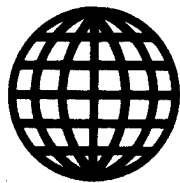


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SOVIET UNION POLITICAL AFFAIRS

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PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

PRAVDA VIEWS WEST'S REACTION TO RESTRUCTURING

PM111535 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jun 87 Second Edition p 4

[PRAVDA Political Observer Vitaliy Korionov article: "Restructuring and the West."]

[Excerpt] The great interest being aroused everywhere by the transformations now under way in the USSR is explained by the fact that not only our friends but also our enemies realize that after 70 years the revolutionary ideas of October--peace, democracy, and socialism--have not lost their significance in any way. The policy drawn up by the 27th congress is a new affirmation of the stability of the October Revolution's fundamental objectives. The socialist revolution's vital force has been preserved; and moreover, as a result of renewal the powerful motor of our development will switch to a higher and more economical gear and reach optimum speed, leading Soviet society to a qualitatively new level of development.

It is not for nothing that Communists and other progressive people abroad say: Restructuring is the boldness of socialism, Leninism in action. They point out that restructuring in the USSR, the process of deepening, improving, and developing socialist democracy, is a moral revolution, an appeal to the people's spiritual forces. If October 1917--perspicacious people abroad declare--laid the foundations for a radical change in the planet's sociopolitical makeup, then the present changes in the USSR, which are essentially deeply revolutionary, will during the last years of the 20th century have an even more beneficial influence on the situation in the world, including its capitalist part, which is being shaken by crises and contradictions. The more powerful socialism is, the more reliable peace, is, and the more chances for mankind to stave off the threat of nuclear apocalypse.

The new political thinking resolutely upheld by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of socialism is visibly interwoven into the fabric of international life. The realization that peoples have no national walls of salvation in the nuclear missile age is being reinforced among new strata of the population. The role of security's political aspect is growing in millions of people's consciousness. The desire to resolve contentious issues through honest, equal talks is becoming an increasingly major factor in interstate relations. A process of humanizing relations between states devastated by the militarist cult of force is developing. The contours of a

world freeing itself from nuclear weapons began to appear in Reykjavik. The new tendencies made themselves known in the course of the Stockholm talks on ways of building confidence in Europe and the Vienna talks on questions of the peaceful development of nuclear energy. The new thinking is discernible in the documents of the Nonaligned Movement. The Delhi Declaration signed by the leaders of the great socialist power and the great nonaligned developing country formulated principles for a world without nuclear weapons, without force. Examples of the new thinking in action are also provided by the socialist countries' Budapest initiative which proposes a realistic way to reduce arms and armed forces in Europe--from the Atlantic to the Urals; the clear formulation by the Berlin conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states' military doctrine--a strictly defensive doctrine; and the USSR's readiness to participate actively in strengthening peace and security in Asia and the Pacific.

The prospect of improving the international situation confounds the calculations of the opponents of peace and socialism. They are beginning to become aware that in the USSR things are changing substantially for the better and that socialism's potential, accumulated over 70 years, is developing further and further. This is why certain Western circles are organizing the propaganda subversion of restructuring.

Insofar as the myth about the "Soviet military threat" is played out, they are hastily devising a new one. They are trying to persuade gullible people in the West that the restructuring in the USSR constitutes a "threat" to the West which might allegedly result in the "political supremacy of the Soviets." Thus, A. Besancon in the Paris weekly L'EXPRESS declares most gravely: "It is a question of a complex of measures and means with whose help they are reckoning on eliminating the U.S. influence from our continent, removing U.S. protection, and leaving all Europe (like all Eurasia) under the influence--or more correctly, under the dominance--of the Soviets; and they will not have to resort to a military invasion to achieve this." And in order to somehow reinforce such fantasies they fan "spy passions" and devise other means of distracting people from the truth.

The Pentagon chief is especially zealous in his attempts to slander and distort the essence of the processes now taking place in the USSR. Thus, speaking 25 May at the Brussels defense research center, Weinberger went as far as to allege that "behind the policy of openness lurks the threat of the KGB, whose agents define openness in a totally different way from us in the West, and who do not give the word "freedom" any definition because it is not in their vocabulary."

But, however hard they try, the enemies of socialism are nonetheless obliged to consider restructuring as a serious new factor in world policy unanticipated by the West. NATO headquarters recently hosted a scientific colloquium with the participation of eminent representatives of Western business and academic circles specially devoted to the development of the Soviet economy. As was noted at the colloquium, "Something highly serious and interesting is now under way in the USSR." The meeting's participants tried

to elaborate some "countermeasures." The influential press organs of West Europe and Japan urge that "the joint policy of the West with regard to the restructuring process under way in the USSR be discussed in the most serious fashion..." at the forthcoming June meeting of the major capitalist countries in Venice.

If people in the West are now obliged to talk with increasing respect about the processes unfolding in the USSR, then we too should draw the appropriate conclusions. The course of events obliges Soviet people to apply the maximum effort in order that the Leninist party's plans become reality. We will always remember that the better things go for us at home, the stronger universal peace will become.

/6662

CSO: 1800/722

PRAVDA LOOKS TO BULGARIA FOR LESSONS IN DEMOCRACY

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 87 p 5

[Article by L. Kudryavtsev, director of the Voronezhskiy Synthetic Rubber Plant, Hero of Socialist Labor, and V. Nosov, party committee secretary of the Moscow Automobile Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev: "A Collective Holds its Own Elections. Reflections After a Trip to Visit Friends."]

[Text] This was not the first time we had occasion to travel abroad; however, this business trip to the Bulgarian People's Republic may prove to be particularly fruitful. Why? Its purpose was to witness first hand the experience of our Bulgarian friends concerning questions which are presently worrying many people in our country but with which we are only beginning to deal.

Team self-management, competition for positions, recommendation of administrative personnel . . . These are matters with which our friends have been experimenting for some time now.

They were also the topic of our discussions with colleagues at several Bulgarian enterprises and during business meetings. There were many such meetings in Sophia, Pernik and Pazardzhik, but the one held in Rusenskiy Okrug was of particular interest to us. It was here in Rus that the experiment with recommending managers based on competitive and election principles was put into practice for the first time in Bulgaria.

From the point of view of the development of democratic principles, we were interested in our fraternal republic's experiment with using competitive procedures to fill positions. This selection is carried out not only whenever vacant positions occur, but also according to the results of routine recommendations concerning personnel. In Sophia, for example, as many as 10 thousand competitions have taken place in the last three years to fill various vacancies. A procedure has been established in accordance with which the competition and its conditions are brought to the public's attention by means of announcements at the enterprise itself, publications in local or central newspapers and announcements on the radio and television. A special commission at the enterprise evaluates the candidates and either approves their candidacy or makes a justified decision to refuse them.

