union, Komsomol, and other social organizations. As was noted at the congress, their popular, spontaneous nature is not being completely implemented. Frequently they attempt to operate with the forces of the staff apparatus, in a bureaucratic manner, without relying on the masses and their initiative (Footnote 51) (See: "Materialy XXVII syezda...", pp 57-58). The trade unions, for example, do not always carry out the Leninist mandate of being "a reservoir of state authority, a school of communism, a school of management" (Footnote 52) (See: Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 42, p 294), they lack a sufficient amount of combat persistence in conducting the social policy, the principles of socialist justice, and the interests of the workers, and it is precisely herein that the basis sense of their activity consists. There is no greater evil here than the manifestation of a callous, "red-tape," bureaucratic attitude toward the masses, of formalism. The new edition of the Program poses the question, for example, of the more decisive struggle against formalism and stereotypes in the organization of the socialist competition (Footnote 53) (See: "Programma Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza," pp 36-37). By its very nature, the competition must act increasingly as a means of developing direct democracy, of involving the workers in administration, of indoctrinating them, of reforming their consciousness and psychology, of expressing the function of social self-

government, during the carrying out of which the workers themselves, acting in their own self-interests, rather than in response to instructions from above, make administrative decisions, and take personal and collective pledges. The success of the competition for purposes of accelerating the development of production and labor productivity depends to the greatest degree specifically upon the extent to which the competition promotes the manifestation of the essence of the person as a working man with equal rights, promotes his self-expression, the revelation and enrichment of the spiritual potential of the individual, and the extent to which the competition acts as a school of moral-ideological, civic indoctrination.

One of the most remarkable peculiarities of the 27th CPSU Congress is the complete consideration, in addition to the problems of the development of representative democracy, of the specific paths for the practical carrying out of direct democracy. It is precisely here that the inexhaustible reserves of the people's initiative lie, and for the time being those reserves are frequently unused.

One still encounters, not infrequently, a disdainful attitude toward the creation of the necessary conditions for ensuring that the direct participation in administration becomes a natural habit and duty for every working man.

The specific sociological studies "Party Guidance of the Formation of the Workers' Political Culture" and "The Workers' Participation in Administration," which were carried out by scientific-research institutions of the Academy of Social Sciences, under the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow, Chelyabinsk, Vladimir, Kostroma, Lipetsk, and Perm oblasts, in Stavropol Kray, and Tatar ASSR, demonstrated not only the large achievements, but also serious flaws in that work. By no means all the workers, for various reasons, take real part in the administration of production, state, and social affairs. The Law Governing Labor Collectives that has been enacted is frequently executed only formally.

The party congress summed up the results of the nationwide discussion and included many of the workers' recommendations into the final text of the documents that were unanimously adopted by the delegates. For example, that part of the party Program which throws light on the problems of the socialist self-government of the nation has been supplemented by principles which are of special importance -- principles pertaining to the expansion of the rights of the labor collectives and their increasingly active participation in the political life of society, in the resolving of questions of the administration of production and of cultural construction; pertaining to the increase in the role of general meetings; the functioning -- during the period between general meetings not only in the brigades, but also at the level of the enterprises -- of the labor collective council; and pertaining to the responsibility borne by the management for the fulfillment of its decisions, and the transition to the procedure of electing foremen, sector chiefs, and managers of other production subdivisions (Footnote 54) (See: Ibid., p 48).

At the congress it was deemed to be desirable to expand the total number of questions which the state agencies can resolve only with the participation of

the social organizations or with their preliminary consent, and to grant to social organizations the right to stop, in a number of instances, the carrying out of administrative decisions. It has also been deemed desirable to grant the labor collectives the right to make the final decision on a broader group of questions (Footnote 55) (See: "Materialy XXVII syezda...", p 109).

The problems that were raised at the congress with regard to the extension of direct democracy include the improvement of the practice of nationwide discussion and voting on the major questions in the life of the country; the more effective use of such channels of direct democracy as meetings for the public, the voters' mandates, and letters from the workers; the expansion of publicity; the press, radio, television, and all means for ascertaining public opinion; and the guaranteeing of a prompt response to the demands and moods of the masses. Mention was also made at the congress of the possibility of creating new social organizations that express the interests of definite groups of the population, for example, women, representatives of the older generation (women's councils, nationwide organization of war and labor veterans).

The work of the congress is characterized by the striving, in the spirit of the Leninist approach, not only to look for new paths to develop socialist democracy, but also to eliminate the factors that have been hindering our movement forward. It was from these positions, for example, that the congress viewed the problems of developing kolkhoz self-government, and cooperative self-government in general.

It is natural that the 27th CPSU Congress was able to plan only the general framework, the main outlines of the development of the socialist self-government of the nation. In order to turn society toward the new tasks, to direct to the resolution of those tasks the creative potential of the nation and of every labor collective, and on that basis to carry out the acceleration of our country's socioeconomic development, intensive theoretical and practical work is necessary. We also need serious scientific generalizations and, on their base, the practical resolution of the important problems of self-government which were advanced by the congress: the approach to socialist self-government as a definite system; the essence of the self-government process; the principles of self-government, its functions and methods; the correlation between the system of self-government and the political system; the paths by which socialist self-government grow into communist social self-government; and the factors of intensifying the activity of various links of socialist self-government. There is much that is unclear in the question of the correlation between the objective and subjective, the spontaneous and conscious mechanisms of self-government, etc. It is important to understand that the resolution of the theoretical problems of the self-government of the nation is impossible without a careful study of the potentials and experience of the sociopolitical creativity of the masses, without lively competition among the millions of talents in the nation.

Lenin linked the possibility of the transition from the first phase of communism to its highest phase, in particular, with assuring that "everyone learns how to administer and actually acts independently in administering social production" (Footnote 56) (Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 33, p

102). As early as the dawn of the Soviet authority he dreamed about a time when a person would give six hours daily to production work, and four hours to the administration of the state (Footnote 57) (See: Ibid., Vol 36, p 141).

In the center of self-government are the interests of the man of labor, the formation and realization of his need to be a citizen with completely equal rights, to participate in the administration of production and of state and social affairs. It is precisely therein that one sees the basic direction in the development of socialist and gradual maturation and the development, on its basis, of communist self-government.

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CULTURE

SPEECHES AT 8TH WRITERS UNION CONGRESS

A. Adamovich (Belorussia)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 11

[Excerpts] Let us ask ourselves a naive question: Should writers be supervisors? Heads of desks? Does this not stand in contradiction to the nature of the artist, does it not conflict with the interests of the profession?

The destiny of such a great talent as Aleksandr Fadeyev suggests that this is counterindicated. That huge talent could leave so many good novels and plays for future generations instead of volumes of speeches are articles!

When we tried to persuade Vasiliy Bykov to become our literary chief, he hung up the telephone and did not appear on the streets for 10 days.

A normal reaction? For a writer, a great artist -- yes.

Then we know that another great artist, a master of film, agreed to assume this role. I know from my own experience how difficult it is to come to this decision, and if one has agreed it is only with the idea of changing everything in the union--to the advantage of talented people and against the bureaucrats from Goskino, who used to be all-powerful, if not the creators, then the co-creators of the dullness itself.

We shall also use common sense concerning the future leaders of our Writers' Union. And this is precisely the way that we persuade them to take over these duties, and they agree, but they agree only for the sake of, in the first place, demonstrating their readiness after one term (perhaps after a year, as Yevtushenko reasonably suggested) relinquishing their role to someone else, thus abolishing the lifetime position of secretary, which would doom any talent to a lackluster career.

In the second place, they must be prepared not even to think about "Samizdat" (that is, for themselves) activity, as it is called, the formation of an "aktiv" around the union for obtaining all kinds of privileges. How unthinkable it is to associate such things with the names of Chekhov, Korolenko, Blok and Tolstoy! But it is precisely these names, whether we like

it or not, that comprise the light that falls on us as well. And in this light anything that is unworthy becomes quite apparent.

Here we have already heard, and repeatedly, what is apparently the main requirement that the congress places on future leaders: finally to transform our organization into one that is creative for the sake of creativity.

But where is the guarantee that we will not get back into the same old rut?

It is not enough simply to select good writers and people, as has been suggested here. Although this is undoubtedly a prerequisite for everything else, because if we select someone who places his own interests above others' we shall not improve our union.

But something else is also necessary. Obviously our union should include in the very mechanism of the Union of Writers a certain program of changes which would dictate the line of behavior for future leaders.

I heard the way this very ideal was discussed: to adopt a decision at the congress to the effect that after a year the writers would meet again (this could be an all-union conference, but with certain rights of the conference) so as to evaluate the direction of the work of the new leadership. Because if we have been mistaken, in our difficult times we must not waste years to correct our mistakes. But here after a year the writers would evaluate the work of the new leaders. Incidentally, the Cinematographers' Union began after their congress by taking from the shells the footage that had been rejected by Goskino bureaucrats and submitted it to be judged by professionals, that is, they are doing what cannot be done successfully by specialists in nutrition, technical equipment and so forth.

Specialists of a high class take on responsibility and answer to the society for the quality of their products. There simply is no other way if someone wants quality. It is not so difficult to imagine that with our union there is a certain amount of informal advice from the most authoritative artists of the word, whose evaluations and conclusions any organizations and institutions must take into account. But we are well aware of who among us has the most authority and who will say nothing, and will not act against his conscience. Even when there are group passions and evaluations.

Only by relying on the collective and active authority of these writers will the union be able in the future to avoid a situation where such works as the new novel by Dudintsev (which I personally consider to be a great novel) or the story by Anatoliy Pristavkin, which shows surprising talent and truth concerning children and childhood during wartime lie around for years in the editorial and publishing network.

But how does one determine which of the possible candidates for management posts are suitable for work for renewing the union and transforming it into a creative organism? There are in fact criteria: We must select for leadership only those who do not especially want it, who are not overly zealous, and who are not climbing the ladder to be literary chiefs.

And this is quite from the heart: the main thing is not whether we elect as secretaries people who are "ours or not ours." That is not the issue. It seems to me that the main thing is how the elections will be conducted. How will the elections be conducted--in the old way or the new way--that is also the way things will go in our union: in the old way or in the new way! It is a direct and inevitable dependency.

G. Baklanov (Moscow)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 5

[Text] What are most of the discussions in the Writers Union about? About a new book that has become a real event? No, the main considerations and discussions are about whom to appoint to what and what will happen as a result. It is no accident that the pithy phrase originated: A writer without power is not a writer. What is wrong with our criticism? It should be the natural mother to some, and a wicked stepmother to others. According to the table of ranks, a certain person cannot be criticized because he occupies a certain post or he was elected to this or to that, he should be mentioned only with certain epithets and not others since he is noted for this and for that. In the majority of cases our criticism is like a rivulet: everything flows from higher to lower. But I must dispute with Feliks Feodosyevich Kuznetsov, who said that criticism is in a degraded condition. Yes, this is so.

But do not degrade it any more! Do not degrade it yourself!

Why can a prose writer or poet hold onto a book for years and not allow anybody to scribble in it, but a critic (and I am not speaking about all critics) sends laudatory articles along with the very works upon which he is heaping abuse today? We really think that those works which have earned the highest awards but do not deserve awards are not accompanied by these laudatory articles? Do not degrade yourself! And then do not complain that you are in a degraded position.

Yes, the position of the critic is difficult. If one hears an uncomplimentary word, that the critic has said that a book is good, that it is distinguished and so forth, but the book turns out to be unsuccessful, they immediately organize and put into action such forces that all there is left to do is put a tank division on the alert. And immediately, of course, the critic's own personal indignation is depicted as nationwide, as if the very foundations had been undermined. It is a strange thing: the higher a writer rises on the administrative ladder, the lower it is necessary to drop his critical diving board. Here just for fun one should do something useful: lower the diving board to the ground and let the champion jump!

Even Lev Tolstoy said: "All you have to do is ascribe to a person something great and exceptional and you make a freak out of him. As soon as you ascribe this to yourself--you die." We have observed this so many times!

The only authority a writer can and should have is a spiritual authority, an authority over the hearts and minds of people. Not one of the powers that be, but a dominant influence--this is the highest calling. And this is achieved

not be external distinctions; they provide neither authority nor merit. This is achieved only through the force of talent, through the force of a moral example. We are not a ministry, but a creative union. And we need first and foremost a situation of a creative union. Because literature is not a service, but a benefit to society, people do not qualify for the name of literature, but inherently deserve it.

While a book is being written the writer is one on one with the sheet of paper; each does his own work. But when a book has been written, when it is to become a social phenomenon, then the writer must be confident that the Union of Writers, our trade union, will support him and not leave him one-on-one with all that stands in the way of the book that shows his talent. But our union, while engaged in taking measures, acts as though the book were not only the destiny of the writer, but also his own personal problem. And how many times has it not been just those books whose destiny was difficult that subsequently influenced the spiritual and moral climate of this society; these are the ones that comprise the wealth of Soviet literature.

Our accelerated work is not for the purpose of responding to one measure or another before others do, without even thinking well about it, but to help the party in what is perhaps its most difficult work: restructuring the moral climate and thinking of the society. And here one needs a high class of commentator, one who is able to see the essence of a problem and support what is new. But just as in science, in literature we need fundamental research, whether this be a short story or a novel. A deed that is not reinforced by a word disappears. But a passionate, intelligent word is capable of generating energy for new deeds. Art is necessary. There is no such thing as second-rate art: either it is art or it is not art. And art lives only as truth.

Demandingness and wisdom: these are the primary necessities in work with young people. But we conduct large conferences of young writers, involving more and more people, as if the entire point were to have the largest possible number, and then the books recommended by the conference will remain in the publishing houses for 5 years. Is this not the way that things appear? Yes, each one stays 5 years! The story by the talented writer Yuriy Stefanovich, "Snow," was written in 1973 when he was 28 years old. But it was not printed until recently, when he was 40. I read it through. The story has not become outdated and it shows just as much talent. But have we not lost the writer?

And here is another thing I wish to discuss. Songs and books have been written about the heroes of the virgin land. But our cities are also spreading out to the plowed land. It is being devalued, this land, which has fed more than one generation, but it is as though it is worth nothing, and it cannot be bought. And for construction workers--an unthinkable thing!--it is more advantageous to build on level plowed land. Each year, according to data from our press, 2 million hectares of land go for construction, and these losses are not always justified.

Books have been written about the people who built the Turkmen Canal. But, according to the figures in our press, in the next 7 years thousands of square kilometers of irrigated land adjacent to the Turkmen Canal will no longer be able to be used because of excess salinization.

If our literature wishes to be and remain the conscience of the people, their full awareness, which reflects the people's love for the good and the true, the national understanding of justice and beauty, it does not have the right to look at life with one eye and shyly close the other. In terms of its consequences a half-truth is more dangerous than a lie; it teaches people to live not according to the interests of the society, but according to their private egoistic interests.

The writer who has fulfilled his calling and his duty is one, like Chaadayev, who can say with a clear conscience: "Thank God, neither with my poetry nor with my prose did I contribute to leading my homeland away from the true path.... Thank God I have always loved my homeland in its interests and not in my own."

V. Beekman (Estonia)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 5

[Text] When analyzing the practice of Estonian literature of past years one involuntarily comes across the idea that many of its defects have roots that go back to something which I would call the syndrome of social fatigue, which is manifested in a certain part of our writers, and not only writers. Incidentally, Mumin Kanoat, with his typical Eastern courtesy, put it very mildly by calling it social complacency.

Directly or indirectly, this is affected if what we sometimes see as separation of some of our literature from life, the authors' departure from the crucial, socially significant subjects and conflicts into the world of deliberately complicated images and allegories and a kind of deafness to modernity. It is my deep conviction that this is not at all a matter of the accursed ignorance of life which in past times we usually used to explain the most diverse errors of writers. Since we are dealing with a more general phenomenon, the causes of it should be not subjective, but of an objective nature.

It would honestly be naive to assume that the undesirable phenomena in the society which were discussed at the 27th CPSU Congress would not exert any influence on the psyches of the people, including the literary. The divergence of word from deed, the prevalence of eyewash and corruption, and, finally, the simple long-lived habit of poor quality, unproductive and careless work in the most diverse spheres of life--this is all nutritive environment for the growth of skepticism. And if one adds here the bitter experience of many authors along the thorny path of producing problematic and crucial work....

The social fatigue syndrome, that ailment that has been gaining strength for a long period of time in a situation of secrecy, cannot be eradicated simply with appeals to think and act in a new way from now on. Unfortunately, a good deal of empty chatter has already been generated on this crucial subject. In order to rectify the situation, it is necessary to make deep changes in the social atmosphere itself, in our attitude toward labor--toward any labor, and

in reality the program points of the 27th Party Congress are also directed toward this.

If we carry out this task it means that we will be able gradually, step by step, to be rid of the social fatigue syndrome. If we do not carry out this task, this syndrome can become a stumbling block on the path to further development of our literature in harmony with the times. This depends on us ourselves.

Now about a couple of concrete things. They tell us that the policy that is currently in effect for preliminary coordination of works that are planned for publication at the level of the USSR Goskomizdat is intended to prevent the publishing houses from duplication. I will admit that this corresponds to reality to a certain degree, when speaking about the publication of books in Russian, although even here, as the publishing house workers themselves admit, there are simpler and more efficient ways. But as soon as it comes to books that are published in national languages, which are produced exclusively in the corresponding republics, why have them coordinated centrally in Moscow? To assume that things are always clearer from Moscow, regarding any issue, seems to me to be a kind of independence that can hardly be justified.

Who except for a limited number of bureaucrats of the highest level is capable of affording the joy of creativity for immense consolidated subject plans throughout the entire union, which can be compiled only with the help of card catalogues for coordination work? But yet is precisely the planning policy legitimized by Goskomizdat that envisions mandatory coordination of all orders for books up until the conclusion of the publication agreement and the inclusion in the plan for editorial preparations that is the reason why the time periods for publishing innovative artistic literature are prolonged for years and exceptions to this sad rule, which is fatal to the development of literature, are possible only in individual cases and, as a rule, at the price of incredible contrivances and tricks that are not necessary to anyone. What can be the advantage of this to anyone?