The participants are required to demonstrate their qualifications in professional training, managerial experience and competency in economics. During the interview, their political preparation and knowledge of the principles of labor legislation, safety engineering and industrial sanitation are verified. Each candidate must acquire no less than four points (in a six-point system). The three candidates who obtain the highest number of points are allowed to compete for the job. Selection from among the competitors takes place at a general meeting or meeting of delegates (in large subdepartments). Voting is done by ballot. The winner is the one who gains the most votes, but he must have more than half of the number of those participating in the election.

It is interesting that the "unlucky" ones, those who do not make the competition, do not feel insulted or embarrassed, because they are nevertheless given a good evaluation as highly qualified professionals. They are put on the waiting list and are usually the first candidates chosen to fill positions which are a rank lower than those filled by the competitors.

High demands are made of those who participate in the competition. This is demonstrated, for example, by the fact that in recent years only 33 people of the 55 who participated in the competitions passed the tests at a printed circuit board plant.

Competitive selection is also practiced in the services of the district people's councils. For example, in Pernik recently, a manager of the local administration of public health and social security offices was relieved of his duties. Due to the lack of a local qualified candidate, a competition was announced in the district and capital newspapers. Seven people submitted applications in response and, naturally, one was chosen, a scientific employee from the Sophia Institute of Social Medicine and Public Health Organization.

We were told that in Bulgaria the heads of VUZes, directors of schools and chief physicians at hospitals and polyclinics are selected only by means of competition . . .

It is worth noting that the competitions are valued highly by both the candidates themselves and the collectives: the workers know that a genuine specialist will be their manager and not someone who is riding on another's coattails. And the manager, in whom the collective believes, feels confident and is more resolute in his support of the workers' interests.

The result of recommendation is of particular significance in the forming of waiting lists and promotion. An evaluation is made by first-hand managers or specially created commissions and submitted for obligatory review by a primary party organization. It is brought to the candidate's attention and is reviewed in his presence at a party meeting. Then, also in his presence, it is approved by the bureau of the party organization, the ispolkom and collegium. It is kept in his personal file. The decision of the administrative office reflects the candidate's positive and weak characteristics and gives conclusions about the quality of his work in fulfilling assigned tasks.

Our Bulgarian colleagues justifiably assume that such a system increases exactingness towards managers, disciplines them and causes them to make critical evaluations of their own work.

. . . Wherever we went, our friends spoke openly, without equivocation, about the problems encountered. For example, in the Rusenskiy district committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, data was presented concerning the fact that 40 out of 1,200 team managers were not elected. They usually included either bad production organizers who were unable to work with people, or leaders of those collectives where an improper situation has developed. In all fairness we should add that we also encountered cases where energetic, responsible and strong managers had not been elected simply because they had "failed" due to clannishness, scandal or jealousy. For example, we noticed blatant violations of democracy during the conducting of elections: administrative interference and all kinds of pressure, as well as reprisals for criticism.

In short, experience shows that without the political management of party offices in the preparation and conducting of elections, success in such a delicate and complex matter is difficult to achieve.

The organization of the elections themselves has been assigned to the trade unions. The letter sent to the primary party organizations in July of last year from the Bulgarian CP Central Committee "On a Resolute Transfer to Socialist Economic Self-Management" is interesting and has been a fervent topic of discussion in the workers' collectives.

What is the "mechanism" of party influence in this area? Special commissions at enterprise party committees are carrying out recommendations at the team level, and the raykoms, gorkoms and okruzhkoms according to their list of assigned employees. Subsequently, candidacies are reviewed at primary party organization meetings. Then the candidate's qualifications are finally approved in his presence by higher party committees, where the decision is made whether to recommend the candidacy for election.

In accordance with the statutes of the new Labor Code which was enacted to democratize relations in production, changes have occurred in the structure of several Bulgarian enterprises. The main structural base is a two-unit administration system: a) a basic workers' collective - the team and b) a basic workers' collective - the enterprise. It is formed along the lines of a complete technological process and is aimed at transferring the team and enterprise to full cost accounting and self-management.

During our trip, we asked ourselves the following question more than once: is it possible simply to adopt a new code and everything immediately runs smoothly? We also asked our colleagues the same question directly. In response they admitted that they had not yet been able to solve everything by creating a two-unit management system. Large production collectives - former departments and shops - frequently assemble into teams. They unite no more or no less than 200-300 workers.

Shop structures have also not been thought through completely. In the Rusenskiy district committee they are defined as a kind of team appendage for resolving production problems, whereas at the Pernik industrial enterprises, shop structures are declared to be independent, i.e. intermediary, units in the system of workers' collectives. The latter suggestion is thought to be more promising.

... Nevertheless, what is important in this system? The unanimous opinion is that the main unit is the team. It is the team which has become the actual proprietor of the basic funds: machine tools, machines, machine units, etc. They are under its jurisdiction as stipulated by a contract with the economic council of the enterprise. The team's collective is fully responsible for the regularity of operation and the safety and good condition of equipment and in turn, in accordance with the collective contract, is obliged to manufacture high-quality products. In the specified amounts and precisely on schedule. Of course, people are showing a greater interest in implementing new techniques and technology, economizing on the allotted resources and reducing waste. For wage increases depend directly on this.

It is a well-known fact that a Law on the State Enterprise is being prepared in our country. This document is being studied and supported by every worker. People are particularly worried about a principally new step in the development of socialist democracy - self-management, election of management and the creation of a workers' collective council.

Our plants are already familiar with the open and public selection of team members and experts, and now we are beginning to have elections to fill positions of deputies, heads of shops and managers of engineering services. Of course, the experience of our Bulgarian friends has been readily used, primarily to avoid mistakes. Today, not one manager is appointed without thoughtful discussion of his personality in the collective. As a result, all candidates nominated are elected with the absolute majority of votes.

We find the Bulgarian experience of introducing procedures of self-management and election of administrative personnel and developing democratic principles in the national economy extremely beneficial. For this reason, we decided to share with readers through pertinent impressions of our trip the things it is possible to learn from friends and put to use in our own enterprises.