And, finally, two quite concrete proposals. The first: it would seem that it is necessary to refine the rules for admission into our union. According to the existing charter of the USSR Writers Union they are somewhat incomprehensible and allow for arbitrary interpretation. As a result it sometimes begins to seem that in certain organizations of the union in the near future there will be more literary theorists and historians than there are writers themselves. Not to mention the ballast of people who end up there quite by chance. And the second thing. Among members of the Writers Union there is now a fairly large and, moreover, growing percentage of translators. With all due respect to this difficult and, of course, creative labor, one should nonetheless note that their specific interests are frequently extremely remote from the problems of writers themselves and it is not always comfortable for us to be associated. In many countries, including in socialist countries, there are independent translators' unions that are operating successfully. It seems to me that it would also benefit our cause now to have a translators' union split off from our Writers' Union. Believe me, I am certainly not saying this out of a desire to separate translators from the writers' location--it is not a membership card that makes one a

writer--but only out of a rational conviction that this will be best for all of us, and, the main thing, for literature.

B. Belov (Vologda)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 5

[Text] I recall what an immense army of millions of writers was formed around the publishing houses, magazines and newspapers, around the theaters, movies, radio and television. We transformed literature into a "feed bin." Let us honestly admit this fact from the outset, after which it will be easier to discuss everything else. For example, literary youth and the new literary generation. I know that in addition to writers who receive money for their work, there are also writers who do not write for the sake of money. These are the ones we must look for among youth, and these are the ones who must be supported! But in practice everything turns out to be the opposite.

In order to be accepted into the Writers Union we demand that the beginner write a book, but where is he to publish it? I recall that the Northwestern Publishing House came close to rejecting Nikolay Rubtsov. He had to die before they would begin to publish him. It is very difficult to be published in Moscow or Leningrad. And here the real talents have their hands tied, and they die on the vine.

Comrades! There are more important things for us. Yesterday at the Congress the idea of an unfavorable demographic situation was expressed. It is not only that it is necessary to put a stop to war and to avoid unexpected global catastrophes. I, as a Russian person, am certainly not glad about a future with slow, gradual disappearance of one nationality and its complete merging with other nationalities. What melancholy would visit the earth and what boredom would engulf us if there remained only one language, similar to Esperanto! What good would it be to have a future in which people all eat the same food, wear the same clothing and construct identical housing?

Allow me to say that it is not just the Baltic area where the demographic situation is unfavorable. It is also unfavorable in my native land, in the so-called Nonchernozem Zone. And I am well aware that both Vitautas Bubnis and Vasiliy Bykov feel pain for my native village of Timonikha, where children's voices have not been heard for many years now. And they cannot be heard in the neighboring villages either. The Gosplan has declared entire rural soviets and entire regions to be unpromising. I have already discussed this at the republic congress. What is happening here? We shall not recall the 1930's, we shall recall the war-torn 1940's. Out of every 10 Vologda men who went to the front only 3 are still alive, and half of them died from wounds or disease. But the land that was cultivated by the ancient Vologda people continued to fall into neglect during the postwar years as well, in our time, and this was certainly not the fault of the peasants themselves. A new impulse is now being prepared for my Nonchernozem homeland--a plan has been created for diverting the water. According to this plan forests and plowed land, hay fields, trees, villages and ancient monuments will be flooded.

For more than 10 years now we have been fighting an uneven battle against

those who want to divert the rivers. Instead of creating new books, we are wasting our forces on this battle. And it sometimes seems that people deliberately think up these plans so that writers will not be able to do their primary work and will write nothing. Danil Granin probably had incomplete manuscripts on his desk, but he has to waste energy on speaking against an immense, but unnecessary dam. Sergey Pavlovich Zalygin for many years now has been courageously unmasking departmental demagoguery. When will we finally get a respite?

Before the 27th Party Congress, when the plans for economic and social development were being discussed extensively by everyone, the aforementioned plan was finally discussed in public. By a decision of the congress the plans for diverting the Danube water into the Dnepr and the Northern water into the Volga were abolished. It was clear that the decree of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of 23 October 1984 had lost its force. But it lost its force not only for the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources! But yet, referring to this, those in favor of diverting the waters continue their "activity."

They are already constructing approach roads, docks and shipping equipment. Local residents, party organizations and Soviet agencies are speaking out against the work that is being started, many academicians, scientists and specialists are protesting, entire branches of the Academy of Sciences are coming out against it, but...everything is in vain. And why? Because those in favor of diverting the rivers are supported by Academician Aleksandrov himself.

P. Botsu (Moldavia)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 8

[Excerpts] The concept of the "civic position of writers" necessarily must include a critical attitude toward shortcomings as well. Objective criticism and self-criticism has always contributed to establishing a highly moral climate. Moreover, as has been correctly emphasized, the only kind of criticism that is fruitful is business-like, specific, constructive criticism, which has nothing in common with blatant demagoguery and settling of accounts. The failure to accept criticism and the voluntarism that is encountered in solving problems has sometimes led to stagnation in the economy and management, and this could not but be reflected in our literature.

Reminiscences of triumphalism in the literature amount to the same kind of distorted one-sidedness as the tendency to remove negative characters from artistic works before they have actually disappeared from life.

It seems to us that the most necessary thing today is to strive through our common efforts to reach the important, pivotal themes that are disturbing our society, the main one of which is man himself as the creator of the society. One of our primary tasks is to overcome the psychology of playing it safe, "not making any waves." For on some occasions certain extremely complicated works have encountered unjustified obstacles on their way to the reader,

sometimes artificial ones. Without intervention from the directive agencies of our central committee, certain of them would not have been published here.

Under modern conditions the role of literature and art in the aesthetic and moral education of man is increasing immeasurably. Thus it is even more strange that new subjects are being introduced into school programs at the expense of literature. I have had occasion to work with the teacher in a rural school and I understand well how the artistic fabric and the linguistic and stylistic uniqueness emerged from the works that were analyzed. It is necessary to return immediately to the question of improving textbooks and also the need for teaching literature and the basics of domestic and world art in all VUZes and tekhnikums. We also think that all republics should create publishing houses for children's and youth literature and we support the need to create a central publishing house called "Friendship of Nations."

The concern for monuments of culture, like the concern for the well-being of the land and the rivers, the health of the native language and our fairy tales and songs comprise one of our primary tasks. For it is precisely our native language that is capable of making sure that the word of the party and the word of the truth reach every individual.

Yu. Drunina (Moscow)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 7

[Text] I know that there is no such concept as the "ecology of the human soul." But still I shall use this metaphor in order to emphasize that this is the kind of "ecology" which is the responsibility of writers living in a country where the attitude toward literature and, particularly, as distinct from the West, toward poetry, is exceptionally pious. And it would be a crime to try to turn back the current of reason and good will which for generations have nourished domestic poetry.

I shall explain my idea. A non-Russian, non-Soviet tendency of "de-heroization" and departure from Pushkin's credo of noble feelings were blatantly evident, even in the "Day of Poetry-83." I wrote about this in PRAVDA in an article entitled "The Shallowness of the Team" which elicited a fairly noisy response, but, alas, did not produce any effect--the bandits on the high road continue to proliferate on the pages of individual and collective works.

At one time the critic V. Kozhinov supported this strange phenomenon, saying that "Russian poetry did not resolve" the problem of evoking noble feelings. He said the poets had not fulfilled the "plan for goodness"....

Thus it was that during the days when with alarm we were first beginning to grasp the meaning of the news about Chernobyl, I was given a new collection by a poet who at one time had made an interesting entry into literature. But now I was impressed by the lack of correspondence between the great will of the people and his largely trivial, sensationalist verses. His comical "Supermanism": "Call Me Kuznetsov. I am alone. Everything else is deception and falsification." And his not-at-all-comical cruelty.

Extolling force, cruelty, one's own superiority, a lack of faith in brotherhood and self-sacrifice is counterposed to real poetry--art that is called upon to make human hearts brighter and loftier. We must not forget about this. Especially, of course, in literature for children, for boys and girls in the schools, about whom we are talking so much now and with such legitimate concern.

Here is what the teacher A. M. Chernikov wrote in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: "Collections entitled 'Pages of Selected Lyrics' from the Detskaya Literatura Publishing House were sent to our school library. We were happy: They could be used in classes. Moreover the introductory article by the person who compiles the collection inspired hope: 'You have before you worthy examples which can familiarize the readers with poetry in the true sense of the word.'"

The instructor continued by writing that in these "worthy examples" there was a great deal of whining, "sepulchral" vanities, as he expressed it, mysticism and drunken self-exposure.

I felt proud of my generation when in the magazine NOVYY MIR the poet M. Sobol, who never "sticks his nose in" anywhere, stood up for the honor of K. Simonov and all front-line soldiers.

A. Voznesenskiy has already said that certain well-known writers who are doing excellent work have already been removed from the lists of candidates for our congress.... Of course they are still holding their own since the image of a literary person is determined primarily by his creativity. But the injustice is injurious, the more so since after the 27th Party Congress, we have believed completely in the triumph of justice. Therefore it seems strange and disturbing to me that the appearance in a "book review" of three nonstandard, uncomplimentary articles about poetry immediately elicited from the "sufferers" a storm of abuse on the head of the young newspaper worker who dared to allow such "sedition."

But I think that this "heretic" should be supported like anyone else who in the name of truth is not afraid of upsetting relations. Or we speak about the dominance of grayness in our literature. But where does it come from? Here is an interesting figure. In 1952 in Moscow there were 82 poets who were members. Among them were Tvardovskiy, Isakovskiy, Tikhonov, Lugovskoy, Svetlov, Selvinskiy, Simonov, Gudzenko, Narovchatov and Lukonin--to name only those who have left, and not even all of them. Now there are more than 400 of us! Just think about these figures--80 and 400.... But as Sholokhov said, "From a million kittens you cannot create one lion." And for some reason it is precisely the mediocre writers, as distinct from the gifted poets--I repeat, as distinct from the gifted ones--who have been given the "green light" to enter the Writers' Union. I have been in the union for 40 years and I can say that the meetings of the poets association now, as a rule, are not at all creative in nature. Many poets have stopped attending them. Some have even gone into other creative associations. Such a situation is a blow to our morality. But the main thing that all this has a negative influence on literature itself. The sympathies and antipathies of the people on whom one publication or another depends extend to more than just their contemporaries.

I have only raised the so-called crucial problems," and have not provided an answer for them. I am not capable of doing that. My task is much more modest--to draw general attention to these issues.

M. Ganina (Moscow)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 8

[Excerpts] I should like to say that we have seen grow up and enter into literature a generation of writers the majority of whom, as it has turned out, have no interest in social processes. They do not wish to delve into what is taking place or obtain details on the actual life of the people. For they were saved from their first steps and were taught by their first editors that coarse real life is not a subject for literature. All you have to do is delve into this and you will suffer, but nothing will come of it anyway. Literature is a game. It is clean and profitable, and all you have to do is be a "good chap" and be liked by friends and influential writers who have already obtained cushy jobs and you yourself must be able to quietly make your way into a post in a publishing house or the Writers' Union. Books will come out regularly which have nothing to say to the minds or hearts of anyone, but they will make it possible for you to live well and not be afraid of the OBKhSS [Police Section for the Struggle Against Theft of Socialist Property and Speculation]. They will mention you in reports, both among others and individually, for how can they fail to praise a good, worthy chap who spares no effort for public work and who will publish you without question and react correctly to the notes.

The more honorable and talented have engaged in rehashing the immortal "Master and Margarita," naively assuming that if it is not Margarita, the Master's wife that flies, but a nurse or a musician or somebody in a crystal grave, this is original and is not plagiarism from Bulgakov's ideas.

In the middle of the 1950's when I began my literary work, writers, as a rule, had behind them either the front or a plant or a construction site. Each one had considerable experience in life. Nonetheless in the magazines there was a great demand for business trips to construction projects of Siberia or to the virgin land--not because the market had developed our tastes: "I shall whip out a little story on a pressing subject!" It was simply that by the will of historical necessity people had been drawn to Siberia, and we too wanted to touch on the unknown, to understand how people live, what they think about, and what goes on there.

Now, as far as I know, one cannot even set a trap for a young writer so that he will voluntarily go to Siberia, to a construction site, to a sovkhos or to a plant; special brigades are created and healthy men are led by the hand into life.

But young people loudly demand attention. First "40-year-olds" cried out about a "shortage of attention," but now it is "13-year-olds." Literature does not discriminate according to age--that is absurd. Only in kindergarten are groups made up according to ages. Both then and now literature means

names. It is a special world which the Writer brings: Tolstoy, Chekhov, Bunin, Dostoyevsky.... They lived and created at one time, but it seems to be in a completely different time. Each of the names mentioned above has its own, extremely detailed, special world.

Someone could see the advantage to the game of "age" literature, where everything passes indiscriminately, "wholesale."

I have a good memory and I recall how at the beginning of the 1960's those "13-year-olds" and "40-year-olds" were puffed up like a frog jumping through straw. People who had not even made their names yet were given generous advances and were discussed in reports and articles. And the bearers of the names, trustfully paying attention to those who had inflated them, from year to year thirsted for more degrees of excellent, other, more flattering epithets. Perhaps it is time to stop all this? And, for instance, to bring order into publishing houses where fresh young talents can never make their way because talent means personality. And personality is inconvenient to those who love what is customarily mediocre and safe.

We know how long the line of local writers is in oblast publishing houses and how limited the supplies of paper and money are. Oblast publishing houses should print works by their own, talented people. But regardless of when you look at a "book review" you see a book by Likhanov, or Bondarev, or Yulian Semenov, or Vladimir Yeremenko Sr. and so forth. They appear two or three times a year in the oblast publishing houses. This means that the line of local writers who are still unnamed for us must take what is left over.

And one more thing--the attitude toward women writers. There is not a single woman in the presidium of the Writers' Union: in the Writers' Union women are regarded as an impure force: they act as though they do not exist, but...they are afraid.

R. Gamzatov (Dagestan)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 6

[Excerpts] Translators of our multilingual literature deserve a good word. They acquaint us with one another and make our work acceptable to millions of readers. But there are difficulties even here. It is painful and defensive when the second birth of one work or another occurs without any special concern. Contract and brigade methods which are needed in the national economy are unacceptable in the matter of translations. This is not mass productions. It is bad when verses made to order and poems for tourists, this cloak-and-dagger literature, is presented as profoundly national literature. Frequently these works appear in Russian before they do in the native language. Such phenomena are dangerous. One of Shakespeare's characters said that there was something rotten in the Kingdom of Denmark. I think that there is something "Danish" in our translation work. Before translating something into another language it is necessary first to figure out whether or not the artist is recognized in his native language in his own village. But sometimes one finds a paradox. People who are called upon to preserve the coloring and wealth of their national language, people who are obligated to convey its

native purity to other generations, through their unfortunate contrivances destroy it or make it less pure. And through numerous translations of mediocre translators, the "great literature" is defiled.

It would be expedient for our publishing houses to be careful when accepting manuscripts that have not been judged and have not been recommended by writers' organizations of the republics, regardless of who the author may be. And there are very many of us national and honored writers, as if other writers were not national and not honored. It is necessary to pay more attention to editions published in local publishing houses as well.

M. Ibragimov (Azerbaijan)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 9

[Excerpts] I am proud to note that Azerbaijan Soviet literature has kept up with other literatures in the creation of artistic value, and many novels, poems and dramas of Azerbaijan writers have been placed in the golden supply of the country's artistic treasure chest.

Of course it would not be becoming for us to revel too much in these accomplishments. The more so since in addition to the good, valuable works, unfortunately, quite a few ordinary, sometimes simply unread things are also being written and printed.

I should like especially to take note of the fact that certain writers are utterly incapable of creating models of heroes of modernity. Such phenomena exist not only in Azerbaijan literature, but also on a larger scale. When speaking about a hero of literature I have in mind both epic-dramatic models and the lyric hero. Certain poets fill their verses with pessimistic feelings, they cry about the falling of leaves, and they are sorrowful about mysterious dreams that never come true and cannot be understood by anyone but themselves. When one reads such verses one automatically thinks that this is an unhappy person who has a poor lot in life, one who does not even have a piece of bread. I decided to become personally acquainted with some of these poets after reading their work. And what do you think? I saw before me a young person, fashionably dressed, bursting with health and well-provided for in all respects. I asked: "Why are there so many sad ideas, feelings and expressions in your poetry?" And he answered: "I do not want to proceed along the beaten path." It was necessary to say in a delicate way: "Innovation and originality are different things."

I think that the reason for phenomena like this lies in defects in the aesthetic education of our literary youth. And yet among them are very good literary people who inspire hope with their works. Apparently our large union and the unions of writers of the republics, we writers of the older generation in our criticism do not devote the necessary attention to the development of the best traditions of Soviet classics in them.

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 8

[Excerpts] For the time being, I am seeking Tajik poets and Tajik poetry of our day. We are frequently reproached for adhering to the classical canons and blindly imitating the great examples. Yes, there are poets who graze on the fields of our classical poetry, shedding tears of rain, but not noticing human tears. But this is not an imitation or even a repetition, but an outgrowth, evidence of creative impotence and dull-wittedness.

I have no intention of drawing a simple picture of modern Tajik literature. We have undoubted achievements. A number of works have been created which reflect in a worthy way the heroic labor of the hydraulic construction worker and the cotton growers, as well as the moral image of the Soviet people. The main thing is that in recent years an entire pleiad of talented youth have come to Tajik literature, the subject matter and geography of the creative prose writers of the older and middle generation have expanded, and the culture of poetic speech and its figurative depiction have increased significantly.

These tendencies cannot but gratify us. But they certainly do not give us the right to remain silent about our omissions and shortcomings. Let me return to the so-called quiet, "chamber" poetry. In my view, this phenomenon does not exist in our region alone. It is still necessary to find its routes and to establish and understand how generally in Soviet literature something could sprout up which was given a clear-cut definition at the party congress--trivial subjects, inadequate handling of daily life, and departure from the truth of life. It would seem that not the last role here was played by the sociopolitical situation in the country which developed before the April Plenum. Chamber pieces in literature are the result of social complacency, civic well-being and inertia. Today, when the party has entered upon a decisive course toward updating all aspects of life and accelerating socioeconomic development, the civic duty of the writer is to contribute in all ways to the implementation of the party course and to strengthen the people's belief in the feasibility of this course and inspire them to labor victories. The incipient process of renewal and moral improvement of the society creates the most favorable atmosphere for creative daring. Therefore a truly creative atmosphere in a writer's organization assumes no small significance.