12793

CSO: 1800/598

JOURNAL DETAILS SHORTCOMINGS IN CHERKASSY OBKOM

AU161615 Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No. 10, May 87 (signed to press 12 May 87) pp 38-43

[Article by L. Yagodin. "Eliminating the Brakes on the Path of Acceleration: From the Cherkassy Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] The participants of the Cherkassy Obkom of the Ukrainian Communist Party, which discussed the tasks of the oblast's party organization in deepening restructuring and in improving cadre work in accordance with the decisions of the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee, have never had to listen to so much sharp and concrete criticism and such an exacting assessment of the state of affairs.

The report by Obkom First Secretary I. Lutak noted that the rate of changes and transformations in the oblast are still inadequate, that restructuring is progressing with difficulty and is encountering various obstacles, and that stagnant phenomena are being eliminated slowly.

A particularly high number of shortcomings have accumulated in the sphere of material production. Last year industry fulfilled only 84.6 percent of the plan for the volume of sales of output, including contractual commitments, producing almost R159 less output for consumers than required. According to fulfillment of this indicator, Cherkassy residents are in second to last place in the republic! More than one-third of enterprises did not cope with contractual commitments.

Things are also not going well in rural areas. Owing to the constant shortfall in output and the inefficient use of the production potential, last year the profitability level of production amounted to only 14.7 percent as against 19 percent throughout the Ukraine. Every 10th farm is unprofitable. And can it really be considered normal that Cherkassy Oblast, which has for a long time been renowned for large harvests of sugar beet and for being the initiator of the movement of the outstanding 500 quintal-per-hectare beet growers, has begun to abruptly lose ground?

And according to the results of the first months of this year, the situation is not changing. The permitted lag is not only not being made good,

but is increasing in a number of cases. Already in the first quarter 30 enterprises have not fulfilled contractual commitments, and another 72 have reduced the volume of industrial production as against the corresponding period last year. We have not acceleration and restructuring, but retreat and deceleration.

Quite a serious situation has taken shape. Obviously, in order to improve it, it is necessary primarily to uncover the reasons for the stagnation and the components of the brake mechanism. The plenum's participants paid great attention to this.

All the speakers stressed that deepening the restructuring of the national economy primarily means decisively changing the style of leadership over it, using economic management methods more actively, and increasing the responsibility of cadres in all sectors. However, the habit of party committees and economic managers of administratively willful methods and the inability, or maybe unwillingness to take heed of competent specialists, are still alive. The plenum stressed that many of the released party workers have a poor command of the methods of political leadership. They enthusiastically undertake purely economic matters, display an urge to command, and avoid difficult questions such as giving assistance to grass-roots components in the restructuring of their work, the creation of a businesslike and creative mood in collectives, and the identification of and support for cadres who think and act innovatively. A. Bubnov, the chief of the "Vatutinskoye" Mine Administration, was sharply criticized. The enterprise has not only not improved its indicators, but is even losing previously gained ground. Instead of solving arising problems in a businesslike way, the manager took the path of crude excessive administration and of ignoring the opinion of specialists and the labor collective.

Some party committees are insufficiently active and principled in practically implementing the party's economic policy. From the beginning of this year, all the oblast's enterprises have been working under new conditions of economic management. However, the opportunities that have opened up to improve the economic situation are not being fully utilized at many of them. In January-February, 52 collectives did not obtain the expected profits, and 36 exceeded the planned production cost of output. But not one party committee gave a proper assessment of this. Personal criticism in this connection was directed at A. Bublik and N. Timoshenko, first secretaries of the Pridneprovskiy and Sosnovskiy Raykoms.

The managers and specialists of the oblast agro-industrial committee were sharply criticized. The work style and methods of its apparatus and all its services require cardinal restructuring. For the time being they continue to copy the abolished departments, act in an uncoordinated manner, and do not put the interests of farms at the fore. N. Chepurnoy, first secretary of the Cherkasskiy Raykom, stated that the army of specialists having a high wage and a low level of responsibility in the oblast agro-industrial committee continues to produce needless paperwork. In only the

first quarter of this year, 415 letters and orders requiring immediate response were received by the rayon. But this is not all. The oblast agro-industrial committee displays total ignorance of the local situation. It has instructed us, the speaker continued, to ensure a harvest of feed beet of 600 quintals over an area of 250 hectares when the rayon has been obtaining 700-1,000 quintals over 1,500 hectares for years.

At the same time, the speeches of the plenum participants showed that not all of them have freed themselves from yesterday's stereotypes of thinking and that the modern style of leadership is being grasped with difficulty. Thus, many were disappointed with the speech of V. Chistik, deputy chairman of the oblast agro-industrial committee. Totally evading valid criticism of the committee, and without answering one of the questions raised in the report and in the speeches of the plenum's participants, he thought it possible to report "successes" in the work of the oblast agro-industrial committee. In this instance it is difficult to talk of having responsibility for the entrusted task in the spirit of the present requirements.

However, the sprouts of the new are nonetheless growing. This can be seen through the example of the Korsun-Shevchenkovskiy Raykom, whose experience was discussed at the plenum. Here it was precisely with the raykom, its bureau, secretaries, and departments that restructuring was begun.

How? There was a decisive break with the improper substitution of Soviet and economic organs. The activities of primary party organizations and their influence on the life and affairs of labor collectives was studied more profoundly and assessed more pointedly and with more adherence to principle. Work with the elected party aktiv is being refined. The accounts and reports of raykom members and candidate members regarding their fulfillment of party assignments and official duties are being submitted more frequently to plenums and bureaus. The demands on party organizations to ensure sustained attention to the leadership component have been intensified. This provides an opportunity to reach every person and to work specifically with the reserve. Party organizations and labor collectives are now consulted on all cadre questions. Finally, the raykom has abandoned various kinds of artificial conferences and meetings and the unnecessary summoning of leaders to the rayon center.

What does this produce? People's trust in the party organ is growing. They are going more enthusiastically to the raykom with specific proposals and are raising sore questions more pointedly. Their attitude to business is noticeably changing and responsibility for the end results is increasing. And this significantly influences the development of the rayon's economy. First quarter plan fulfillment in industry and construction has been ensured. Over the 1986-87 winter period the procurement volumes of milk increased by 1,300 tonnes and of meat by 640 tonnes as compared with the previous winter. The productivity of cows has increased by 95 kg.

Practically none of the speakers evaded questions of the development of the social area. And this is understandable: People judge the real fruits of restructuring primarily by the changes to improve the condition of their labor and everyday life and to satisfy their needs and requirements. Long-term programs have been developed in the oblast to expand the output of consumer goods, to develop health services, to improve trade, every life, and public catering. Measures to strengthen the basis of people's education and culture are being implemented. The strain of satisfying the need for kindergartens has been significantly alleviated. But prosperity here is still a long way off. Moreover, the idea was repeatedly expressed at the plenum that the problems of the social sphere are becoming increasingly urgent and that they are seriously hampering the gait of restructuring. The question of providing the population with housing was particularly singled out at the plenum. Although in recent years the plans of its commissioning have been fulfilled, its criticality is not only not decreasing but even growing. All the more one cannot accept the fact that resources allocated for construction are not being fully assimilated. In the first quarter of this year only R13.8 million out of 81.7 million were assimilated; that is, just 17 percent. The commissioning of planned housing has been disrupted. The brunt of the blame lies with N. Kulik, the chief of the oblagrostroy [expansion unknown]; N. Zharko, chairman of the Kanevskiy Gorispolkom; and N. Borodiy and V. Prilutskiy, chairmen of the Zhashkovskiy and Katerinopolskiy Rayispolkoms.

No less critical are many other social questions. For instance, the provision of rural centers with gas facilities is proceeding slowly. There have been no substantial changes in the system of trade and public catering. Only in the first quarter of this year there was a shortage of R15 million in the plan of retail goods turnover. There is a lack of physicians and nurses in Cherkassy Oblast medical institutions and paramedical-obstetric stations in 78 rural centers are not up to strength.

In general, practically all components of this sphere require energetic efforts for a way out of the lag. For now it has been noted that many leaders of local Soviets ispolkoms, including the oblispolkom and its chairman V. Shapoval, permit an inattentive attitude toward people and red tape; that is, are not overcoming bureaucracy.

Serious complaints have been brought against the managers of many industrial enterprises. It was noted that Cherkassy "Fotopribor," Machine-building, and telegraph equipment plants and the silk combine, the Smela radio equipment plant, the "Umanfermmash" association, and others do not have Pioneer camps, sanatoriums, dispensaries, houses of culture, or sports centers. How can one accept such indifference toward working people?

The attempts to explain difficulties in the social sphere by citing a lack of forces and resources seem unconvincing. But it is quite incomprehensible when someone considers it altogether unnecessary to provide any explanations. What can workers of the Cherkassy Gorkom reply, for instance, to the question

from Cherkassy residents about why, having recently doubled the capacity of the dairy plant, the city is not receiving the necessary quantity and proper quality and range of dairy products? Some oblast leaders are not in a hurry to intervene in the prevailing situation.

"One would like for V. Popov, general director of the Cherkassy dairy industry production association; V. Chistik, deputy chairman of the oblast agro-industrial committee; and Obkom Secretary K. Yastreb to report back to the people. It is also time that Obkom First Secretary I. Lutak personally supervise the question of the provision of foodstuffs to the oblast's cities," stated V. Sokorenko, first secretary of the Cherkassy Gorkom.

The plenum examined in detail the problem of the cadres' guarantees for restructuring. Quite extensive information was distributed to obkom members. From it one can see that the oblast's cadre potential is sound enough. Specialists numbering 169,000 work in the Cherkassy Oblast national economy, including 64,000 that have a higher education. There are more than 760 scientific workers. Judging by statistics, vocationally well-trained people occupy leading posts.

However, as stressed at the plenum, these forces are not always used in a thought-out fashion. As strange as it may sound, there were promotions to leading positions of incompetent and unenterprising workers, who turned out to be not only incapable of imparting the necessary acceleration to the economy and other spheres, but who quite often impeded development. As a result, about 800 workers of the obkom, gorkom, and raykom nomenklatura had to be released from their duties. Since the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum criminal proceedings have already been instituted against 24 top leaders [pervyye rukovoditeli] of various rank. The fact that these unworthy people landed high positions is the direct fault of the obkom bureau and secretariat, the plenum stressed.

But acknowledging the blame is still not everything. It is important to clarify why this happened. The addresses of obkom members suggest that the reason lay in the impractical and armchair style of work with cadres, when impassionate paperwork quite often replaces a living person.

"I consider that formalism and rigid regulation in cadre questions should be ceased," stated N. Berezovoy, first secretary of the Korsun-Shevchenkivskiy Raykom. Each of us knows how difficult it is to select a good worker for the raykom apparatus. This must be a skilled specialist who has been conditioned in a labor collective and who has experience in grass-roots party work. But can we find precisely such a person for, say, the position of raykom instructor if it is required that he be no older than 25?

By the way, does not this bureaucratic regulation explain the high turnover of party apparatus workers in the oblast? After all, last year alone there was a turnover of more than half the instructors in eight raykoms!

It was noted that the leapfrog of cadres is generally very typical of Cherkassy Oblast. It is often the case that leaders and specialists do not have time to get used to their duties before they are transferred to other positions. What this leads to can be seen through the example of the "Umanfermmash" association. Within the last 5 years, 3 general directors and 5 chief engineers have worked here, and in three years 32 chiefs of departments and shops have been replaced. Given this cadre shake-up, how can one talk about prospect for and consistency in technological policy and about a resolution of social tasks? No wonder the association made a mess of the 11th 5-Year Plan, decreased production volumes last year, and is still functioning very unevenly.

Since 1981 in the oblast more than 60 percent of kolkhoz chairman and sovkhoz directors have been replaced, 9 out of 10 chief agronomists and zootechnics experts, 8 out of 10 chief engineers and veterinarians, and 70 percent of chief economists. This situation engenders uncertainty in people, many live only for immediate concerns and do not work on long-term problems.

Other flaws in cadre work were also pointed out. This included the worthless practice of transferring leaders who have compromised themselves from one armchair to another. As well as an impermissible tolerance of those who have headed crucial sectors for a long time and who have often made a mess of things. And the low efficiency of the system of cadre training and retraining. And the timid promotion of women and young people to leadership work.

The most important guarantee of the implementation of restructuring is the broad democratization of all aspects of life of socialist society and the provision of conditions for a significant increase of working people's impact on the selection of cadres and on the supervision of their work.

As noted at the plenum, the first steps in this direction in Cherkassy Oblast are helping to overcome social apathy and the passiveness of people and to directly involve them in the resolution of questions of the life and activities of collectives. The discussion of candidates during the elections of leaders of enterprises and farms and of their structural units is being conducted in an atmosphere of openness and interest. More than 3,000 brigade leaders and chiefs of sectors, livestock units, and complexes have already been elected in this way. Out of a number of candidates, the chairman of the Monastyrishchenskiy Rayispolkom, the first secretary of the Gorodishchenskiy Rayon Komsomol Committee, and the directors of a number of enterprises were elected by secret ballot.