Who does not dream about having the situation itself in our general writers' home contribute to creativity and only creativity? So why do we not get together and create such an atmosphere.

I shall not try to be clever: in our literary life there are too many organizational, publishing, economic and other problems that are not in the least creative, which literature is constantly having to deal with. These are what bring to the atmosphere of creativity those motives which we ourselves condemn and despise and which we cannot get rid of.

And is everything all right in the distribution of the worldly goods among our brothers? On the outside the attractive system of paying "from and to" in reality places any literary person in an extremely delicate position. Let us say that you are the winner of a State Prize--union or republic. From now on they will automatically pay you for each publication at a higher rate. It is not the work itself that is valued, but the past merits of the author.

The same thing can be said about the mass media. Some are literally always receiving attention from newspapers, the radio and television; others, who are no less worthy--and there are many more of them--are left in the shadows. It is not simply that public opinion is created around two or three names--official attitudes are determined.

Our criticism has also done its share to canonize authorities. One marvels at how easily one writer or another is purged or installed among the classicists. One is convinced time and time again that criticism can do anything. It is even possible to make obvious shortcomings into merits. This is also reflected in work with new writers, in the moral tone of the writers' organization, and simply in the writers' self-respect. Creativity cannot be built on compromises, reservations, mutual bribes and concessions. Creativity is always a search, a search primarily for truth. Otherwise it is not creativity, but narrow-mindedness.

K. Kurbannepesov (Turkmenia)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 11

[Excerpts] Turkmenia is a country of poets. But when it comes to translations and unionwide recognition, our poets do not compare very well to our prose writers. Obviously there are poets who are easy to translate and those who are difficult to translate. There are more gifted and less gifted translators. This is probably why one hears the saying: "Tell me who your translator is and I will tell you what kind of poet you are!" It sometimes happens that the critics leaf through books of poetry written by good poets and if they do not see the names of Grebnev, Kozlovskiy, Mezhirov or other translators of their level, these books are left alone. I am not speaking only about our Turkmen poets; I know from my own experience that many excellent poets of our fraternal republics cannot reach the union level because of a shortage of qualified translators.

In recent years, writers of the republic have created many interesting works in various genres. But if one looks at the development of the literary process from the high requirements of the present day one notes that far from everything that has been written and published during these years can satisfy us. On the pages of prose works one rarely encounters full-blooded images of a true hero of our time, one who is capable of attracting the reader, drawing youth behind him, and becoming involved in the complexity of the internal world.

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 7

[Text] We do not publish enough works by those from whom we learn and we do it unsystematically. For example, there is no complete collection of Leskov, this remarkable language teacher of ours. There is no addition of the essays of Avvakum.

We have not begun an edition of Russian folklore. This is something that all nations of the Soviet Union have. We do not even have a plan for publication. We have not yet even stipulated the principles for the publication of a summary of Russian folklore. There are no large academic editions of Lermontov or Gogol. We have not published Karamzin--his "History." And yet this, in addition to everything else, is a great, immense literature work. This is a literary feat. The question of publishing works of Russian writers from the first half of the 20th century is especially crucial. In essence, we have donated the beginning of our century to the West: we have no publication of Andrey Bely, about whom Blok wrote that it is necessary to publish him. Why not at least publish the trilogy of memoirs entitled "Between Two Revolutions"? With commentary added, this would be an extremely great history of the beginning of our century.

In general Akhmatova is not being published sufficiently; only in small editions and unsystematically. There is no complete edition of her work. There is no need to publish Khlebnikov in large editions, but he should be in full view among our poets. But today small little booklets and mass editions are being published. This is incorrect.

Fedor Sologub and his "Petty Demons" is an extremely important work for us now. This work is important in order to recognize the essence of philistinism. "Petty Demons" was published in the 1930's in a small edition and has not been published since.

Aleksey Remizov died as a Soviet citizen. As Yu. A. Andreyev established, "Russia in Fire" was written before the October Revolution and, consequently, could not pertain to the October Revolution. It pertained to the February Revolution. And yet Remizov is extremely important for our literary development with respect to language and with respect to both experiments which he set up in literature.

There is no complete edition of Pasternak. The proposed edition of Gumilev in the "Library of the Poet" is also very important. And I should like to draw your attention to the fact that Gumilev has not written a single anti-Soviet line. The legacy of Korney Chukovskiy is still awaiting a scientific addition, and his museum in Peredelkino is not yet recognized. This list could be continued even more. One might also think about publishing Merezhkovsky, limiting this only to the historical novels.

The second thing I should like to discuss is literary museums. Literary museums are educational centers which are very important, especially for youth, and they are very effective. Although in the Russian Federation there

are 120 literary museums and in the union as a whole there are more of them, because especially small republics have done a good job of working with literary museums. In Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Georgia and Armenia. But before the October Revolution in Moscow alone there were hundreds of churches. And these were also educational centers of a certain kind. So one cannot believe that we have many or too many literary museums. We do not have a museum boom, but a museum famine. Anyone can become convinced of this. In Leningrad, in front of the museums there are lines of thousands of people. Thousands and not hundreds.

Concrete proposals. In Leningrad it is necessary to open up a museum in the apartment of Saltykov-Shchedrin on Liteyny Prospekt. Sergey Aleksandrovich Makashin said that if one were to clean out the chimney flues, even the smoke from Saltykov-Shchedrin's cigarettes (he was an inveterate smoker) would be retained there. And next door one should open the apartment of Chernyshevskiy, which has also been completely preserved. As a result, along with the existing literary museums, one would obtain a kind of literary "grouping." This would include the already existing museums of Nekrasov and Dobrolyubov, next door would be the apartment of Saltykov-Shchedrin, next door to that--the apartment of Chernyshevskiy, and next door to that--the excellent museum of Dostoyevsky, the apartment where he died and the building where he lived. This is an entire literary "grouping." It would be possible to conduct an excursion through all the museums at the same time.

And there is also this kind of literary "grouping" in Moscow. All one need do is open up the museum of Gogol's home, where he lived and died. It is to the honor and glory of the Ukraine and the Ukrainian Writers' Union that there, near Poltava in Vasilyevka they opened up a museum preserve. Olef Gonchar, Zolotusskiy and others have long been concerned about this.

But, paradoxically, there is no Gogol Museum in Moscow. But there are many subjects associated with Gogol. And the building where he lived and died has been preserved. In this building there is now a Gogol library and two little memorial rooms. The library could carry over into a symmetrical building of the same kind which is just opposite it. An institution is located there; I was there yesterday but I cannot give you the name of this institution, I was unable to read it. It has 33 letters, I counted them (laughter in the auditorium). But I was unable to read the institution. I think that it could give up its building for a Gogol library.

How many decades will we have to wait to restore Blok's Shakhmatovo? How many decades will we wait before the Shevchenko Memorial is restored in Leningrad? At one time in Petrograd on instructions from V. I. Lenin the Shevchenko Memorial was erected out of gypsum, but then it was destroyed. For Shevchenko spent a large part of his life in Petersburg, he died and was buried in the Smolensk Cemetery. And at the gates of the cemetery there is not even an indication of where Shevchenko's grave was.

It is excellent that our writers' community has become concerned about literary places in Moscow and the Moscow area and that our newspapers and magazines print these materials: OGONEK, NASH SOVREMENNİK, MOSKVA, NEVA, SEVER and others. But it is necessary for our articles to lead to certain

results, which, unfortunately, have not been achieved yet. Memory should be effective, memory needs shelters, and it cannot be homeless. Unless we truly honor the memory of our spiritual ancestors--we will be forgotten as well.

S. Mikhalkov (Moscow)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 3

[Excerpts] It is expected that our writers' unions produce real deeds--contribute in a real way to a situation where there are more good books. It is my conviction that the core of the restructuring of literary work is a significant improvement in creative organizational work and not organizational creative work, which would help each creative individuality to be manifested more fully. We must display more interest in what happens to manuscripts that demonstrate talent--considering them benevolently and demandingly, we must make energetic proposals to publishers, for otherwise a future necessary book will be tied up for a long time in the confusion of planning. We must be more attentive to providing for more conditions for the work of literary people who have proved their professional abilities through their labor.

We must be concerned that the ranks of the Writers' Union are filled only with creatively gifted people, and not literary hangers-on. Concerning the harm caused by excessive liberalism which supports philistine ideas about how easy it is to write, Vladimir Mayakovskiy said that one piece of nonsense that is printed creates in two more people the conviction that they can write something that is just as good, and these two, having written it and having it printed, arouse envy in four more.

I shall return to the concept of the cultured nature of our profession.

It seems to me that here all of us could learn something from the great Gorky, that true member of the Russian intelligentsia who came up from the lower classes of the people. When a writer is truly a member of the intelligentsia, this is primarily an internal quality, restraint and elementary tact. Do not think that I am condemning the remarkable Russian prose writer Viktor Astasyev if I say that his story "Gudgeon Fishing in Georgia," which was published in the magazine NASH SOVREMENNİK, offensively and tactlessly wounds the feelings of a fraternal nation. And what can one think of the attempt on the part of the poet Yuriy Kuznetsov to discredit "Wait for Me..." by Simonov which became loved by everyone during the war years.

While affirming the need for changes in the literary environment, one can hardly say today that the entire period of the history of our literature has proceeded under the banner of all-encompassing and all-conquering mediocrity and retrospectively slight works, even if they have their artistic shortcomings, which are widely known among the people, which are publicly recognized, and which tell of serious, politically crucial events. This, in my opinion, is unintelligent and ignoble.

Yes, it is necessary to speak directly and frankly about the shortcomings in the works, without being afraid of hurting people's feelings. But each time we must proceed from the real value of a concrete written work and not from

passing considerations of competition. For unhealthy clamor, a failure to adhere to principles, all-devouring envy and jealousy, all kinds of group and shop prejudices which have penetrated into the creative environment, slow it up and impede the healthy course of the creative process.

In literature of recent years we encounter an image of a hero who is someone in a creative profession who worries about the fate of the world, has a keen sense of life's imperfections and wishes to help the society to overcome them. At the same time I cannot understand the predilection of certain authors who in their works describe the Soviet creative intelligentsia as waning, mundane, consistently almost entirely of people who are bogged down in personal conflicts and are far from the interests of their country. Here one can see clearly the method of depiction which at the party congress was called digging into life.

The world around us is extraordinarily alarming and extraordinarily complicated. Imperialism is waging a well-thought-out and offensive battle against us. It is relying on dividing our society, on unleashing nationalist attitudes, on an ideology of disarmament and propaganda of a nonspiritual existence, being oriented in this especially towards our youth. This is why the responsibility of the writer's calling and the written word is increasing more and more today.

T. Minnulin (Tataria)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 11

[Excerpts] We are well aware that to write about a people in general is impossible. There is the person, the Soviet person, with his place of birth and his place of permanent residence. The person calls this place his native land. He is tied to it historically, economically, ecologically and psychologically. If a person is deprived of a sense of his homeland, he becomes a rolling stone. Why do we value the works, for example, of V. Rasputin, A. Gilyazev, V. Belov, M. Magdeyev, O. Bokeyev, A. Dudarev, Mustay Karim and G. Bashirov? Because their heroes are spiritually bound to their native land. For some of them this is Siberia, the Vologda area, or Belorussia, for others it is Kazakhstan, Bashkiria or Tatarstan....

But certain works written in the Russian language are incomprehensible to me because someone deprived of individuality is speaking in this language. I do not understand certain works that are written in my own native language either. It seems that both the first names and last names of the character are Tatar and when speaking the heroes use national sayings and proverbs, but still they are unfamiliar to me. Why does this happen? There are probably many reasons. Perhaps we have departed from the national traditions of our literatures. Perhaps all of our thoughts, not dealing with the past and future, close in only in the present, only in themselves. One of the reasons is that the teaching of literature in the schools is imperfect.

There is also this reason. In the national republics the writers strive to make their way into the all-union arena. This is predictable and wonderful-- if the works show talent and originality. But it is sad when artistically

talentless hacks get ahead of talented people and use any means to make their way into print. There are also translators who do not care whom they translate or how. Thus there is a mass of unremarkable literature. Finally, the depersonalization of literature takes place, apparently, also because of the fact that we are severed from the spiritual world of the real human being.

A. Mirzagitov (Bashkiria)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 9

[Excerpts] One asks: Why today should we worry about the greats? What is the need for this? After all, we have a living, concrete literature with its concrete concerns. But it is precisely for the sake of the living and concrete multilingual modern Soviet literature, with its many cares, that we must also recall the great Gorky and the entire pleiad of such outstanding writers as Mayakovskiy, Sholokhov, Fadeyev, Fedin, Tikhonov and Pagodin. They not only preserved the eternal features of the Russian intelligentsia of the past, but also enriched them with new content. They believed in the unsophisticated, timid literary attempts of their contemporaries from the union and autonomous republics, oblasts and okrugs, and they supported them.

Seriously speaking about our literary affairs, taking into account the seriousness and importance of tasks raised by time for restructuring and qualitatively renewing the society, we must first and foremost restructure our own psychological makeup. In our opinion, this is where a qualitative restructuring of literature begins. A person who is a real writer cannot be a coward. In his breast he must have the heart of a lion and not the heart of a rabbit, even though it is easier and more convenient to live with the heart of a rabbit--there are fewer enemies, one sleeps better, one has respect from the higher-ups, and according to ordinary values, one has plenty of everything.

This is why today we need so much the anger of Tolstoy, the fearlessness of Gorky, and the uncompromisingness of Mayakovskiy and Fadeyev. Everyone must eradicate the rabbit from himself. And nobody can do this except us ourselves. And the difficult daily work should take place at the work desk, in literary discussions, in the revaluating of values and simply in the interrelations among writers. Otherwise we will always be suppressed by militant mediocrity; it will crush us and gain victory.

If one looks attentively at the literature of our day one cannot but notice a certain leaning in the direction of being attracted by negative phenomena, a certain relishing of the darker sides of life. Of course it is necessary to write about shortcomings, and we have plenty of them. But I should like to see the future that ennobles man and his ideal of good.

Yu. Mushketik (Ukraine)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 6

[Text] We rejoice in the thousands of hectares of cultivated virgin land, the steel mainlines, the new cities and the nationwide construction projects as though they were personal successes. At the same time we writers,

particularly Ukrainian ones, are responsible for thousands of hectares of salinized Chernozem in the south of the Ukraine and the construction of the Danube-Dnepr Canal, which is planned by scientists and is causing legitimate concern among the people in the republic, for the wastewaters from Europe, contaminated with salts from firths, end up on the fields of the Ukraine or in the almost immobile Dnepr, and, incidentally, according to the plan they will be cut off from the Black Sea by the dam. Are there not too many experiments for just one river? We are responsible for the loss of a feeling of the land and the indifference to it on the part of those who till it and for our eloquent words about sunsets and sunrises, and the many years of singing praises of the prestigious professions--physician, teacher and engineer--to the detriment of those who plowed the fields. And we have written so many novels and poems in which the hero defends his native home, where he hurries to assimilate something almost before he has assimilated anything in his own soul. And thus we cut off the deep roots through whose capillaries the responsibility to home, family, conscience and national language flow to his heart.

The ideological essence of the leading literature of the past century was composed of persistent attempts to find the meaning of life, the all-enlightening truth; the essence of the individual has changed radically in our society, but have we really depicted modern man as the bearer of the deepest truth, have we managed to see what has changed in him today, in his understanding of good and evil, his capabilities, and his creative force, and have we offered the readers many works that are inspired by the desire to say something significant about our life and times.

And have we not been faced with a more crucial question: Who are we in the domain of the universe--are we merely a speck of dust in the eternal flow of matter, or is our purpose more significant? I do not know what Kievan writers are writing now, but for us the content of many values has changed and the meaning of our life has changed somehow; even heroism, that greatest impulse of the human soul, while remaining equally important, has now been placed within ordinary, let us say, military frameworks. Perhaps there has been no radical change in such values as conscience, honor, uprightness and truthfulness. But I should like to ask a question: is the category of morality growing at the level of acceleration of the century, is it not sometimes separated from us as some kind of degree? Man must know the truth about himself, even though he does not always want to know it.

It is no accident that a certain part of the reading public is now hungering for only one thing--comfort. Comfort in the home, in transportation, in literature; they do not wish to experience things or to be alarmed about them; when they come home from work they want to take up a book and read about a beautiful life. There are many people, including managers, who look on literature as something auxiliary, for instance, during the season for harvesting sugar beets, and hence there has been a certain decline in the prestige of literature. "Masters of thought" and "those who express the epoch"--these are almost literary terms that pertain to the past. Going to meet such a reader halfway certain writers have begun to create odd pieces. On the screen, for example, the farce has become fashionable: instead of classical dramas there are novels and stories in which the entire conflict

amounts to dividing up the inheritance, and in poetry, for instance, what is called cosmism is presented as creative profundity.

Some of my colleagues are so involved in space and their stellar brothers that they cannot live without them, but they have not looked in on their brother in Ivankovo for 10 years, and he only lives a couple of dozen kilometers away from Kiev. Real cosmism is always earthly and always in the heart of man. And it is also in our literature. Particularly in Ukrainian literature. It has become larger and more diverse in its styles and nuances. It is just a pity that unionwide criticism for some reason cannot see in it anything beyond one coloring--the romantic one. And in the accountability report an unjustifiably small amount of space was devoted to Ukrainian and other national literatures. But today is it really possible to reduce to one trend all of the ideological and artistic wealth of the works of Olef Gonchar, Pavin Zagrebelnyy, Aleksandr Ilchenko, Yevgen Gutsal, Roman Ivanychuk or such a bright constellation of poets as Dimitro Pavlychko, Boris Oleynik, Lina Kostenko, Ivan Drach, Vitaliy Korotich and Mikol Vingranovskiy? These names speak for themselves.

And another thing. We support the wish to raise the question of the rights and responsibilities of the review commission of the Writers' Union, and also to think about resuming the 10-day periods for celebration of literature, which significantly strengthen the ties among the fraternal literatures.

B. Oleynik (Ukraine)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 3

[Excerpts] Is it worthwhile to prove that in the world of art time begins not from the moment of the first movement of the pen, but when this moment is connected to the battery of live energy of preceding struggles, concerns and thoughts, the synthesis and analysis of daily life. And if one looks from this standpoint at the period being interpreted one can say that our literature in its best models has prepared not only emotional, but also philosophical prerequisites for the change earmarked by the 27th Party Congress.

I shall refer to only one example. As early as the end of the 1960's Olef Gonchar in the well-known novel "Sobor [Council]" discussed not fragmentarily but comprehensively the problems of protecting the environment, the linguistic environment and memory, and the strict responsibility of people who are promoted to those who have promoted them. He was one of the first to point out the danger of careerism, not only on the moral-ethical, but also on the sociopolitical plane. This aspect has now been reflected also in the fundamental documents of the party.

I recall that "Sobor," despite all the difficulty for the author, was nonetheless published in the Ukraine. Soon it will come out in a Russian translation through the efforts of the magazine DRUZHBA NARODOV, which 18 years ago began the struggle for its publication.... And if one looks more attentively at the novels of the excellent Russian writer Yuriy Bondarev, we sense in them that same alarm which disturbed his Ukrainian colleague. And

the creativity of the classicist of our multinational literature Leonid Leonov or the novels and stories of Zalygin, Aytmatov, Aftafyev, Alekseyev, Rasputin, Belov, Baklanov, Ananyev, Ivanov, and Bykov--did they really not develop those who are now fighting in the vanguard of the change?

But with all frankness we must say that the violation of the principle of social justice has dealt an especially strong blow in literature. The essence of this violation was reflected in novels that were dictated onto a dictaphone concerning everything and nothing in particular, and in long, clumsy verses that are courageously called poems. Unfortunately, they are not only published but are sometimes also granted high literary awards. Frequently the laurels are given to those who are closest to the strong people in the world in general and in literature in particular.

I shall not delve into the dense layers of the atmosphere where the covering of the most modern spaceships burns. I shall say only that the time has come to change the structure of the writers organization, adhering to the sacred principle of shiftwork. It seems to me that we should elect a secretary for no more than 3 years. During the first 2 years the person simply does not have time to put out satellites, and even at the beginning of the third year he must prepare for his report. This, incidentally, not only mobilizes people but also frightens them a little bit.

Our literature is multinational. Naturally, problems of international relations are added to organizational problems. Questions of language were touched upon at a recent congress of Ukrainian writers. And this is natural for the problem of the development of the native tongue has always concerned and will always concern the writer simply because the language is his building material. But there are also problems of the native language in the school, in the theater and in kindergartens--these are problems of national policy and violation of its Leninist principles produces sharp wounds. Here it is necessary to be especially careful and, taking into account that the slightest disturbance in this sphere gives hope to our enemies--one must also be especially vigilant.

As a rule, ideological saboteurs try to blame Moscow for all of our day-to-day shortcomings in these matters. But here is the main danger here: our enemies are well aware that Moscow and the Russians, as a rule, have no idea that somewhere there was a reduction in, say, the number of schools with teaching in the native language. But it is advantageous for them to blame Moscow for irregularities which are caused mainly by our local, native, homegrown enthusiasts of our political innocence, who have obviously inherited the lackey psychology from those who for speaking corrupted Russian received from the tsar allotments of their own native land. Is there any need to say that this kind of nihilism categorically contradicts our party's national policy. And is it necessary to say that by defending our native language and culture, we are defending the honor and worth of the truly great Russian people who have done and are doing everything for the flourishing of national cultures. The "sense of a unified family" pulsates in the arteries of the Russian word.

Ya. Peters (Latvia)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 6

[Text] We have not gathered here to boast, but when the chairman of the mandate commission told the congress that among the delegates only three of the writers were under 35 years of age, I could not restrain myself from saying that two of these three young writers were sent to Moscow by the Creative Organization of Writers of Latvia. These are the poetess Mara Zalite born in 1962 and the poet-translator Klav Elsbergs, born in 1959. At the same time I should like to emphasize that today it is impossible to evaluate literature relying only on the list of literary people which is found in the drawer of the desk in the office of the Writers' Union. It is not without reason that from this tribune one hears the names of Pushkin, Tolstoy, Shevchenko, Dostoyevsky, Gorky and Pasternak. And when the Latvians with a feeling of national pride mention the name of Raynis, whose 125th anniversary will be celebrated in 4 years we forget that it is possible to understand the creativity of this most significant representative of Latvian literature of the 20th century only after having studied in depth the subject "Raynis and Folklore." Yes, folklore, without which a list of members of the Writers' Union would be only a list of those who claim to have national literacy, and the Writers' Union itself is an office in the ministry.

And since we actually want to live and work in an atmosphere of frankness, efficiency and self-criticism, I cannot keep from mentioning the names of Oyar Vatsiyetis, whose heart, like the hearts of Tvardovskiy, Shukhsin, Abramov and Dumbadze lay at the foundation of the 27th Party Congress.

It is with a sense of satisfaction that I should also like to mention here the name of the national poet of Latvia, Imant Ziyedonis, whose creativity deserves the highest rating, for he has already been speaking for a long time about that which is now being discussed at the highest party and state level.

That list of the generally accepted group of names with which our colleagues in Moscow are satisfied today is frequently random in nature. Frequently the same names of writers from the national republics are also mentioned on central television, in official reports and in quotations from critics.

I named Imant Ziyedonis, but I could list many others. I think the success of the authors' party of Maris Chaklays held recently in the central house of literary workers proved again that Soviet poetry is richer than we imagine.

Among the highest achievements of Latvian literature one should include the creativity of Ezera, Skuynya, Vel, Lam, Zarinya, Birze and Belshevits. I should also like to mention the play by Gunar Priyeve called "Centrifuge."

Our tradition of poetic drama has been restored during the past 5 years. Viewers and critics are especially interested in the debut of the young poetess Mara Zalite. She presented two dramatic poems at the same time which, while delving into the depths of folklore imagery and symbology, imagery and ethnopsychology, at the same time sound timely and raise quite modern problems before us.

From this podium I should also like to thank all those who write about Latvian literature. Especially Lev Anninskiy, Vladimir Ognev, and Vyacheslav Ivanov. The reverberations of our literature outside the republic would be much weaker without the support of the chairman of the council on Latvian literature, Sergey Pavlovich Zalygin.

There is a strained demographic situation in Latvia with a threatening tendency toward reduction of the population of the native nationality. At the same time, our republic is one of the few which does not have its own publishing house of children's literature, which does not speak in favor of the practice of cultural construction which has existed up to this point. The high industrial level forms a certain disharmony and shortage of spiritual life. With all possible emphasis, from this podium I wish to draw the attention of the chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade, Comrade Nenashev, to this painful fact which was pointedly discussed also at the 9th Congress of Writers of Latvia, and I wish to ask that in the near future a publishing house for children's literature be created in our republic.

The 9th Congress of Writers of the Republic also drew attention to the increased prestige of the native language and the need to develop international culture on a higher level. The writer is obliged to protect the language from robotization so that the decisive role of the individual will not disappear from our lives or our relations. With the support of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, beginning in 1987 during the spring school vacation a celebration of native speech will be organized in the republic.

My colleagues, the writers of Latvia, have asked that I mention from this podium that it would be in the interests of the multinational Soviet literature to create the publishing house "Friendship of Peoples" in Moscow, which would publish the works of writers of the union republics in the Russian language. Is it not also time to eliminate the excessive centralization of movie production? Are workers of the Goskomizdat in Moscow really more competent to deal with questions of national literatures than the local publishers? What is the point in again "establishing" the number of publications that are produced, the authors and titles of books if the "comrade at the center" most frequently has not even heard the name of a writer, even a classical writer from one republic or another?

In conclusion, allow me to express my confidence that the concept "writers' union" and the concept "literature" will always be synonymous in the future.

V. Petrosyan (Armenia)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 7

[Excerpts] We cannot but be alarmed by the fact that some of the writers from the republics, especially in works of a historical genre, engage in "cosmetic surgery" of the history of their own people, as a rule, at the expense of their neighbors. Moreover, they sometimes show a lack of respect for the

national objects of worship of the fraternal nations. It is necessary to be careful with the heritage from the past. We should take fire from it and not ashes, not to mention soot.

And another problem. If the reorganization of our schools is to continue along the same path in the future, than within 10-20 years, in the school programs there will probably be no place left for the humanities, particularly literature. While giving its due to scientific and technical progress and the polytechnicalization of the schools, we still do not have the right to forget that the main mission is to develop a citizen, a patriot, a highly moral individual. There is now a new wave in schools---"computer literacy." It is not very clear when this literacy is to come, but we have been observing the ominous outlines of spiritual illiteracy for a long time.

A. Prokhanov (Moscow)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 11

[Excerpts] The fathers of the writers of my generation used themselves up in an immense war, in an immense amount of work, on construction projects and in social cataclysms.

As compared to them, my generation has had an easy life. And our awareness of this easy life has generated in us a conscious and unconscious sense of guilt. And this guilt has been motivated by creativity. Writers have looked for a drama in life, their own drama. They have struggled to preserve the monuments of architecture. The purity of language. The purity of family relations. They have looked for tragedy in production. They have looked for a martyr of the idea.

And then there was a discovery. A new hero was discovered, a new social type. Well off, balanced, indifferent to large-scale ideology, large-scale policy. "Ambivalent" is what they called him. This discovery was made simultaneously by many writers and was patented.

A critic, who today is called toothless, once he learned of this discovery bared wolves' teeth. The heroes and sometimes even the authors began to shout and stamp their feet. Both from the left and from the right. They wanted to eliminate the discovery. But it had already been registered.

But this was a discovery of yesterday.

There appeared, and in the most diverse segments of society, a type of defeatist, who had already given up to the strong, successful opponent, who did not believe in the strength of our social system, in the ability of domestic engineers to design good machines, in the ability of domestic physicians to give good therapy, in the ability of domestic writers to write good books. They were prepared to make a compromise with the opponent at the lowest, most degrading level.

But there also appeared another type, a countertype. He was socially drowsy yesterday but today he has awakened. They irritated and disturbed him. He

was disturbed by alien naval ships on the shores of the Crimea, voices on the radio rejoicing in our harvest failures and our numerous bribe takers. These endless harvest failures and the countless bribe takers themselves also disturbed him. And he who was indifferent yesterday is prepared to fight today, to get rid of alien dreadnoughts and his own bureaucrats. A citizen of a great power has been insulted here.

There is also a third type, one who senses the problem, but runs away from it--into trivia, lofty phrases, sex, drunkenness, religion and continuous diversion.

And the fourth character, the one which is the most valuable to the society, is searching for a way out of the catastrophe not through conflict and not through continuous destructive confrontation, not through turning screws and beating clubs, but in the superforce of new ideas and approaches, in constructive work day and night, work which will not permit delay. For there is no time left.

P. Proskurin (Moscow)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 10

[Excerpts] We have gathered here at our congress in order to search for new resources for an even more progressive movement and development and to reveal hidden reserves.

A great deal has already been said here about ecology, but what is one to do if this is not a fashion, but an objective and threatening necessity. It has long been known that the basis for preserving the forces of the earth is a normal circulation of substances. It is necessary simply to return to the land everything that is taken from it, and for many centuries this is essentially what was done. Everything that the peasants took from the fields they returned to the fields but now, in our enlightened times, what is taken from the earth, as a rule, is returned not to the fields, but mainly to the rivers and lakes.

At a recent traveling meeting of the Secretariat of the Writers' Union of Russia in Leningrad, where eminent scientists and practical workers participated along with literary people, one could trace the culmination of this fatal chain: land--man--water. We know a great deal about Lake Baykal; the many years of struggle around it has been most widely publicized and not without the active intervention of literature, but what do we know about Lake Ladoga, which is located in the most densely populated region of the country and which contains the largest supply of fresh water in Europe and provides drinking water for a population that is many times larger than that served by Baykal? And yet Lake Ladoga is now actually on the verge of biological death, on the verge of something irreversible. Through many years of research scientists have recently established that the reason for this irreversible process is the phosphorus and certain other surplus substances which, when returned to the land, preserve its force and fertility, but when discharged into the rivers and lakes, transform bodies of water into a biological desert.

Solving these problems, of course, costs a great deal, but it is nonetheless necessary to begin this, and the sooner we do this, the less expensive it will be for us.

Or, for example, people speak about grey literature. Excuse me, but how can it be anything but grey? Just take a closer look at our system of awarding the highest bonuses. It turns out that one and the same person not only writes for himself and publishes himself, but he also gives his own rewards, and our most advanced mass of readers can only look blankly in amazement, for they are incapable of digesting even a couple of pages because it is so inedible. And there is no broad discussion of it, either by readers or by writers. And, incidentally, not only is there no broad discussion, there is practically no narrow discussion, even when nominating it for a bonus or when the bonus is awarded. And so the bonus is awarded not primarily for talent, but for position. And this circulation of things must immediately be changed and the practice of awarding bonuses should actually be linked to national discussion. And the people comprising the departments and committees for granting awards should be changed periodically without fail.

V. Rasputin (Irkutsk)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 pp 9-10

[Text] Never before have I felt so provincial as I do now. And not because I live a long ways away from the capital--no, I am frequently in Moscow, I have even traveled to America, and, as you see, I am on the presidium. It is not a matter of geographical provincialism, which, as they say, is currently disappearing or has already disappeared. And I hope it is not a matter of spiritual provincialism. It is something else that is not so easy to designate, in which part of this auditorium has fallen behind and the other part has gotten ahead. It is obviously a problem of the simplicity of a mind which is inexperienced in intergroup struggles, a country hick's understanding of why and on whose behalf we have gathered here.

Out of simplicity of heart it seems to me that in this auditorium, the main auditorium of the country, it is necessary to talk about the main thing, the thing that is most important and necessary, that a person who has nothing to say should not approach this tribune and that somewhere here there should be technical equipment that makes a person freeze and fall silent as soon as he violates the law of this tribune. And even when I was quite young I found myself involved in a national issue. I am referring to a subject which is delicate and would seem to be forbidden to a Russian person, but I cannot but discuss it. It seems to me that all of us representatives of various nations and nationalities live in one common home, although it is very spacious. One of the people who spoke here said: "A communal apartment--and that is what it is."

We can see everything that is good and bad, we cannot hide anything, and any disease, any shortcoming is not a personal matter or a personal attribute; everyone suffers from it.

It seemed to me that by virtue of its duty and conscience literature bears responsibility for everything that takes place with the people. Russian literature painfully and in full view has discussed the drunkenness of the Russian man and, as a result, his loss of civic activity. We recall "What Do We Live On and Eat" by Fedor Abramov and his novel "Home." We recall "The Sad Detective" by Viktor Astafyev--we have never before had a book that was so candid and written with the blood of the author's own heart. We have written about this ourselves but we have not considered this our own private affair, in which others are not allowed to meddle, we have not been insulted, and we have not taken offense when this has been written about in the Ukraine or Moldavia. It is precisely because we live in a common home as one family, and we all suffer from the shortcomings of any of us. There was no insult intended against the Georgian people, respected Georgian comrades, in the story by Astafyev; just read it carefully and you will be able to distinguish the pain from the insult and the truth from lies. The Russian people have not been completely defeated by drink either; they have continued to work and work, but we legitimately sounded the alarm when drunkenness began to assume the nature of a growing disease, we sounded the alarm in order to stop it. In order to treat a disease it is necessary to name it.

But I have not come up to this tribune in order to admit my provincialism. I must also excuse myself because I shall be speaking about something that has been discussed more than once, about something that has already been discussed here--the fate of our homeland. Publicity is a remarkable thing, as we have become convinced during the past year and a half, but when publicity exists only for the sake of publicity and not for the sake of results and changes, this, of course, is not enough.

We write so much about the problem of diverting rivers, we write so much, and we have rended our hearts so much, and we have written poems, novels and stories, devoting time and effort to protecting the homeland--and to no avail: People listen to us and then do whatever they want to!

Here is an excerpt from an official response from the first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, Comrade Paskar, addressed to Academician Yanshin--the letter was sent quite recently, on 10 June. I quote: "As a result of the work conducted by many scientific research institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and other ministries and departments, we have confirmed the need for the first stage of diverting some of the water from the northern rivers into the Volga Basin in a volume of 5.8 cubic kilometers."

It is clear that the first stage--5.8 cubic kilometers--is only a tactical move and that the matter will not end with this. Specialists say that within approximately 20 years no instruments will help to find this water--it will either be in the Volga or will be spread out amongst the marshes and lowlands of Vologda and Kostroma Oblasts. Immense amounts of money will have been spent, the land will have been damaged, and we will have nobody to hold responsible for this.

But if diverting the water in the first stage is pointless, carrying out the first section--90 cubic kilometers--not to mention the second--40-50 cubic

kilometers, toward which the "diversion proponents" are striving, is criminal, and will have a tragic effect on the land and culture of the north and central part of Russia. First on the land of Russia and then on the land of Chingiz Aytmatov, Olzhas Suleymenov, Grant Matevosyan and so forth and so on.

Recently, as you know, there have been many articles about Baykal which show the tragedy of this unique lake. As a result of these, as early as February a State Commission for Baykal was created, which is intended to recommend measures for saving it. Along with ministers and scientists from the community I was included on this commission. They gathered suggestions from us, but the commission itself has not met once in 4.5 months. Recently I received from the Gosplan a draft of new provisions of a law concerning Baykal. Instead of decisive and necessary measures which will not help later, the draft included exactly the same thing: to strengthen, to demand, to pay attention, and so forth. It is assumed that nothing will be done to the thing that is worst for Baykal--the pulp combines, which cause harm to our economy as well.

The main measure suggested by the plan is again to change the PDK (maximum permissible concentration) when purifying wastewaters. I must say that during the 20 years of operation of the Baykal Combine these norms have been changed six times. Six times! This could make an impression on anybody. It even impressed me when I was at the Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper Industry which has jurisdiction over the combine. The changes in the norms for purification were made in order to strengthen them. Only recently after an immense amount of work did I manage to see the figures for the PDK. And it turned out that the norms had not become stricter at all, that, on the contrary, with respect to the basic pollution they had become weaker and this was the only reason why there were fewer violations. The regular changes in the norms were merely legalizing the continuing poisoning of Baykal.