However, it was pointed out that democratic principles are not yet receiving support everywhere. Quite a few workers who have assumed a posture of observers are waiting for additional instructions and orders from above. Thus, labor collective councils are operating at practically none of the oblast's enterprises. The role of general meetings, particularly in kolkhozes, has depreciated.

It was correctly stressed that party committees must show an example of energetic restructuring and democratization of work style. However, individual gorkoms and raykoms are still biding their time and are confining themselves to superficial, cosmetic measures. It is particularly important to review the attitude toward the elected aktiv. Many members of obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, and auditing commissions are not involving themselves in the least in the elaboration of decisions and in supervision over them. Their opinion is not considered in deciding cadre questions. In the past year in the Kamenskiy, Mankovskiy, Lysyanskiy, (First Secretaries N. Peleshok, V. Vasetskiy, and N. Pampukha) and certain other raykoms, every fifth session of the bureau was held without the participation of the workers and kolkhoz members elected to it.

The apparatus of Soviet organs requires serious renewal and replenishment with cadres capable of fulfilling their duties at the standard of present tasks. It cannot be considered normal that, for instance, in the oblispolkom apparatus 8 out of every 10 staff members do not have experience in grass-roots Soviet and economic work. Up till now the oblast trade union council (Chairman V. Shkvorets) and the oblast committees of sectorial trade unions many trade union committees have not made decisive steps toward eliminating inertia, stagnation, and bureaucratism. For instance, V. Shevchenko, secretary of the oblast trade union council, was instructed as far back as December 1985 to award a commemorative prize to the best beet-growing team in the oblast; however, he did not find time to fulfill this honorable assignment until February of this year! Substantial changes have not been noticeable in the activity of the oblast Komsomol committee (First Secretary N. Kosareva). For the time being the requirement that each Komsomol organization have its own specific tasks remains a mere declaration and a good intention.

Great attention was paid to the question of genuine democracy and deference in interaction with people. Many leaders still lack this. Serious complaints, for instance, were made against A. Bespalov, chairman of the Sosnovskiy Rayispolkom, who is inclined toward a formal-bureaucratic style of leadership, does not consider the opinion of voters, and treats people disrespectfully.

Certain criticism in this sphere was also directed at the obkom bureau. Thus, V. Sokorenko, first secretary of the Cherkassy Gorkom, said that we, members of the bureau, taking into account the bitter experience of the Voroshilovgrad, Dnepropetrovsk, and Lvov Obkoms, where scandalous violations of the collectiveness of leadership and of intraparty democracy were permitted, must assess our activities more self-critically and emancipate the atmosphere in the work of the bureau so that exchanges of opinion are freer and so that no one feels restricted even if his opinion turns out to be wrong.

The plenum showed that the oblast party organization is only at the approach to restructuring and acceleration. Everything still lies ahead. L. Antonov, lathe operator at the Cherkassy "Strommashina" plant, was right when he

honestly and frankly said from the speaker's rostrum that the cause of restructuring is difficult and that not everyone can see how to develop it. He was well augmented by A. Savkevich, a worker at the "Megommetr" production association, who stated that rapidly catching up with the pace of restructuring is a matter of party conscience. The general view is that Communists, party committees, and leaders of all rank are obliged to increase their work and to boldly eliminate brake processes and activities on the path to changes.

The obkom plenum unanimously approved the decisions of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum and determined practical measures to implement them.

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GRISHKYAVICHUS SPEAKS ON CADRES, RESTRUCTURING AT LISSR PLENUM

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 14 Mar 87 pp 1, 3-4

["Text" of speech by P. P. Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, at the 6th Lithuanian CP Central Committee Plenum:

" Tasks of Republic Party Organizations in Connection With Efforts to Intensify the Restructuring Program and Improve Work With Cadres in Conformity With Decisions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades! As you know, the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee focused on problems connected with the restructuring program and the party's personnel policy. After hearing and discussing the report delivered by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in which he discussed these problems, the plenum unanimously approved the political and practical findings of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo based upon analysis of the situation in the country as it presented itself during the period prior to the April (1985) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The rigorous analysis of the progress of the restructuring effort and of the earliest results achieved from implementation of decisions of the 27th Party Congress was approved in its entirety. The plenum also outlined the objectives of CPSU personnel policy. The decisions of the January plenum represent a direct continuation and further development of the line of policy defined by the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th Party Congress. Communists and the working people of Soviet Lithuania unanimously endorse these decisions and have adopted them as constant guides to action.

It was observed at the plenum that the achievements the Soviet people have to their credit over the course of the past almost 70 years of socialist development are great and indisputable. These achievements, however, should not be allowed to conceal the fact that toward the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's the country began to lose somehow its forward momentum. Difficulties and unresolved problems began to pile up in all spheres of Soviet society, and we began to see signs of stagnation and other phenomena alien to socialism. In his address Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke with a Leninist openness about these problems and the basic, underlying causes of these negative processes.

Of extraordinarily vital importance is the fact that in this challenging situation the party has found within itself the strength and courage to chart a course toward

restructuring, to take the lead in this effort, to mobilize for a genuinely revolutionary campaign to deal resolutely with the problem of stagnation in various areas and create a reliable and effective mechanism for accelerating the social and economic development of the country. The strongest emphasis possible was placed on the fact that there is no other course open to us than to restructure, reorganize, and that this is a challenge from which we cannot retreat. Nor, in fact, do we have anywhere to retreat.

The restructuring campaign, vigorously supported by both the people and the party, is having an invigorating effect on the situation throughout the country and is now beginning to take on some new, qualitative characteristics. As the plenum decisions underline, the overall political impact of this effort consists in the fact that profound changes are under way in the life of Soviet society. Positive trends are gathering strength, and we are seeing the development of a new moral atmosphere. Openness, truthfulness, a refusal to compromise with shortcomings and a desire to set things straight are increasingly asserting themselves as the effective operative principles. The first year of the five-year-plan period saw the national economy exceed plan figures in all basic categories.

All these positive trends have now begun to have their impact in our republic as well. National income for the first year of the five-year-plan period rose 3.9 percent as against the 3.5 percent called for by the plan. Rates of growth in production and in labor productivity in industry exceeded plan targets by a factor of 1.5. We have also seen positive developments in agriculture, capital construction, transportation, communications and consumer services.

What has been accomplished to date, however, still does not entirely satisfy the spirit of the times. Change in some of the most critical areas, particularly in the sphere of efficiency and quality, advancement in science and technology, changes in the social sphere and so on, is coming only with a great deal of difficulty. The road blocks to social and economic progress which have accumulated over the years have been slow to give way and open up the path of advance. Conservatism, inertia and outdated thinking have still not lost their strength or effect.