We, a group of Russian writers, who, we hope, will be joined by writers of other republics, appeal to the Politburo and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev personally and ask once again to look into the existing situation with the northern rivers and Lake Baykal, and to make a decision in favor of our people and not in favor of the departments that are involved.

V. Rozov (Moscow)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 6

[Text] The longer you live, the more attentively you contemplate life, how it develops and changes, the more, of course, you can write. We dramatists, and not just us, are bothered by organizational problems since we are always appointing or selecting somebody. Dramatists have a small association--400 people, as you can see from the program. And we ourselves decide whom to appoint and whom to select. We can do this better than other people.

Therefore I support Olynik's suggestion that it is necessary to change the leadership. Comrades, do not think that I am good or that I am brave--no. This is our life, our concerns. We are being asked to take our work more seriously, to do it ourselves. This is the first thing--organizational.

Now the second thing. This is the truth. The truth, the truth, be sure to tell the truth. It makes you want to lie, you understand (laughter in the auditorium) because this is the natural condition of man. If people were to say do not tell the truth, do not tell the truth, you must lie, you must lie--then you would want to tell the truth! This is the way man is made, he is very complex, as Dostoyevsky said: "He is too broad, I should narrow him." But I like the fact that man is so complicated, it makes it interesting to live.

But now I should like to tell you about this. I have already written a little about it. We have arms, legs, a liver, a spleen, a tongue, ears, eyes--these are our organs. I was in a hospital for year. I was in a cast for a half-year. When the very severe pain had passed and only my leg ached and not all of me, I was a very happy soldier. We were laid up a great deal; we were all bed patients. I remember the nurse bowed and said: "Rozov, why are you so happy?" I said: "Even though my leg aches, I am still healthy." You understand, my leg ached, but I was healthy! It is worse when your liver hurts, of course, but when the brain is ill--the entire organism is ill. We, the intelligentsia, we are the brain of the country.

A. Voznesenskiy has discussed the lack of spirituality here. Man is distinguished from the animal by the fact that he lives not by his body but by his soul. But now many people live by their body and not very much by their soul.

We must fill people with internal content!

I should like to say more about the truth. Although one does not always know what the truth is, and here it is possible to end up in the position of the idealist carp. When the carp said to the pike: "And do you know what virtue is?"--the pike opened his mouth wide and swallowed him. Do not be afraid, now, perhaps the pike's teeth are not as long any more!

Now about dramaturgy. We have 3,500 prose writers, 3,500 poets, but to whom and to what are we dramatists attached?

I was on the admissions commission of the USSR Writers' Union and I know how dramatists are accepted. In the admissions commission they ask: "Who has seen the play?"

But a poet comes up and he has a tiny little book from which he reads: "A little bird sat on a twig, like a fool I look...." They say--accept him! But our position is very difficult. We are somewhere between literature and the theater. Yesterday I heard a wonderful performance by our dramatist Gelman, an excellent speaker, and he spoke very well. The Olympiad was here, and they constructed a great deal, the Olympic Village....

And now when you go past the Olympic structures as in ancient Rome, they seem immense. And frequently they are empty. So could they not be used as new theaters?

There is not enough spirituality. It is necessary to attract youth and educate them. Culture, education, books--this is all necessary, but it is also necessary, in addition to papas, mamas and teachers, to have people who are capable of educating youth. This means us writers.

V. Shugayev (Moscow)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 7

[Excerpts] The major conflict in our literature of the near future will be the conflict generated by the nature of man who has decided to live according to his conscience, and in his soul an opposition will be initiated between the decision that has been made and his customary protective reaction: it is better to be silent, it is better, as it were, to keep one's nose clean. Our pens will stand still at this vital juncture where the danger of a heart attack exists. Here will be the basic nerve center of the drama of civic courage. But still this person is overcoming his sadly limiting custom and is rising to the forthcoming aggressive conscience, for the time has come for all of us drop by drop to squeeze out of ourselves the psychology of nuts and bolts, the psychology, as it were, of dogmatic vegetation.

We must discuss shortcomings not through enumeration, on a list, but by personifying them, for otherwise, if they exist on an impersonal list, they will not cease to expand the sphere of moral corrosion.

During the past 10 years, according to my observations (I have already had occasion to speak about this at one of the plenums of the board of the Moscow Writers' Organization), in our criticism there has not been a single remark about the works of S. V. Mikhalkov and A. B. Chakovskiy, although both of them have worked a great deal, devotedly, and productively. Their ability to work elicits professional respect. Comrade Mikhalkov has written many poems, fables and new renditions of classics, and Comrade Chakovskiy has also worked actively, but in all of this immense amount of work, alas, there is, in my opinion, little professional input. We have encountered (particularly in the novel entitled "Victory") a downcast style in portraying characters, unexpressive, flat phrases, colorless landscapes when describing one place of action or another, newspaper dryness and civic complacency when creating various political and historical circumstances, and also (in the last published poetry by S. Mikhalkov) an attraction to rhythmic verbosity, to a distressing banality of word and idea, an obvious lack of demandingness on the part of the poet with respect to his verses. Briefly, we have encountered the kind of professional omissions which could have been eliminated if the editors or critics had read this poetry with friendly, party-like attention, and were not blinded by the radiance. This radiance, when evaluating a literary work inevitably ruins the reader's taste, places allusions in the minds of the authors which are far from artistic sobriety, and their colleagues gradually get the idea that the path to ideological and artistic perfection lies through the literary and supervisory elite.

The star-struck gaze is a method of cognition of reality and as a criterion for evaluating literary works is also typical of many of our magazines, for there is no other way to explain the surprising sameness of them all. These

are social and ideological subtropics, and not magazines: everything in them is eternally green, everything is moderate, everything is well-rounded, and everything turns out all right. The basis of this unabating placidity, its nutritive environment--cold-blooded, ingratiating, well-intentioned realism--this is what we call that surprising creative method that has arisen during postwar years. Its distinguishing feature is that it shoves out of the way and camouflages the suffering human heart in the concrete of the industrial novel, all the other passions of the political novel, and the "all-knowing" stories of daily disorders. The heart of our contemporary has been lured into the labyrinth of many years of idle verbiage and deceit, it has swollen up from the long-lived impossibility of telling the truth, the alarming filial truth about economic and social troubles and, finally, troubles in the area of the spirit.

The spiritual renewal, rebirth, rearrangement of the society requires immediate practical steps to provide for this renewal, without which any attempts at renewal will end up as empty words. What do I have in mind? Moscow writers (and there are more than 2,000 of them in Moscow) need their own artistic and sociopolitical journal, which will make it possible to a considerable degree to realize the great spiritual values that are created by Moscow writers.

M. Slutskis (Lithuania)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 5

[Text] For some time in the West they have been "concerned" not only with Russian literature, but also with other Soviet literatures. Unfortunately, this has by no means grown into a desire to know them better, and certainly not to make them accessible to their own uninformed readers. But the literary people of our republics, for example, the Baltic Republic, under socialist conditions have not comprehensively developed their national creative potential, but have also created a solid translation base for assimilating the basic fund of world literature.

It is quite clear that at the present time there is no point in demanding reciprocity. All we would like is a little more order. For it is no secret that anti-communists take advantage of interest in our literature for something quite different than educational purposes. They are trying to discredit not so much art itself as the spiritual values and the moral image of the socialist society.

Our opponents try to base their diagnoses on references to changes in Soviet literature. It is natural that during the course of the historical process both thematic-problem strata and figural-design forms change in any one of the Soviet literatures. There would hardly be any of our foreign critics with any common sense at all who would expect that in the given stage, when the party has so resolutely entered upon the eradication of social evil and economic absurdities, the Soviet writers would begin to compose odes. We already have more than enough of these. Fortunately, in the bosom of our literature there has long been ripening a protest against arrogance and obtuseness, the lack of awareness of the principles of socialist morality and social justice.

But, while we do not need anybody's unsolicited concern, we will certainly not try to delude ourselves or anybody else. Severe, artistically outstanding things are still rare. Nor are there many works that are simply intelligent and serious or intelligent but "not serious" either: humorous, satiric, grotesque and generally original, which do not involve themselves in the customary norms and concepts either through their unexpected view of reality or through their means of expression.

Unless we can resolutely depart from what is generally accepted, which might contain something interesting but it has already become familiar, we will not be able to master time, to penetrate into its essence so that our efforts will not melt away along with calendar time. Unless we can break away from the ordinary horizon of thinking, we will not be able to look into the problems and psychology of our contemporaries with such penetration that this will be a discovery not only for him, but also for those who follow him.

In recent years there has been a bureaucratization of the writer's life, and a bureaucratization of the process of book publication in the country. A good deal has already been said about this question here. I shall allow myself to touch upon a couple of particular aspects.

In the campaign for imaginary savings, strict reprimands have been given to those publishers who, in spite of prohibitions and because of long tradition, have continued to print poetry differently from prose, that is, not all run together, and not crowding the pages into a thin book, as though they were shoved into a trunk. Or let us take "works" and "selected books" which are sometimes printed for older writers. The prose writer or the poet, it turns out, does not have the right to include either criticism or commentary in such a publication, even though he has worked on it throughout all of his creative life.

Such fine points--what to include in any addition and how--should be resolved not by the higher department, but by the publishing house and the author in keeping with the specific literary factors and a respect for individuality. And it is quite abnormal to have a policy where by the books of 1988, for example, have been on the publisher's desk since 1985.

Of course, books are also produced more rapidly and there is always a certain planning reserve and all kinds of exceptions are made, but why, when asked, should the exception be made into the norm? Why keep the writer on the planning leash for years, impeding his research? Perhaps otherwise he would quit wasting time with the "compulsory" and would write something "noncompulsory," something that was not taken into account.

Book production is complicated and labor-intensive. But it is one thing to have a plan for years and sometimes even a decade in advance, when entire libraries of literature or libraries of classics are being organized, and it is another to have a structure for the living artistic process with its changeability and unexpected occurrences. If something worthwhile appears at the beginning of 1986 it would be most reasonable to publish it during that same year. It goes without saying that it is not smooth, it is disturbing and

it is even risky to work this way. But then there would be no need to sit around bored, thinking up more and more new instructions. In all circumstances it is necessary to be aware that literature does not exist for the convenience of the publishing mechanism, but this mechanism exists for literature.

O. Suleymenov (Kazakhstan)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 10

[Text] Our congress has been in progress for several days. And it is obvious that we are searching for forms of discussion that will be worthy of such a meeting.

Why hide it: the congress gives rise to a question which is appearing frequently this year. Will the transition period be a time of realization of the people's hope or will its energy go for satisfying frustrated ambitions? It is being attended by more than 70 old and young literary people who have flown for thousands of kilometers from all corners of the country in order to discuss how things will be with us under the changing conditions. How can we improve our interaction, how do we remove the obstacles from the path between the writer's word and the reader? And what are these obstacles?

We do not yet have just one truth; there are many of them--truths. There is popular truth, state truth, artistic truth, which for some reason is distinguished from the truth of life. Moscow readers are hungering for a strictness of frameworks. But directors and writers in the capital are still not being given the rights to do anything more than priority subjects and complete realism. Perhaps the norm is increased according to the degree of talent? But, after all, in other areas there are also large talents, and life is not any easier for them.

By implanting in literature a standard plan and supporting and rewarding books that are lackluster and standard but correct from their viewpoints, those who play it safe retard the natural course of the development of literature. This faulty system of criticism and incentives has motivated people to produce unquestionable, "useful" works. Is there any need to explain what harm such a "cultural policy" causes to young Soviet literary people?

Recalling that literature is a part of general party business, we consider it appropriate to draw the congress's attention to the interrelations between writers' organizations and the local ideological leadership. The rates and quality of the development of national culture depend on the personal qualities, the preparedness and the intelligence of the leadership. We cannot judge party leadership of art according to the final result. If, for example, for many decades a republic has been contributing to the unionwide and world cultural process brilliant and significant works of all genres of art--be they novels, poems, movies, music or painting--this is a result of fruitful cooperation between party leadership and creative forces. And what difficult and responsible work it is to maintain a favorable climate in which one will not find the stunted plants of the millenia and new ones will sprout up vigorously! And in this flourishing culture there is no fear of any kind of

weather. We bow deeply to you members of the party intelligentsia, who are real patriots and internationalists!

Local writers' unions cannot defend a book if a bureaucrat has criticized its ideology. It is as though his opinion is nothing less than the evaluation of the entire party. And the fate of the book has been decided. And frequently the fate of the author as well. And when one meets such toadies one thinks: He should be a gardener and he is working as a lumberjack.

The complete truth includes both modernity and history. And sometime we will have to fill in the dotted line from the recent past and explain to the readers why we are not writing candidly about the 1930's, about collectivization, for example. An entire generation of literary people who have gone through and experienced that time have passed this period by silently, and without understanding this there is a great deal about modern times that we cannot explain. And our works about it, lacking living ties with the past, will not attain their complete value.

The best writers of the country have met in this auditorium. For centuries, through inspiration and heredity the energy of talent has been gathered and transmitted from generation to generation in order to burst into flame in man. How important it is to maintain this fire, this zeal and clarity, to give it time and the possibility of being transformed into the light of knowledge and the warmth of wisdom!

G. Tsitsishvili (Georgia)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 5

[Text] Centuries are like people. Like people, they are happy and unhappy, poor and rich, long and short, similar to one another and dissimilar, and each one has its own face, its own biography, its own name.

Our century is not like any other one of the preceding centuries. It has had a quite different destiny--it has marked the beginning of the new era in the history of mankind. And although only 14 years are left until the end of our century, it would seem that it is precisely these years that will precisely determine its historical significance. During this period we must travel a path equal in length to the one our country has traveled from 1917 until the present day.

Under these conditions there is an immeasurable increase in the role of the psychological mood of the people, the human factor.

One can say quite definitely (of course, not to offend other spheres of culture) that for restructuring thinking there is no force more powerful than artistic literature. Not a single other kind of art can compare with it. Literature is the fundamental basis for spiritual culture, the master of the mind, and the strongest means of ennobling man and establishing beauty and faith in what is good.

We Soviet writers are aware that this places on us a kind of responsibility which no other historic epoch has ever placed on artistic literature. Georgian writers also understand this very well. Recently they have created a number of impressive works of high ideological content and artistic quality.

As always, Georgian poets are in the vanguard of the literary process. Our prose writers have also worked very well, many of them achieving unionwide and international recognition. Georgian dramaturgy has entered the large arena. Plays written by our authors are being produced on stages of the country and abroad. Georgian films have won worldwide renown, and the movie writers deserve a great deal of credit for this. Commentary has become widespread. Children's and youth literature and translation work are also developing successfully.

Abkhaz literature, where a number of talented writers have appeared, has moved far ahead. Writers of Southern Ossetia are also involved in creative work.

But we have one large chronic shortcoming which, incidentally, is also typical of other literary people--the lack of a proper large-scale attractive image of modern man.

Only after having successfully resolved the immense tasks of the present day, and having eliminated the shortcomings on our path that were discussed courageously and openly here will we be able to provide everything necessary for man's complete happiness.

Without denigrating the educational significance or denying the importance of historical revolutionary themes, I should like to emphasize that our most important tasks today require a resolute turnabout in the direction of modernity, its inherent needs, for it is easiest to restructure the thinking of contemporary people using the material of contemporary reality.

It would seem that we Soviet writers must penetrate more deeply into the essence of the historic decisions made by the party. Without a profound mastery of new tendencies, it is impossible to depict the problems of today's reality with a view to the future.

A good deal is being said about our literary criticism today, and most of it is disapproving. One gets the impression that even the critics themselves are losing their desire to speak about criticism. In this connection I wish to say only one thing: it is now necessary to be more seriously concerned about renewing the personnel and the reserves of critics. Without this we will not get off the spot. In particular it is necessary to encourage artists of the word to engage in critical creativity and develop a taste for criticism.

It is necessary also to radically revise the attitude toward literary youth, to release them from excessive tutelage, and to increase demandingness. Attentiveness and sensitivity should not stand in the way of demandingness. Professionalization that comes too early is a great evil. Young people will still unrevealed capabilities who have never really worked anywhere and who,

essentially, have never been members of a labor collective, in their drive for earthly goods are energetically joining writers' unions. It is necessary to create a reliable guarantee against this.

We Soviet writers must understand deeply and comprehensively the force and significance of the inviolable fraternity of nations. And we must not only understand and not only be voices of the greatest behest of socialist communal living, but we must also be consistent leaders and reliable guards of internationalism. But nonetheless certain writers and managers of literary press agencies make gross mistakes when it comes to this. In the May issue of the magazine NASH SOVREMENNİK for this year (S. V. Mikhalkov discussed this before me) we read with bitterness and vexation the story by the writer Viktor Astafyev entitled "Gudgeon Fishing in Georgia," in which the author, resorting to unconscionable generalizations, crudely and tactlessly wrote about the morals and customs of the Georgian people, presenting national peculiarities in a false light.

We Soviet writers, inspired by the greatest creative program for the future which is provided by the party have an expansive mood and an insurmountable desire to work for the good of the people. And this is a sign that our multinational army of writers, having renewed its creative arsenal and the spirit of new requirements and having overcome all difficulties, will reach new goals.

G. Troyepolskiy (Voronezh)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 11

[Excerpts] But here Anatoliy Ivanov listed these names as evidence that we have a great Soviet literature, and he named many: Markov, Prokhanov and Galina Nikolayeva. But he forgot Tvardovskiy. He does not exist in our great literature, it turns out! But who of us sitting here has any doubt that we have a great Soviet multinational literature? I do not think that there is any such person among us. It exists, this multinational literature, which began with Gorky, and there are several landmarks on the path of Soviet literature, and one of the greatest of them is Aleksandr Tvardovskiy.

There is a great literature. And there are great and extremely talented poets and prose writers! In response to a groundless, as it were, indirect accusation that we do not have it, that somebody thinks this, it is necessary to give names. But one must also include the names of those who made up, who created this great literature. I am speaking of those who have died.

And there is a lackluster literature; people have spoken about this a great deal. But why is it still proliferating? Why is this literature, which stands out especially next to our real literature produced by talent--why is it developing?

It still seems to me that I have established the reason why it continues to live and exist. A lackluster person, when speaking about lackluster literature, never called it lackluster. The principle is this: a lackluster person calls another person lackluster, but one lackluster person carries another.

It is necessary, of course, for the new management to take those same measures against lackluster work which have been discussed so much here, and which I do not wish to repeat.

But we also have real criticism. We do! In spite of the fact that for five people in the Moscow organization there is only one critic. We have already discussed this. That is, the proliferation of critics proceeds according to the same principle as in literature. And here real literature and real criticism proceed along a road, but grey literature and grey criticism move along the side of the road, which is somewhat broader than the road itself.

On what principle does gray criticism exist? Where are its sources and what is its foundation? Here I shall give you another aphorism: "A mosquito with an oak club, a wolf with a needle, and a lion with a comb."

That is one thing. When speaking about criticism, it seems to me, it would be worthwhile for the new management to draw attention to this question. We have a whole number of real critics who are outside the mainstream. I will give one name--Vladimir Lakshin. Yes, his basic work on A. Ostrovskiy will remain not for decades, but longer. And he was not even invited to the congress, he is not here! Well, this means that according to the principle I have already mentioned, apparently, it is also necessary to change our attitudes toward critics. For what is the worst thing in criticism? It is the uneducated critic, the critic with dull thinking, the critic with the position "I will write whatever you want me to." To free ourselves from this is one of our most important tasks.

Yu. Umarbekov (Uzbekistan)

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 5

[Text] Defining the significance of art, Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy wrote that one of the foundations in an artistic work is the moral attitude of the author toward the subject being written about, without which artistic literature is impossible. This thought of the great writer, which also included such concepts as justice, honor, principles and civic activity, becomes especially crucial today, when a decisive change is taking place in our lives.

During the report period in Uzbek literature we have created many brilliant and significant works in prose, poetry and dramaturgy, which will be a stable part of the spiritual world of the multinational Soviet reader for a long time. It is gratifying to note that in addition to the senior artist--K. Yashen, who created a broad epic work, a novel about the founder of Uzbek Soviet literature Khamze; Uygun and Zulfiya, who enriched the library of Uzbek

Soviet poetry with cycles of new verse; and talented representatives of the middle generation--a gifted young literary generation has risen up and is maturing.

Everything that has taken place in Uzbekistan--the gross violations of socialist law and order, thefts and bribe taking, unprincipled behavior, silence about shortcomings and omissions, unrestrained toadying to senior officials who were placed and supported by the former leadership of the republic--could not but have a negative effect in the literature as well. And we writers bear responsibility for all of this.

Let us say directly: on many, many pages authors have described in sugary terms imaginary successes and achievements, not wanting to notice any crucial problems, not to mention shortcomings, in the real life of the republic. They have left the rank-and-file worker in the shadows--this true creator of life and the bearer of the best moral principles.

It is terrible to think that it is precisely those critics who have ascribed the true purpose to artistic literature, a moral attitude toward life, who today speak more loudly than the rest about the need for moral purification and a sharp turnabout, who teach writers about adherence to principles and refusal to be compromised, without at the same time wanting to recognize their own mistakes.

Allow me also to discuss the fact that the USSR Writers' Union and its creative councils are not very interested in the state of affairs in literature of Uzbekistan and they have not seen or did not wish to see those phenomena which have led it away from truth and realism. During the report period the number of people in the republic writers' organization, because of the sharp reduction of demands and because of considerations of a nonliterary nature, has almost doubled. This situation has had a negative effect on the creative climate in the writers' environment. It has been exacerbated also by the fact that in our union ideological and educational work has become weaker. As a result there is a departure from the crucial problems of modernity, and a nostalgia for the past which frequently is accompanied by an incorrect class and political interpretation of historical events and personality.

The republic party organization under the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee has provided the appropriate evaluation of the negative phenomena and has declared a decisive and uncompromising war against them. The positive strides are already in evidence, but the fight is continuing, and an immense role here is assigned to literary people. The writer, regardless of the genre in which he may work and regardless of the life or historical classes he may have risen from, must first of all be honest and have an unshakeable civic courage, an uncompromising and clear conscience, and high communist morality.

A radical and profound restructuring is taking place in the literature of Uzbekistan today, and it is being created through the friendly efforts of writers who are Uzbek and Russian, Karakalpak and Crimeo-Tatar, Uighur and Korean. The life of the creative councils and sections has become more active

and more vital. We have put an end to meaningless meetings and bureaucratic administrative business. We are devoting more attention to ideological, moral and professional education of talented youth.

Further successes in the development of our multinational literature will depend to a considerable degree also on the solutions to a number of urgent organizational problems. I have in mind such a pressing problem as the creation of a Theater of Friendship of Peoples in Moscow, which even Gorky dreamed about. This was also discussed at the 7th Congress of Writers of the USSR.

With the undoubted successes we have achieved in the matter of reciprocal translation and publication, one should still mention the fact that time requires new solutions in this matter. One can still see subjectivism and random selection. We should like to bring more order and collegial work into this. This will serve as an incentive for the development of each of the national literatures and will enrich our common spiritual treasurehouse.

There is not a single people, nor a single nation on earth which has not had truth and justice as its moral ideal. The Uzbek people are no exception. They have proved this throughout their history. Every new generation must fight for truth and justice. At our congress today we are also having a direct and concrete discussion of this, for herein lies the main significance of the Soviet writer, his calling, and his party, civic and creative duty!

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CSO: 1800/473

CULTURE

DEMICHEV CHAIRS CULTURAL FOUNDATION COMMITTEE SESSION

LD291357 Moscow TASS in English 1211 GMT 29 Aug 86

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS--A meeting of the Organizing Committee of the Soviet Cultural Foundation was held here today. It was chaired by Petr Demichev, an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, first vice-president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Reports were given by Vasiliy Zakharov, minister of culture of the U.S.S.R., and Boris Ugarov, president of the Academy of Fine Arts of the U.S.S.R.

The speakers noted that the Soviet Cultural Foundation should give all-round support for the public initiatives devised to promote professional and amateur artistic pursuits.

It was also emphasized that the Soviet Cultural Foundation should take an active part in the effort to develop international cultural ties and exchanges, in the search for and return home of relics of the country's culture having nation-wide importance.

The organizing committee discussed and approved in the main the draft charter of the Soviet Cultural Foundation.

It was decided to hold the constituent conference in Moscow in November.

The conference will examine the foundation's tasks and guidelines of its activities, endorse its charter and elect the guiding bodies.

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CSO: 1800/606

CULTURE

IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF ROCK MUSIC DEBATED

Pros and Cons Debated

Ashkhabad KOMSOMOLETS TURKMENISTANA in Russian 22 May 86 p 5

[Article by Yu. Prudkov, electrofitter and leader of a musical group at the Ashkhabad City House of Culture, under the rubric "Viewpoint": "'Disco': Don't Come Too Close?": Polemical Comments By the Leader of a Musical Group"]

[Text] Yes, we are going to be talking about music, about rock and disco. About "Eruption" and "Mannfred Mann". About "Mashina vremeni" [The Time Machine] and "Destan". About fashion and imitation. About the true and the false. And so on, and so forth.

More than a decade of regular music studies gives me cause to share some ideas on this topic. Perhaps these ideas will not seem very original, debatable or strange, but it was a hard road that I took to arrive at this conviction, an agonizing one filled with doubts. Finally I made a discovery.

A discovery which at first astounded me. I, who just the day before had considered myself a fan and connoisseur of the fashionable trends and groups, had now come to the firm, irrevocable conclusion that all the brands of rock and disco music and the numerous branches and variations of them which have been cultivated in our Soviet society, are just plain old rubbish. They are as far removed from real musical art as, for instance, a monkey is from a man.

Any assertion must first of all be proven, my opponents will object. All right, I will attempt to do so.

Let us take, for example, the foreign groups which are adherents of the rock genre. Indeed, at times this music does express rebellion and protest -- against war and violence, against the "laws of the jungle" which prevail in Western society, etc.

Well, how does this genre look, what does it express, in arrangements by our so-called rock groups?! Consider "Mashina vremeni." At one time it overshadowed all other groups in this country; it enjoyed and continues to enjoy well-deserved fame and popularity.

I remember how hard it was to get tickets to the show at the Palace of Sports (this was in Novosibirsk). When I drove up to the place where the concert was to be held, at first I could not believe my eyes. Something inconceivable was going on, sort of like a medieval pilgrimage to the "holy father" who sold indulgences. At all the entrances to the Palace there stood beefed-up ranks of militiamen, who were having a hard time keeping order in this excited, packed crowd. Fortunately, it appeared that everything was going smoothly.

Finally the audience took its seats and the concert began. After the first few numbers I had a weird feeling: it was impossible to tell if I were at a musical event or a bullfight. It seemed that the audience was on the verge of tearing down everything in sight. Just exactly the way young people in the West do at concerts by their rock idols.

And then, several years later, I recalled this parallel unexpectedly and clearly. I realized that this sort of music does not simply encourage people not to think, but in fact does everything possible to encourage mindlessness and evoke people's elemental nature and, if you like, the herd instinct. But whereas the reasons for the origin and development of the "rock" style in the West are easy enough to explain, in our country this style of music has absolutely no basis whatsoever. And that is worth noting: older generations of Soviet people do not reject this music because they, our fathers and mothers, have simply fallen behind the times, are old-fashioned or merely do not understand. Such music is quite simply ALIEN to our way of perceiving things. Alien to our age-old traditions and folk roots, alien to our morals and principles, alien to our world view and ideology.

Consequently, "new wave," under which people were quick to include "Mashina vremeni" and their successors/imitators such as "Alfa", "Kruiz" and "Voskreseniye" [Sunday/Resurrection] and the like, is not at all a new phenomenon in the music world. It is merely a pitiful imitation of something which already exists and is well-established in the discotheques of the "free world."

Now a word about disco. This is a genre of music which at first glance would seem to be completely different from rock, yet its result, its effect on listeners, is roughly the same. This music does not have the main prerequisite: the ability to inspire people. Try this experiment: mentally remove from a song or melody all the "improvisational" layers created by synthesizers, and leave just the "bare" rhythm. Isn't it true that in terms of amplitude it is strongly reminiscent of primitive ritual dances around a fire?

Yes, I am prepared to assert that such music neither helps inspire people nor aids in their intellectual development, and does in fact puts the brakes on social progress. These rhythms cut young men and women off from reality and teach them to kill time in a mindless, useless fashion; they promote idleness and social apathy. Naturally the degree of effect on listeners is not the same for everyone. For instance, if a young person has spent the entire day doing concentrated mental labor, disco or rock music are a means of "forgetting oneself" or "unwinding," whereas the effect on members of other professions would be quite different. But this should not be taken to mean

that it is "all right" for a scientist, for example, to be entertained by popular rhythms, but "not all right" for a worker. The braking effect occurs in all cases, it is merely the braking force which differs.

There is an expression to the effect that "music is the language of the emotions." This means that truly emotional music should evoke an analogous reaction in its listeners: optimism, enthusiasm, pure melancholy, sadness, joy, tenderness, pensiveness, rapture... But what then, allow me to ask, is the basis for "works" which arouse the baser instincts, mindlessness, triviality, blind protest, alienation, nihilism and similar rubbish which is unacceptable in our society?

Let us frankly admit that at the present time "imported" music still overshadows our domestic pop music. I wish to be understood correctly: I am not opposed to Toto Kutunyo and other excellent folk singers and musicians, whose works I listen to with great pleasure. I am opposed to all forms of imitation and copying.

I am firmly convinced that we must develop an immunity to mindless worship of "their" music.

In this direction a lot could be done by the groups which are well known in this republic. But such a highly professional group as "Destan" is less popular and has less influence on young people's tastes than a group of rogues -- the so-called imposter bakhshi (Central Asian folk musicians and storytellers). This despite the fact that the latter are musical thieves in the truest sense of the word: they have nothing which they can call their own, everything has been imitated or, more precisely, stolen from others. It is quite remarkable how quickly the disco style was adopted by the imposters' camp. But why should this come as a surprise? The main thing is not to think, but to make money.

As for the group "Destan," it seems to me that all the compliments which we have heard and which continue to be heard about them are obviously overblown. And if they were given in advance, then the group has not proven worthy of them. The feeling one gets at their concerts: from the speakers being turned up all the way, all you can hear is noise. And consider their broken rhythm. You get the feeling that all their instruments are in one auditorium and their percussion section is in another. They attempt to "listen to" each other, but do not succeed at it.

The various discotheques and recording studios are no less responsible for the development of an immunity to anti-music and to distorted rhythms. At the present time so much dirt has accumulated there that one could clean up for days and days.

Those are the ideas which I wanted to share with you, "Argument." I think that I am not the only one who has made this kind of discovery.

Rock Music Defended

Ashkhabad KOMSOMOLETS TURKMENISTANA in Russian 26 Jun 86 p 4

[Article by V. Mikhaylov under the rubric "Polemical Comments": "Ban... the Tango?"]

[Text] I happened to read an interesting article in the "Argument" section on 22 May of this year, titled "'Disco': Don't Come Too Close?". I am not sure which it provoked more of: incomprehension or outrage. But it is a fact that it made me do some thinking. And I would like to share some of those thoughts with you.

For those who did not read the article I'll summarize it here: the subject of the article was music which is "alien" to us -- rock, disco, etc. Incidentally, this quality of being "alien" was explained in very vague terms, among which were age-old traditions, folk roots, and our morals and ideology. But the vagueness did not originate with these concepts, which are in themselves quite clear and understandable, but rather with the way in which the author sought to link them to music. And this, it seems to me, was the crux of the article.

In this connection I recall an interesting fact drawn from recent history. At the beginning of this century, when the Argentine tango was beginning its triumphal march around the globe, there were some very ardent opponents of the new dance. Their camp included churchmen, headed by the Pope himself. They regarded the tango as anathema and declared it an "invention of the devil." However, the dance's popularity was so great that it continued to be danced even by devout Catholics, despite the fact that it had been banned by their spiritual father.

The tango has conquered the whole world, the whole world without exception, and I can say with confidence that in terms of musical culture it has not caused the slightest harm to any of the world's peoples. It has also enriched many peoples. The Pope's whim has come to be regarded as merely another manifestation of clerical obscurantism.

I scarcely need to remind readers that beginning in the 1930's jazz music began to spread around the planet. Jazz has also significantly enriched world musical culture with new musical forms and new composers and performers. However, there were also people who opposed jazz, and their main argument was that it was "alien" music.

Those who are today inclined to indiscriminately dismiss rock music and disco in all their diverse forms are likely to wind up in the role of the Pope who banned the tango.

Let us take an unbiased look at the issue. Any musical phenomenon, regardless of how strange, incomprehensible and alien it may seem at first glance, should be evaluated objectively. And obviously this evaluation should begin with recognition of the fact that the music in question is in fact accepted. Accepted by the many musicians who play it, and accepted by the many people

who listen to it. Incidentally, as regards folk roots: the people have always created the kind of music which they wanted to listen to. The desire to listen has always been the most clear-cut criterion. And if the people want to listen to rock music -- and that can no longer be denied -- then that means that this type of music has passed the most important test of its authenticity. The mass audience stands above any considerations of politics or economics -- it listens to what it likes.

The article under discussion here does not include the expression "commercial music," which is usually used in the angriest commentaries, but it can somehow be sensed. However, the author has obviously not taken into account the fact that at the foundations of the "alien" musical phenomena at which he lashes out are the very same popular roots, simply belonging to other peoples. This is all that is wrong with them. The word "commercial" with respect to music is somewhat far-fetched. If something is "commercial" it can be sold. If it can be sold, then that means it is in demand. From this point of view, Beethoven's sonatas, Tchaikovsky's concerts and Bach's organ pieces would come under the same heading, as huge quantities of their albums are sold in this country.

Obviously, any new phenomenon, not just in music, should not be dismissed out of hand because it is "alien," but should rather be studied carefully, in order to extract that kernel which is useful in one's own culture. Because it is interaction between cultures which is the best way of developing and enriching them.

Permit me to quote from the article "`Disco': Don't Come Too Close?". It poses a rhetorical question, an unanswered question, as follows: "But then what, allow me to ask, is the basis for `works' if they arouse the baser instincts, mindlessness, triviality, blind protest, alienation and nihilism...?" It is a pity that the author did not answer this question himself. Their basis is the same seven notes and the same scale indicated in music by the letter "C" which prompted composers of past centuries, as well as, incidentally, those of the present century, to create works of genius. It is unclear what connection exists between this scale and nihilism, blind protest and alienation.

The author, I believe, is correct on only one point. That is where he says that our groups often "ape" others, taking orders blindly from without, and being guided by them. It is obvious that we should sow all the seeds which come from afar in our native soil, in order to see whether they will germinate or not. If they do germinate, fine: that means that our native music will become even richer and more diverse. If not, then such is fate... or else there was a lack of patience or ability. I can think of one good example of this: Belorussian folk songs performed by the rock group "Pesnyary" seem to reveal new facets, and have become popular throughout the whole country without losing their original uniqueness in the process.

I would like to correct one other mistake made by the author of this article: it is very easy to crush any phenomenon if one judges it by its worst features. One finds the dregs everywhere, but any process is characterized not by them, but rather by its best achievements. For some reason the best

groups which play in a rock or disco style were not mentioned by the author. Yet they have been received with enthusiasm and gratitude by the most serious music critics, including those in this country.

It is easy to dismiss something. It is more difficult to understand it and to keep the precious kernels of world culture and the fruits of human labor and talent from slipping by one's heart.

Rock Music As Social Problem

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Aug 86 p 3

[Roundtable discussion between Yu. S. Saulskiy, composer and honored artist of the RSFSR; B. M. Berlyand, chief of the Market and Demand Department of the Central House of Phonograph Records; A. Yu. Gavrilov, music critic; V. S. Korovin, artistic director for Moskontsert; S. E. Lenskiy, chairman of the board of the Melodiya Music Lovers' Society and member of the arts council of the All-Union Melodiya Recording Company; A. Ye. Petrov, musicologist and member of the USSR Union of Composers; A. V. Sitkovetskiy, leader of the rock group "Avtograf"; V. S. Skatkov, head of the Festival Department of Moskontsert; and V. S. Markov, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA editor. The discussion was chaired by P. Gurin, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent. Article appeared under the rubric "MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA Roundtable": "Is Light Music Really Light?"]