We need to analyze honestly and rigorously the causes of the disruptions and failures we have experienced and the obstacles to progress and where they lie. Most importantly, however, we need to double the energy and resolution with which we are tackling the problems involved in removing these obstacles.

The time has come for practical implementation of the decisions of the January CPSU Central Committee plenum. M. S. Gorbachev's trip to Latvia and Estonia has been of great importance. His speeches to the aktiv in our neighbor republics and the thinking he communicated in numerous meetings with workers there have been developed into a far-reaching, well-defined action program focusing on the restructuring effort and the acceleration of social and economic development for our party organization as well. And in defining our practical objectives in the drive to implement the decisions of the plenum, we are going to have to proceed on the basis of the criticisms, suggestions and instructions outlined by M. S. Gorbachev and adopt them as a basis for our practical activities.

More than half of our industrial equipment requires replacement because it has become worn out, while another one-fourth should go because of technical-economic

parameters which put it out of date. Despite this, the reorganization and reequipping of our enterprises is still proceeding slowly. Last year saw 25 percent more state investment capital allocated for this purpose than in 1985. Sixty-two million rubles of this amount, however, remain unused. Due to the actions of both construction organizations and customers these funds remain unused in Gosagroprom, in the ministries of the construction materials industry, light industry, motor transport and highways and municipal services and other industries. Nor are we seeing the progress we want in this area in our machine-building industry, where almost half of the equipment is obsolete and requires replacement. Responsible first and foremost for the poor management and oversight in this instance are the republic council of ministers (comrades V. A. Kazanavichyus and Yu. L. Rusenko) and the various industry departments of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania. In the meantime, plans are calling for the expenditure of 27 percent more investment resources for reequipping and modernizing existing enterprises this year than last year. In all industries and all areas we need to improve our organizational efforts and exercise more rigorous oversight over progress in the implementation of our plans in this most critical sphere.

We are forced today to direct some criticism in the direction of a number of union-level ministries as well. The modernization of the ministry of automotive industry's Vayras bicycle-motor works in Shyaulyay has been under way for ten years already now. Work on this project has not been properly coordinated and is proceeding on the basis of technology which is now out of date. Nor do we yet see any end to the modernization of the ministry of the electrical equipment industry's Sirius dry galvanic cell works in Klaypeda. This kind of approach to a project does not square with either the spirit or the demands of the restructuring effort.

We must be restructuring our production operations on the basis of the introduction of the latest advances in science and technology. We have yet to observe any changes in the development of our science and technology in this area, however. The annual plan has been underfulfilled in terms of both numbers of science and technology targets achieved and the volume of work completed. We see the greatest lags here in the cases of Gosagroprom (comrade S. Yu. Vasilyauskas), Litrybprom (comrade E. M. Urbonavichyus), the Vilnius and Kaunas machine tool manufacturing associations imeni F. Dzerzhinskiy (comrades K. E. Baranauskas and K. P. Dzidolikas), the Kapsukas Automatic Food Vending Machine Association (comrade I. S. Sheshkyavichus) and a number of other enterprises.

All this is clear-cut evidence that many of our industrial managers have yet to undertake the restructuring called for in light of requirements imposed by the party; from inertia they remain absorbed by efforts to fulfill current plans at any cost, while at the same time giving too little attention to the future course of development of production operations.

Efforts to insure more efficient utilization of our scientific potential and achieve greater integration of science and industry are proceeding slowly. Only 20 percent of the work our VUZ's do under contract involve the development of any inventions. One-fifth of the products of the research of academy institutes and institutions of higher education are finding no practical application. This is a result of the fact that the efforts of our scientists are still being dispersed in work on very narrow, relatively unimportant projects and that scientific research is not being properly

coordinated. These shortcomings should be remedied more expeditiously by our senior personnel in Gosplan (comrade B. A. Zaykauskas), the Academy of Sciences (comrade Yu. K. Pozhela) and the republic ministry of higher education (comrade G. K. Zabulis).

The most critical problem we face is the problem of improving the quality of our production. We can no longer tolerate a situation in which many enterprises have for years now been turning out products which are hopelessly out of date, bring serious complaints from consumers and become obstacles to progress in science and technology. The fraction of our production in the top-quality category last year was less than one-half, which puts us behind our neighbor republics in this respect. Inspections turn up failures to comply with the requirements of standards and specifications in every other enterprise. Many ministries, departments, associations and enterprises have yet to come to grips with the problem of effecting fundamental improvements in both the quality and the technical level and standards of production. We find confirmation of this in the early state acceptance results. Not all organizations were prepared for this as they should have been. This was the main reason for the two-month disruption in efforts to meet plan targets at the Elfa electrical equipment works in Vilnius (comrade V. B. Blinkyavichyus, director; comrade V. I. Sizov, party committee secretary), the Vyarpstas knitwear plant in Shyauliyay (comrade P. P. Bilyavichyus, former director; comrade R. V. Shcheponavichene, party committee secretary) and at a number of other enterprises. So the question arises: where were the ministries, the party's city and rayon committees, the Central Committee's industry departments (comrades L. K. Maksimovas and I. I. Izvekov) and the republic council of ministers looking?

The fact that we have yet to see any fundamental improvement in the organization of the production of consumer goods is also a source of serious concern. Only irresponsibility on the part of senior officials can explain the drop in production of these products at 22 enterprises. Among these we find major organizations such, for example, as the Alitus cotton combine (comrade D. I. Yakshis, director), the Elnyas industrial association (comrade P. S. Karkalas, general director), the Lithuanian Industrial Association "Neris" (comrade V. V. Shumakaris, general director), the Panevezhis cable products plant (comrade V. Yu. Stankyavichyus, director) and a number of others.

Many enterprises engaged in the production of consumer goods have gone over to operation under the new system of management. By no means all of them, however, have been able to turn in good final performance figures. This would apply first and foremost to our light industry (comrade I. K. Ramanauskas, minister). Despite repeated criticism, we have yet to see any substantial improvement in the way of updated assortment, increased output and better quality in articles for children, particularly clothing and shoes.

Restructuring requires fundamental changes in the nature of the relationship between the spheres of the production of consumer goods and of the sales of these products. In the interest of the public these relationships must be established on a rigorously principled basis. The ministry of trade (comrade P. P. Mitskunas) and Litpotrebsoyuz [Lithuanian Union of Consumer Societies] (comrade V. A. Ramanauskas) are going to have to do a better job of tracking changes in demand and take much more resolute steps to prevent items of poor quality and those for which there is no demand from making their way onto the market.

The executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies, the ministry of trade, the ministry of local industry and the union of consumer societies are not moving with the vigor required to organize cooperatives specializing in the production of consumer goods, consumer services and public dining. Many of the party' city and rayon committees are taking a passive view of this effort.

We are far from seeing all problems resolved when it comes to efforts to improve the operation of the economic mechanism in the sphere of capital construction. The situation in the area of material and technical support still leaves much to be desired, as does the progress achieved to date with the introduction of the collective contract system at construction sites. Lagging, too, are our efforts to introduce a system of full cost accounting and self-financing and to build more projects on a turnkey basis. Comrades V. A. Kazanavichyus, B. A. Sheshplaukis and A. K. Baltushis and the central committee's construction and urban development department (comrade A. A. Dauksha) are going to have to devote much more energy to the resolution of the problems involved here.

Inadequate attention is being given to efforts to strengthen the material-technical base of our transportation system, particularly when it comes to improvements in our railway stations, terminals and track facilities. Construction has been intolerably slow on the marshalling yard in Vilnyus. And the capital's railway terminal has needed renovation for a long time now already.

Responsibility for these shortcomings rests first and foremost with the section managers, comrades V. Yu. Kastanauskas and D. G. Blyaskin. But the council of ministers, the republic Gosplan, the management of the Baltic Railroad and the national ministry of railways are going to have to give more attention to the solution of these problems.

The agroindustrial complex occupies a most critical place in the republic economy. This is the second year of operation for the new organs of administration responsible for managing the agroindustrial complex. The first question, which is a matter of concern to us all, is: what kind of progress are we making in efforts to reorganize the operation of this whole system, what kind of results are these efforts showing? What we do, in fact, see are some indisputable changes for the better, which confirm the correctness of the measures the party has adopted. During the first year of the five-year-plan period we achieved some degree of improvement in many production indicator categories. Plan targets for state purchases of all basic types of agricultural products were met.

We cannot allow ourselves to rest content with what we have achieved, however. The declining figures on the economic performance of our kolkhozes and sovkhoses are a source of deep concern: profits and net income are down, as is the profitability of production operations. Analysis has shown that this is due first and foremost to a drop in added income from production sold above and beyond the level of the previous five-year-plan period. So what this means, of course, is that we have not raised our production levels sufficiently. There are other reasons, too, and we must take a close look at what's involved here.

For the first time after the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee plenum we have begun to see unprofitable farms. There are 12 of them altogether: three in Ukmerge Rayon

(comrade R. I. Pyatrushkyavichyus, party raykom first secretary; comrade A. Ts. Bernotas, rayispolkom chairman), two in Zarasay Rayon (comrades L. L. Galvyalene and S. Yu. Imbrasas) and one farm in Alitus, Ignalina, Kayshyadoris, Lazdiyay, Shyaulayay and a number of other rayons. We have 292 farms which took losses on grain sales, 300 which suffered losses in potato sales, 137 lost on pork, 37 on beef and 9 on milk. Most of these farms are in Akmyane, Yurbarkas, Kayshyadoris and Shakyay rayons. There are even some in Kapsukas Rayon.

Now in this connection we need to be asking ourselves first and foremost how we are exploiting the productive potential we have built up within the agroindustrial complex; what, that is, are we getting out of it in the way of yields? The criticism M. S. Gorbachev addressed to the people operating the agroindustrial complex in Latvia and Estonia in this connection would apply equally well to us. And in a number of categories indicating the efficiency of our productive potential we rank below our neighbor republics. We must speak openly and honestly about this so our cadres can get a picture of the true state of affairs and draw for themselves the proper conclusions.

Kolkhoz funding in Akmyane, Anikshchyay, Yurbarkas, Kayshyadoris, Moletay, Raseynyay, Shalchininkay and Shilale rayons has almost doubled over the last 10 years, but gross production has risen only 1-8 percent. And in Shvenchenis Rayon, where funding has risen 75 percent, gross kolkhoz production has decreased. We are even seeing a wide gap open up between the rates of growth in productive potential and in agricultural production in some of our economically solid rayons, such, for example, as Kaunas (comrades P. A. Mikyalenis and Yu. I. Daylide), Kedaynyay (comrades V. Yu. Povilaukas and D. P. Matukas) and Vilkavishkis (comrades V. K. Kurmis and A. P. Zhemaytaytis) rayons.

The roots of the shortcomings we observe in the development of the agroindustrial complex are essentially the same the January CPSU Central Committee plenum put its finger on. They lie in an analysis of development trends which was not thorough and objective enough, in an approach to past achievements which was not always critical enough and, perhaps, in overestimates of some of them. This led some of our cadres to become to a certain extent complacent, inclined to rest content with past accomplishments.

And as far as our republic is concerned, the criticism that we are simply marking time with our grain production is entirely justified. We have already gone over this many times. What can we add that hasn't been said already? The main thing we have to do here is to alter the attitude of our cadres toward this problem, and by alter I mean a fundamental, root-and-branch change in the way they look at the situation. We can't go on trying to blame objective factors, that is, bad weather, not enough equipment and fertilizer and so on. Prior to last year's grain harvest, we applied a great deal more mineral and organic fertilizer than we did back in 1976, which, as you recall, has been our best year for yields. But last year we were getting yields which were 3 quintals per hectare below what we got back in 1976. Now the weather, of course, does and will continue to have a certain impact on yields. The fact is, however, that our good farms get good yields under any conditions. The question is, why don't those of our farms which have fallen off the pace borrow from the thinking and the experience of our best farms? Why is it that frequently they will be found

to be disregarding even the most elementary of agrotechnological requirements? And the answer is that we are lacking vigorous, aggressive organizational leadership at the local level.

Another object which must continue to be a focus of unwavering attention is the personal, private plot. We have recently begun to observe the appearance of some trends which are a source of serious concern. As compared with the previous year, cattle purchases from our people were down 9 percent last year, while over the course of the first two months of this year they have declined 23 percent. To reverse this negative trend more quickly and compensate shortfalls in production, we need to move ahead more aggressively with the development of the family contract system.

Addressing a meeting of the aktiv in Riga, M. S. Gorbachev underlined the fact that to a greater extent than in other parts of the country, conditions in the Baltic make this region prepared to move to a full and consistent application of economic methods of management in all sectors and spheres of the agroindustrial complex.