[Text] Light music, pop music, everyday music, music for young people... There are many definitions of this phenomenon, some of them in agreement, some of them differing. But at this time there remain more problems and mutually exclusive opinions. These are what we will be addressing today. Our editorial board has set up a public council, under whose guidance a selection of articles on the problems of pop music will be published. Participating in this "roundtable" discussion were Yu. S. Saulskiy, B. M. Berlyand, A. Yu. Gavrilov, V. S. Korovin, S. E. Lenskiy, A. Ye. Petrov, A. V. Sitkovetskiy and V. S. Skatkov. V. S. Markov, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA editor, also took part in the discussion.

[Gurin] Unfortunately, not all those who were invited to take part in our public council could attend today's meeting here at our editorial offices. But since the majority are here, let us discuss the idea of publishing in our newspaper a series of articles devoted to the problems of popular music. What should the series be like? What should be written about? How should it be written? There are many questions... And they are made more complicated by the fact that for a long time the party press devoted scarcely any attention to them. There is even a crude stereotype which has resulted: young people listen to pop music, so let the youth press write about it. But, firstly, popular music is listened to (and written, and performed) not just by young people. And secondly, within a few years -- before we know it -- young people will have become the adult generation. And if today they connect almost all of their free time with popular music, then to relegate it to the youth press alone would be simply shortsighted.

[Markov] Why do our newspaper's editors attach significance to this issue? We must examine contemporary popular music and look at it with an expert eye. For that purpose this public council has been created. Things which are of social significance, for good or for ill, should receive the attention of the party press. If a phenomenon is widespread in society, that means that it is serious and requires that it be judged objectively and with a sufficient degree of competence.

I cannot judge "light" music with complete competence, but I am concerned by the fact that a significant portion of our young people find foreign music prestigious: some are fans of English performers, for instance, others like Italian performers, and they are often fanatical fans. They do not even consider those who do not share their tastes to be people. What we are talking about here today is not differences in tastes. Our newspaper wants to get to the bottom of issues which are of social significance and attempt to find some criteria according to which it would be possible to mold those tastes in a purposeful manner, without infringing on anyone's entertainment, merely cutting down on that which is harmful, harmful both from an ideological standpoint and even from a physiological standpoint. They say about modern pop music that it even causes cows to stop giving milk; certain forms of music have a destructive effect on the nervous system.

Comrades, we need your skilled assistance to get to the bottom of this issue, to exert an influence through intelligent criticism and documented proof of what is good and what is bad. This is our common task, and it will require a certain expenditure of your time and energy. The more interesting and substantial the articles are, the greater chance this new column will have of becoming viable.

[Petrov] Gathered here today are people accustomed to writing, therefore I feel that the editors' appeal will not go unanswered. But we should immediately define for whom we will be writing. We should clearly realize that we are basically working with young people between the ages of 20 and 25. But in recent years we have observed that among the most fervent rock fans are now people who were not previously represented in that group. Now we are talking about 17-18-year-olds, and 12-15-year-olds as well. That is, there has occurred a downward expansion of the age level of popular music fans. Among those in their 30's and older there is no comparable enthusiasm, no such fervor. For them pop music is no longer the most important thing in life. A question: where is there room for the great classics, for Beethoven, Shostakovich, Bach, Tchaikovsky? And folk performers? And traditional musical revues? It is impossible to confine all of mankind's musical entertainment to one circle. Classical works are reflected well enough in other publications, so it would be better to leave aside the classics. This is a series for young people; we are dealing with that which is of mass popular interest. That is, "light" music, in short, everything besides symphonic music, ballet, Russian choruses, chamber music groups, the Borodin Quartet...

[Gurin] Those who have gathered here are interested in listening to various genres of pop music. But we are not in the 20-25 category. I feel that our

series should be of interest to all age groups. It may be interesting in different ways, but it should be interesting to everyone.

[Saulskiy] At meetings of this public council we will be stirring up a massive number of issues. It is good that MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA will be running this sort of musical column. We are interested in it, and will do everything possible to be of assistance.

Right off I would like to take exception to something Petrov said. A crucial aspect, a very complex one. This column should be devoted to popular music. But there is no need to act as if serious music did not exist at all. Let us reject the idea of the existence of various musical genres. Each one has its own audience and its significance for all people. But there is no need to contrast them. On this point we should have a very flexible policy, some breadth in our point of view. It is precisely the musical breadth of articles by Arkadiy Evgenyevich Petrov which I like. I enjoyed reading Gavrilov's correspondence with the "rock dilettante" in AVRORA. This is the sort of breadth which we should cultivate among young people.

Concerning the age of our readers. Of course they will be primarily young people. But nonetheless we will be read by all, or almost all, of this newspaper's subscribers. People of various ages subscribe to MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA. This is a serious party newspaper, and therefore we should stand on a broad aesthetic foundation. More education for older people who because of their age reject that which young people accept. They are the ones who will have problems with the rock music style. The inertia of rejection is still great. Yet a great deal which is interesting has appeared on the rock music scene. With good reason Mark Fradkin took note of the group "Bravo," which talks about things which concern young people, albeit in a course fashion. Or publicistic things from the group "Avtograf". Or the things that "Mashina vremeni" is doing... These are efforts to talk about something honestly, although not always tactfully or skillfully.

[Gavrilov] Incidentally, "Mashina vremeni" was challenging us to fight alcoholism ten years ago.

[Saulskiy] We should devote particular attention to that group. Because it has demonstrated its viability and become a rock music standard. But, speaking in broad terms, it is difficult for us today to define what is rock music and what is not, because we are its contemporaries. A more or less clear-cut categorization can only be arrived at after some time has passed.

[Gavrilov] But every time period has its own evaluations and its own issues. The stereotype which says that if I listen to the "Beatles" I am against Beethoven has not been completely eliminated. Except that today it is stated like this: if I listen to heavy metal that means I am against everything else. In the series which we are going to write we need to consistently pursue a course of adult patience toward all genres. If an author writes about the pressing issues of present-day art, of modern piano or chamber music, and if he does it in a vital and interesting fashion, that could be interesting to any reader, regardless of age. We also need to tell how and

why our contemporary rock music is in contradiction to Western manifestations of rock music. The purpose of this column, in my opinion, should be to bring up issues which are meaningful to everyone. We need for musicians and other competent individuals to share their thoughts and experience and bring up timely issues without dividing music into genres, but instead presenting it as it is. In that case the question of what to write about, rock music or chamber music, will be a moot point. Music can be divided into good and bad, not into genres.

[Saulskiy] Nevertheless, popular music should have first priority, and if we bring in other genres we should do so only from the standpoint of pop music fans. If we completely erase the boundary between "light" music and "serious" music we will lose our precise orientation. Whom are we actually going to be writing for?

[Korovin] Any letter be addressed precisely. Ours is addressed to young people. We do not need to limit ourselves to a set of narrow issues, but the address should be precise. If the address is the right one, the series will be interesting to people of other age groups as well.

The fact that this newspaper came up with the idea of running this kind of column is good. And necessary. We have long been feeling a lack of precise and intelligent information. For this reason Moskontsert will bring the most interesting people to the pages of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA.

[Lenskiy] In my opinion the most important question is not what to write about, but rather how to write. It is possible to review classical works in such a manner as to be interesting even to children. I know this by personal experience: our Melodiya Music Lovers Society acts as a patron of music schools. Incidentally, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA has written about our discotheques for serious music in childrens music schools. It appeared that we had a ready audience there, but we clarified the situation: children in music schools learn the basics of performance, but do not love or know music. But philophonists -- people who are well acquainted with classical music and who love it -- were able to entertain children. Children come to our discotheques and are interested in finding out about the musical world of Tchaikovsky, Shostakovich, Stravinsky...

[Gurin] That is, to introduce Tchaikovsky to the musical experience of the rock audience unobtrusively and subtly?

[Saulskiy] Yes, exactly so. Like saying, look, readers, how interesting this is: by completely different methods a symphonic work can produce the same mood, the same thoughts, as those transmitted by a rock group... That is to say, here are phenomena created by different means but the essence of which is the same. And we must not forget even for a moment that we are addressing young readers, which means that we must address their interests. We should not write condescendingly, but rather in a comradely manner, honestly, skillfully, so that young people will sense that a hand is being extended to them. From the very beginning a note of truth should be evident.

[Sitovetskiy] I am in complete agreement with Yuriy Sergeyevich Saulskiy. We should devote more attention to the question of rock music just because it is the most pressing issue right now. Our job is to make young people look at themselves, and we must start with those things which interest them. And they are interested in popular music. The topic should be predominantly questions pertaining to popular music, but of course with an instructive, educational aspect, in order to lead young people to serious music through these articles. Basically, propagandizing ideas of humanistic and highly aesthetic art among older people is not such a difficult task. In any event it is easier than the task of interesting young people, particularly young people under the age of 20. Often young people have a negative attitude toward this kind of articles; they do not believe them. Whatever the press praises they find uninteresting; whatever it criticizes, on the other hand, they find attractive. That is to say, criticism should be interested, honest and fully competent.

[Berlyand] A word about competent criticism. We have conducted an analysis of articles on the Melodiya firm during the past year. And what did we find? Basically, they can be divided into two categories: those which are purely informational and those which criticize us... No, we do not want to avoid criticism. But let it be objective and to the point. Because most often we are not criticized for our "sins." Let's bring up problems -- we have enough of them, so criticize them sharply. Only, aim at a target, pose clear-cut tasks, and strive to achieve specific results. Otherwise what good is criticism?

[Saulskiy] There is one other topic which we definitely should deal with in this series: that of classical Soviet songs and contemporary Soviet songs. Contemporary songs are not just of interest to rock groups; they are sung by Pugacheva, Leontev, Veski, Kobzon... Each sings them differently, but nevertheless they are a part of popular music. And in this area as well there are quite a few cases of comparison and rejection.

[Korovin] The latest and best known example was Rodion Shchedrin's address to the 7th Composers' Congress. This is what he said: once there was Shulzhenko and Utesov, today there is Leontev. And Leontev is now virtually the same as Utesov once was.

[Sitkovetskiy] I would like to add something to that. Over a period of 10-15 years many interesting rock performers and groups have simply disappeared. Most often because rock has been treated as jazz was once treated. It was "battered" at every turn. And although today jazz enjoys a certain authority and popularity, in my opinion that authority and popularity would have been considerably greater had jazz been given the "green light" at the proper time.

The same thing is happening today with rock music. The old rock powers which have been in this genre and which could make the genre into a completely independent national phenomenon within the world rock music scene, these powers are thoroughly worn-out. But the new ones need some kind of guidance and traditions. I would get these old powers involved with the work of our council, I would get "Mashina vremeni" because it has survived and retained its image. If there will be that sort of articles (not just bare information

like "Makarevich is alive and well and has written a new song cycle"), but with thoughts, with problems...

[Skatkov] For example, about why "Mashina vremeni" does not perform in Moscow, only in other cities. And what has happened to "Kruiz"? They changed their program several times, but haven't split up yet...

[Saulskiy] We should delve into such cases objectively and in a principled fashion. That, if you wish, is our duty.

[Skatkov] We should talk about something which has not yet become legitimate in our popular music: the "underground" groups which are popular with young people.

[Petrov] We must talk about that. It is very important to know whether we will dare talk about that or whether we will hold back and stick to the old formulas. There are two sides to this issue: on one hand a tremendous amount of poor taste and speculation with the genre, on the other truth, a mirror, saying "here is life, the people, our affairs," as Mussorgskiy phrased it. And we remain silent, afraid of the label, of the very word "underground." No one knows who thought it up, but it immediately intimidated everybody.

[Saulskiy] Musical life is difficult if we are afraid to reveal something in it; that means that we will not reflect the spirit of our times. But when speaking of amateur, semi-professional performers we must be careful to keep things in their proper proportions: who deserves attention, and who is less worthy of attention. Otherwise we will be parading in the newspaper that mass of poor taste which Petrov mentioned.

[Korovin] Here the most important thing is to adhere firmly to an interest in the progress of young people's music and objectivity.

[Gurin] And not just on purely musical issues. Because music fans are also concerned with the quality of television and radio broadcasts, records, cassettes, radios, musical instruments... We also cannot overlook the problems experienced by concert organizations. It is impossible not to notice how scalpers have exploited the widespread interest in pop music to obtain unearned income...

[Saulskiy] And here once again we must be highly truthful.

[Gavrilov] Without a doubt. But there is one thing which I don't understand. We are all busy calling on each other to be honest. Or do we not trust ourselves? Let's simply say the things which we are thinking and which we are sure of. And MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, I hope, will support us.

(Note from the editor: The first article in this series on popular music issues will be published soon.)

12825
CSO: 1800/580

CULTURE

ROCK SHOW HELD IN LENINGRAD'S SPORT PALACE

Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 28 Aug 86

[Text] Leningrad August 28 TASS--A "rock show" in Leningrad's 6,000-seat Yubileiny Sport Palace, involving young performers from the Russian Federation, Bylorussia and the Soviet Baltic republics, drew a full house of pop-music fans who thundered applause or whistled piercingly after every number.

The "hit parade" concern featured for the first time the local rock groups Piknik and Sekret who recently went professional. After completing a period of experimentation, they are fast acquiring unmistakable artistic identities of their own.

Piknic's pieces are a typical blend of cohesive teamplay with virtuoso leading-guitar parts, while the four-man Sekret, with their stylized retrospection numbers reminiscent of the times of twist and shake and improvizations on the Beatles' themes, are noted to their show-biz talent.

Both groups started their performing careers at Leningrad's Rock Club which is now five years old.

It now unites some 60 rock groups and totals 500 members, including 16-year-old school students and 40-year-old engineers, who rehearse and perform in their free time. The club provides them with expert counselling on playing techniques and helps fashion their concert programs.

It also sponsors an annual rock contest which is instrumental to identifying new gifted performers. This is how Akvarium, Kino (Cinema), Alisa, Auktsion (Auction) and Dzhungli (Hungle), who are most different outfits whose special interests range from heavy rock to avant-garde jazz, have all emerged on the local pop-music scene.

Among other numbers, the repertoire of the club's groups includes songs to verses by French, Cuban, British and Spanish poets translated into Russian, and they perform many anti-war songs.

The young musicians regularly organize special concerts to donate all box-office returns from them to the peace fund. One such latest event was keynoted by the motto "for anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship".

/12624

CSO: 1800/608

CULTURE

BYKOV, ASTAFYEV, AYTMATOV `FLIRT' WITH RELIGION, SAYS CRITIC

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 86 p 4

[Article by I. Kryvelev, doctor of philosophical sciences, under the rubric "A Topic For Consideration": "Flirting With the Divine"]

[Text] In the 17th century French philosopher and freethinker Pierre (Beyl) asserted that the existence of a society of atheists was possible, and that atheists could comply with the requirements of morality just as well as believers could. At that time this truth needed to be proved, and its adherents were few. The subsequent experience of social development has fully and, so to speak, overabundantly confirmed the French philosopher's assertion, which was so bold at the time it was made.

Religion claimed at that time and continues to claim a monopoly in the field of ethics. Allegedly there is no morality without faith. It would appear that this is an issue belonging to the past. However, it is not. Of late one encounters more and more frequently statements by authors who support these claims either overtly or in a thinly veiled fashion. For example, V. Bykov has expressed such opinions in the press.

He is quite correct in affirming that "conscience, compassion and mercy are moral foundations which have been reaffirmed in the human world from age to age." But at this point he for some reason draws a direct connection between moral foundations and religion. Of course, acknowledges the writer, religion does have its darker aspects, which gave cause to regard it as an opiate of the people, but in his opinion that is not its total content, for "it also preached universal human values which are of importance for all times and all peoples," and furthermore, when we "unleashed the struggle against religion, certain zealous heads began throwing out everything indiscriminately."

We should recall that Lenin not only condemned Proletarian Culture barbarism, but also no less resolutely rejected any sort of "flirtation with the divine," characterizing it as an "unspeakable abomination," at the same time applying this designation to "any religious idea, any idea of any sort of divine figure."

To renounce principled, consistent atheism is tantamount to renouncing the very foundations of the scientific materialist world view.

And using morality in defense of religion -- is that not one form of playing with the divine?

A rather obvious effort in this direction was made by Ch. Aytmatov in his latest novel "Plakha" (NOVIY MIR, No 6, 1986). Thus far only the first section of the novel has been published, but there is a great deal in that part which provokes consternation, to say the least.

I will not dwell in detail on the signs of the author's incompetence on issues pertaining to the modern Orthodox Church, issues which play a major role in his narrative. But I would at least like to point out the fact that in the Moscow Patriarchate there does not exist an office of "coordinator for educational institutions," although it appears in the novel. The threat of excommunication from the church which is allegedly invoked against a student expelled from a seminary is also fictitious.

However, the most important point lies elsewhere -- in the novel's general tendency.

Its hero Avdiy Kallistratov, an expelled seminarian, is seeking God. He is dissatisfied with the traditional "archaic" image of the Supreme Being, but he also does not find atheism appealing. He finds it necessary to seek a variant somewhere in between: a sort of "contemporary God" who conforms to the "needs of the times." And before he has found such a thing, this God-seeker moves with that which he has already found into the realm of real-life experience, taking up with a band of criminals involved in narcotics trafficking. He does so with a dual objective: to gather material for an article for a local Komsomol newspaper, and to convince the members of the gang to give up their illegal activities in the name of God.

It seem improbable that a newspaper would employ as a special correspondent just anyone who happened to come along, much less such an obviously muddle-headed God-seeker. As for the "missionary" task which Avdiy has set for himself, it is obviously designed to express the same author's concept mentioned above in connection with Bykov: that it is with the help of religious guidelines that one can and should restore people's moral code and moral behavior...

In this context one cannot ignore certain statements made by V. Astafyev in the pages of the magazine NASH SOVREMENNİK (No 5, 1986).

He asks: "What has become of us?! Who has plunged us into an abyss of evil and sorrows, and why? Who has extinguished the light of goodness in our souls? Who has blown out the icon-lamp of our consciousness and thrown it into a deep, dark pit, where we fumble about, searching for the bottom, for a support, for some sort of guiding light to the future. Why do we see that light leading us into a fiery Gehenna?" The writer fondly recalls the time when "we lived with that light in our souls which was achieved long before us by the authors of greatness (Moses, Christ, Mohammed, Buddha? -- I. K.), lit for us so that we would not wander in the darkness, would not crash into the trees in the taiga or into each other in the world, would not claw out each

other's eyes or break each other's bones." This paradisiacal time has now passed, it has been "stolen from us and nothing given in return, giving rise to unbelief, unbelief which prevails in all things." What shall we do, asks the author in despair, "to whom shall we pray? Whom shall we ask to forgive us?" And he recalls: "We did know how, and we have not yet forgotten, how to forgive, even our enemies..."

However, V. Astafyev is not about to forgive anyone. On the contrary, he dreams of "the final (!) chastising rain, a heavenly rain of lead, pouring down upon the heads of modern defilers of temples, conquerers, blasphemers and bawlers."

That is the humane, all-forgiving dream which comes to the writer when he contemplates the historical and ethnographic museum which has been established in the medieval Georgian monastery at Gelati.

Reading such things as that in the Soviet press is more than strange. And not only because of their openly expressed tendency toward flirtation with the divine, but also because they represent scandalous examples of forgetting historical and present-day facts which are known to all, including facts which were illuminated and theoretically explained by Marxism and which, owing to their obviousness, have long since ceased to be disputed by anyone.

Let us go right to the heart of the matter.

Every religion, or almost every religion, preaches a set of moral standards and instructions, or "commandments." These are enshrined in its fundamental documents of faith and in books considered to be sacred. As religion teaches, the source of these standards is God himself, who taught them to human beings. If one approaches this question from a scientific standpoint, then one must acknowledge that the source of morality is not a supernatural force, but rather human beings' actual social relationships. Religion is a fantastic reflection of human beings' lives, and religious morality is a fantastic reflection of that morality which actually exists in society.

Any actually existing morality is internally contradictory, since inevitably intermingled within it are new standards which arise with new times and former standards which reflect quite different, outdated forms of social relationships. And this is reflected especially clearly in religious morality. Its degree of contradictoriness is considerably greater. Why?

In religious teachings and in the documents of faith which express them, moral teachings become canonized. They come to be regarded as something immutable and obligatory for all times. Therefore those standards of behavior which arose in the distant past and which have lost their significance nevertheless continue to be regarded as mandatory for all believers of all times. But at the same time the moral standards of succeeding historical stages are regarded as obligatory, standards which by their nature are contradictory to those which preceded them. Therefore, as a rule, it is impossible to discover in religious teachings unambiguous standards of behavior for a specific case; for every injunction one can find direct permission or even a blessing in other documents.

The most graphic illustration of this can be seen in a document which is regarded as the holy book of both Judaism (in its Old Testament portion) and of Christianity. One must assume that in appealing to religious morality V. Bykov and V. Astafyev were referring primarily to this religious document and, more specifically, to the famous Ten Commandments.

V. Bykov spoke unambiguously on this subject in his next interview (KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE, No 25, 1986): he acknowledged the Ten Commandments as a moral code "by which we continue to live today." And he continued: thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not commit adultery. What else could be necessary for the flourishing of universal morality except universal observance of these commandments?

But read on in the Bible! Farther along one finds preached the most unbridled bloodshed, the killing of human beings for the slightest transgression and, finally, outright mass genocide. God himself, the Bible tells us, kills people on a mass scale for the most inconsequential reasons. And human beings are commanded to do likewise. For disobedience to a priest or to one's parents -- death. For breaking the Sabbath -- death. For evidence of unchastity in a bride -- death. And even, reasonably enough, for murder -- murder: "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth..."

For the modern Israeli soldier, Biblical guidelines serve as an important "ideological justification" for the extermination of Arabs.

For instance: "In the cities of those peoples whom the Lord God shall deliver into your hands leave not a single soul alive." The books of the Old Testament are filled with descriptions of how this divine instruction was carried out. Thus "Joshua (son of Nun -- I. K.) took Makkedah and... left no one...alive"; took Libnah and "Joshua killed with the sword all that breathed in it, all that was found in it"; the final result of the activities of Joshua son of Nun, Moses' immediate successor, in his conquest of Palestine were summed up as follows: "And Joshua smote all the mountains and populated places, and the low places, and the land upon the mountains, and all the kings; none was left alive, and all that had breath was accursed, as commanded the Lord, God of Israel." Thou shalt not kill?

Not only Joshua son of Nun was, according to Old Testament chronicles, such a zealous executor of God's instructions to mankind on a genocidal scale. The famous King David acted in the same manner ("remember, O Lord... all his meekness.")

Faced with such eloquent facts, zealots of religious morality turn for help to the New Testament: it supposedly preaches love for one's neighbor and forgiveness, absolute humility and nonviolence. So does that mean that one should seek the "icon-lamp of our consciousness," the "light in our souls," etc. in the Sermon on the Mount?

For all the "innovations" in the Sermon on the Mount, the general ethical stance of the New Testament is little different from that of the Old Testament. The New Testament insists upon the inviolability of Old Testament

commandments ("not one jot or tittle of the law has passed away"). It regards the slaveholding system not only as pleasing to God, but as the sole possible system; it demands complete and unquestioning submission by slaves to their masters, and recommends that the latter cast slaves which displease them "into the outer darkness, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth." And as for the torments beyond the grave, the New Testament appears somewhat more terrible than the Old Testament. Finally, with respect to the contradictory nature of their moral standards, neither part of the Bible is any better than the other. Do not take vengeance upon your enemy, because he is your neighbor; feed him and give him to drink, "because by doing so you will heap coals of fire upon his head." A fine kind of love!

Perhaps, however, the writers whose statements we are discussing here are not referring to Biblical religion as the source of morality, but rather, for example, Islam or Buddhism or generally any other abstract religious belief which does not have a specific confessional form. But everything I have said about Christianity and Judaism is applicable to those religions, and that much more so to "religion in general."

Real life is the criterion of truth. There is a wealth of instructive, practical religious experience. We know of historical periods when religion was inseparable from the public consciousness. Take for instance the Middle Ages. How many people were exterminated in the Crusades, which were systematically carried out over a period of centuries by the church in the name of spreading a teaching which categorically forbids killing?! How many people were killed under the church's guidance by the fires of the Inquisition?! And they even came up with the idea of not merely killing any of their neighbors that they pleased, but of burning them alive, and over a special slow fire at that.

Can this be dismissed as a practice of the Catholic Church? Yet Protestants did the very same thing. The Orthodox Church did the same. Recall how heretics were drowned in Pskov and Novgorod, how the Archpriest Avvakum and other Old Ritualists were burned at the stake. Recall how the Orthodox Church gave its blessing to the hangmen with whose help the autocracy dealt with the revolutionary movement. Even serfdom with its legalized floggings of human beings in stables and the right of the "first night" ("thou shalt not commit adultery!") found its most eloquent defenders in the church's rhetoricians and theologians.

And what about love for one's neighbor, non-resistance to evil, and returning good for evil? Over the millenia real life has ignored all these empty phrases. Exploitative society cultivated bestial morals which had their "ideological" basis in religious ideology and were often directly embodied in the political and various other practices of churches of various religions and faiths, whether Christian, Muslim, Jewish or Buddhist.

Yet now we are hearing appeals to return to "the light in our souls" and to renounce our "unbelief"; appeals are made to us to repent of our atheism and ask someone for forgiveness. And a "final chastising rain" is called down upon "blasphemers," i.e. atheists, a rain which should exterminate them in the name of higher principles of goodness and mercy...

The best and greatest minds in the history of mankind struggled selflessly against the poison of clericalism. There arose the noble, heroic tradition of free thought and atheism.

We as communists have inherited this tradition and developed it further. Our atheism is based upon the foundation of a scientific world view, and it is as immovable as that world view. Morality is not only not excluded from it, it is an inherent part of it. This is nonreligious morality, which requires conscientiousness, justice and spirituality in the best and highest senses of these words. Conscientiousness and justice, respect for labor, spirituality in human relationships which are founded upon the principle of freedom from exploitation. That is communist morality. We are teaching it to our young people.

The best bearers of this morality are those people who are striving to free themselves from exploitation, striving for social justice, for the flourishing and development of every human personality, which is impossible without the flourishing and development of the masses -- the primary spiritual, creative and organizational force in society. The masses, not a supernatural force!

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SOCIAL ISSUES

TRIAL CENSUS HELD IN MINGECHAUR

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 22 Jul 86 p 2

[Article by Kh. Mamedov, chief, AzSSR Central Statistical Administration
[TsSU]: "How Many of Us Are There?: Mingechaur Site of Trial Census"]

[Text] In January 1989 our country will conduct an All-Union census. A trial census will be in progress from Dec 10-17 of this year in individual rayons and cities, including Mingechaur.

In carrying out the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and those of the 31st Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress, the republic's statistics have been included in a complex, many-sided effort to improve our system of economic indicators of the national economy, to enhance the creative analysis of the events and processes occurring in its sectors as well as in the social sphere. The material derived from the all-union census is thorough to the utmost degree and is distinguished by the breadth of its scope.

The last census was conducted in January 1979. Since that time, great changes have come about in the life of the country, the republic and each of us. This was also evidenced by a sample social-demographic survey. Even though only 5 percent of the population of the Soviet Union and about 300,000 people in Azerbaijan were covered, it was perfectly obvious that urban and rural educational levels continue to approach each other. This approach is due to the large-scale measures which have been implemented to help families with children resulting from the increased birth-rate of the years 1982-1984 etc.

Some people pose the question of whether an operation as costly as a census is justified. In fact each of them has been an extremely complex measure which involves tens of thousands of people. The question can be answered thus: only a general census gives us exhaustive information about the numbers of our population, their national makeup and how they are distributed around the USSR. It tells us about the level of their education and their distribution among the sectors of the national economy, and about our labor resources.

Thus the upcoming census will be the seventh in the entire history of the Soviet state. In the decree adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers, the preparation and carrying out of the All-Union 1989 Census, as were its prede-

cessors, has been put into the hands of the USSR TsSU and its agencies within the republics, krays, oblasts, cities and rayons. For the purpose of checking the plan for the census program and its organization and the principles of its execution, as well as the sequence for developing the materials derived from it, plans call for a trial census to be carried out in 1986 in individual rayons and cities. This census will take in some 800,000 persons. A feeling of satisfaction, even of a high degree of responsibility is evoked by the decision to conduct a trial census in the Transcaucasian region of our republic, and namely in Mingechaur, a city of around 80,000 people.

At present the republic's statistical service is in a state of active preparation for conducting this census. We recognize clearly that success is guaranteed only by doing all the preparatory work in an efficient and timely manner. The approved calendar plan includes a complex of necessary measures.

The party and soviet agencies of Mingechaur are rendering a great deal of assistance to the statisticians. An assistance committee has been set up by a resolution of the gorispolkom. The progress of preparations for the trial census is taken up at gorispolkom meetings. Energetic measures are being taken to bring order into such topics as the names of streets, and the numbering of homes and apartments. Checking the completeness and correctness of the counting of the population is being systematically organized. Unfortunately, now and then they also uncover obvious flaws in the count of the population found in the housing books, registration cards and extracts. As it turns out, not all apartment buildings have housing books.

It appears, however, that all the difficulties enumerated above can be eliminated, and in the time remaining statistics agency workers along with the other interested services, will provide provide the required level of accuracy for the trial census. I want to particularly emphasize that while the trial census is going on in Mingechaur, the exchange of experience with specialists from our fraternal republics--Georgia and Armenia--will be put in order. In addition, we plan to send our workers there from other regions of the republic. All this will aid in arriving fully prepared at that point in the future to conduct the 1989 All-Union census.

Serious equipment tests are also to be made during the trial census. In fact, plans call for the use of Blank-6 automatic OChU's [Optical Print Readers] to process the data from the upcoming census. They will interpret data from the census sheets in addition to the pencil-type graphic markers (as were used in 1979), as well as reading standardized handwritten numbers and service signs.

The census sheet is the basic document used in the census program. It will simultaneously be used as the technical carrier of information to be introduced into the computer and for making entries onto magnetic tape. That is why utmost accuracy is required when filling these sheets in. They must also be kept in good condition.

The census is supposed to be conducted by the usual procedure of questioning the population by specially trained workers known as "counters".

The selection of census personnel is one of the most crucial stages of all the preparatory operations. In any affair, but especially in a census considering the short time needed to complete it, the temporal nature and the strict necessity of observing prescribed deadlines, the presence of qualified workers takes on decisive importance. And we figure that we will find understanding and support as we select our census workers, on the part of directors of enterprises and organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhoses. We have decided to extensively bring in those comrades who gained first-hand experience during the 1979 census, and those who took part in the 1985 sample social-demographic survey.

As has already been said, the counters will have to use census questionnaire sheets, which have retained continuity with those previously used. But while those questioned previously had to answer 16 questions, the number used in this trial census has grown to 24. In the program for any future census, in connection with the widespread development of professional and technical training of young workers, one question is to be set apart: "Have you graduated from a professional-technical educational institution?" We plan to expand the question concerning marriage status and to obtain, along with data on factual marriage, information on legally registered marriages. We have introduced a suggestion not to limit the collection of information to a single source of income. We will use the answers to obtain important data on population migration as well, i.e., from the countryside to the city and vice versa.

It should be mentioned that the data derived from the census will serve as the basis for the development and carrying out of a future complex of measures designed to provide a valid balancing out of labor resources, as well as their rational use.

A particularly large group of seven questions will be devoted to living conditions. From the data we obtain, we will formulate an accurate evaluation of the demand for dwellings, and will be able to more clearly ascertain the prospects for construction planning.

For the three years prior to this All-Union census we in the republic have been actively at work on its preparations. The majority of the rayon executive committees of the committee, based on accumulated experience and with all seriousness, have been involved in preparing for conducting this responsible task. Now we, as in the entire country, are refining our list of, and the borders of urban populations. The names of the cities' streets are being brought into order, as is the numbering of city blocks, apartment houses, and apartments. Cartographic materials--such as schematic plans of urban and larger village populations, as well as rayon maps--are being drawn up. Having been drawn up on order, they are then sent on to the republic's Central Bureau of Technical Inventory of the Minzhilkommunkhoz [Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services].

Each stage of the preparatory operations has been gone over with regard to its realization within strictly prescribed tight schedules. This is why any lag allowed at any stage, which takes place, for example, in the Dashkesanskiy, Kelbadzharskiy or Kubinskiy rayons would consequently be difficult to offset.

The upcoming test of our powers in Mingechaur will no doubt be a crucial test for us.

SOCIAL ISSUES

AzSSR INSTITUTE EXPERIMENTS WITH SELF-SUSTAINING STUDENT CLUB

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 3 Aug 86 p 3

[Article by G. Tagiyeva under the rubric "Attention: An Interesting Experiment": "ESKhPO Conducts a Search"]

[Text] "Student self-government, initiative and independent activity in the decision of all questions of student life within the VUZ student body, Komsomol and Trade union organizations should be developed in every possible way. To hand over in full to the competence of student organizations questions of socially useful labor, life and recreation of students...."

(From the project on Basic Trends in Restructuring Higher and Secondary Education in the Country.)

"Labor plus creativity plus sports"--this is how the "formula" for leisure time looks which was devised by the activists of ESKhPO [Experimental Sports-Art-Productions Association] of "Dzhanghi," created in an Azerbaijan construction engineering institute. The embodiment of the ideas of the institute's students and young teachers--Parviz Ismaylov, Dzheykhun Yolchiyev, Elkhan Kerimov, Nizami Gasanov, and many others, "Dzhanghi" became a practical test of what student self-government can do today.

"Look how often it happens: questions of students' leisure time are taken up by the rectorate, the party committee, the trade-union committee, the Komsomol committee, in a word, by everyone except the students themselves" says the social director of ESKhPO, a teacher in the department of scientific communism and a candidate in philosophical sciences, the young Communist Rasim Imanov. "We thought about the creation of a type of student center which, functioning on a self-supporting basis, would allow as many students as possible to be drawn to organizing their leisure time."

. . . Until quite recently this was the basement of one of the institute's dormitories. And today it is the base of "Dzhanghi." The intricate painting of the walls, the whimsical interior, the disco music, the modern equipment. In finding yourself here, you won't cease to be amazed at the invention, imagination, and resourcefulness of the students who created all of this.

"It is in this that the aim of the ESKhPO lies," continues R. Imanov, "--to free the huge creative potential of youth which is still not used at full strength. You know, 'Dzhanghi' is not simply a club for interesting meetings, or sport sections, or ensembles for amateur artistic performances, or discotheques for young people. It is the possibility to introduce hundreds of young men and women to artistic and technical creativity, the possibility for future builders, designers, and architects to test their abilities, to try their strengths in a serious matter, to use the knowledge they received in the VUZ in practice. The members of our association will also help in the authorization of locations for other youth centers in the city. The capital earned, by the way, will constitute one of 'Dzhanghi's' sources of income. Its operating fund will be pooled from receipts from the student workshop for the repair of electrical apparatus, the bureau of design and the photolaboratory. A budget of its own will give the student association more independence. 'Dzhanghi' will be able to acquire for itself the necessary equipment and apparatus, sports equipment, and costumes for amateur performances, and it will be able to supply the workshops with new equipment and enlist specialists from outside to work in the association."

"Dzhanghi" does not intend to limit its activity to the walls of the institute. The association will also extend its influence to the young people of the rayon. The forms of organizing leisure time will be expanded. The creation of a miniature theater and a group for break-dancing are projected, as are a private video room and an amateur movie studio.

"The 'Dzhanghi' experiment," R. Salimov, first secretary of the baku gorkom of the LKSM of Azerbaijan, told a correspondent of Azerinform, "will help in the organization of a city culture-and-sport complex--a youth center which coordinates the activities of similar associations and lends them systematic help."

Concerns of the activists of "Dzhanghi" have not diminished: they are inventing, dreaming, and testing. The search is proceeding, the experiment is proceeding.

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