We are still far from making the fullest and most effective use of such mechanisms of intensification and efficiency as the collective contract and cost accounting. Behind some of the inspiring figures on the extent of the application of these systems we are still finding a great deal of the formalistic approach. To change all farm operations over to an effective collective contract and cost accounting system should stand as the key component of all economic activity. Drawing on the best practical experience available, Gosagroprom (comrades G. P. Konoplev and V. N. Eynoris) and our rayon agro-industrial associations should now move to restructure the system of management on each and every farm and provide the managers and specialists involved all the concrete, practical assistance they may require in this connection. To put an end to the formalistic approach to efforts to introduce the collective contract and the cost-accounting system and to work for these changes throughout the system are things we can and must accomplish before this year is out. Responsibility for the oversight here, of course, is going to have to be assumed by the party's city and rayon committees and the Central Committee's agriculture and food industry department (comrade V. Yu. Simniskis).

At this point we should look just a little more closely at the effort to bring some changes in the operational style and methods employed within Gosagroprom and its local organizations. During the course of preparations for today's plenum, a group of members and candidate members of the Central Committee and members of the Inspection Commission of the Communist Party of Lithuania visited a number of localities. The object of the trip was to meet with the communists and the local aktiv and discuss with them the progress being made with the restructuring program, what had changed and in which direction. Inquiries have established that a good many discussions and conversations have been held on this subject. People are interested in changes, look forward to them and are participating energetically in implementing them. At the same time, however, there are many who are also expressing doubt that efforts to implement them will be successful. And why is that? Because Gosagroprom and other republican and rayon-level organizations persist in their attempts to manage kolkhoz and sovkhoz operations by means of orders and decrees from above. It is a rare day when some higher-level official is not calling for some form of accounting in connection with one question or another. Farm managers are reporting unanimously that the situation with respect to deliveries to farms of equipment and spare parts has gotten worse and that they are still having to fight the bureaucracy and all its red tape in connection

with any efforts to deal with the problem. Still governing are a good many old instructions which cramp the initiative of our farmers and establish controls over their operational activities down to the smallest trifles. We simply have to put an end to this.

The republic Gosagroprom as an organization is itself not functioning with the efficiency and coordination it should. The spheres of activity and responsibility of the first deputy and deputy chairmen have not been sufficiently well-defined. The procedures involved in handling and resolving questions concerning the operational activities of the RAPO and the farms and enterprises are too cumbersome. The top-level officials within Gosagroprom (comrade Yu. I. Bernatavichus) and the party committee (comrade I. P. Gribenas) have been slow to make the changes necessary to improve this situation.

Officials at all levels within the agroindustrial complex still have a long way to go in changing both their thinking and the methods and modes of their practical activity. On the other hand, all republic bodies, first and foremost Gosplan, Gossnab, the ministries of finance and construction, the Academy of Sciences and our industrial enterprises, are going to have to put forth energetic efforts in contributing to the drive to strengthen the agroindustrial complex, to discover new resources and possibilities and in general play a greater role in the implementation of the food program.

The January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee gave a great deal of attention to the need to establish socialist democracy on a firmer foundation and extend the processes of self-government by the people. The party views this as one of the most important conditions for accelerating the pace of the country's social and economic development. It is important that we create a situation in which each worker begins to feel himself in fact the master of his enterprise, someone in a position of responsibility for the country as a whole.

Reports are continually coming in from various cities and rayons throughout the republic on elections of senior officials in enterprises, construction organizations and sovkhoses. The first steps down this road have to date been hesitant ones, however. What is more, there have been instances in which administrative authorities have attempted to check any initiative on the part of the work collectives. The republic ministries of light industry and local industry, for example, have refused to accept suggestions concerning the election of managers of a number of enterprises.

We are pursuing the democratization of our social life first and foremost in the direction of improving the functioning of our soviets, particular emphasis being placed on efforts to give them a greater role in guiding and integrating the development of the economy and the social-cultural sphere within the various regions. The soviets of people's deputies are going to have to assume responsibility for resolving questions concerning the social development of our rural areas. Attention to these problems has fallen off noticeably of late.

We are still seeing some of our soviets not moving aggressively to restructure their operations and activities. Major deficiencies persist in both the style and methods employed by soviet authorities in Kaunas (comrade P. I. Stashkunas, chairman of executive committee), Anikshchray (comrade A. A. Budavichyus), Plunge (comrade A. P. Vindashyus) and a number of other executive committees). These organizations are still

showing themselves to be overly enamored of meetings and conferences, the paperwork is flourishing and we are still seeing the familiar patterns of formalism in approach to problems, bureacratism and administrative arbitrariness. There were 12 city and rayon executive committees, to include the Ionava, Kapsukas, Kedainiai, Pakruois, Pasvalis, Radviliskis, Shilale, Shilute, Trakay and Vilnius committees, which last year failed to meet plan targets for capital investment applied to housing construction. Nor have we yet seen any change in the situation with respect to cooperative housing construction.

Our soviets are going to have to deal with the problems of trade, consumer services, public health, education and so on in such a way as to bring about some fundamental improvement in these areas and to move more aggressively to stimulate the development of cooperative forms of consumer services.

The presidium of the republic supreme soviet and the republic council of ministers must be more rigorous and demanding in the restructuring and reorganizing of the activities of our local councils.

The trade unions, too, are going to have an important role to play in the broad democratization of our society. But as we could see from the republic trade union congress, many of our trade union organizations are still moving slowly with efforts to restructure and reorganize their activities. They are not making their full contribution to the processes involved in distributing housing and in resolving other problems associated with the provision of cultural and personal services and the organization of socialist competition. Many of them have yet to lift a finger against violations of labor legislation by industrial managers. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania is looking for more resolute action from the republic council of trade unions (comrade A. A. Ferensas, chairman) aimed at overcoming the inertia and bureaucratic paperwork which now plague our trade union programs.

To increase the role of the Komsomol in this effort is going to mean more active and extensive involvement of our young people in the economic, cultural and official life of the country. This is of particular importance in view of the fact that parasitic attitudes have begun to take root among those of our younger generation. Some of our young people are suffering from a dulled sense of obligation to society and showing signs of diminished ability to comprehend the fact that conditions under which our young people live and grow and develop are going to have to be molded first and foremost by the hands of our young people themselves. This is a very important point for the Komsomol to focus on in its educational programs. At the same time we are still seeing a great many party committees persisting in maintaining forms of petty tutelage over Komsomol organizations. There is still no proper degree of concern being shown for maintaining a close, continuous and effective party influence on their activities.

As we move in the general direction of a greater democratization of Soviet society, we are also going to have to give attention today to the question of what we can do to broaden democracy within the party. We should first and foremost give greater roles to the elective bodies within the party—the plenums of the Central Committee and the city and rayon committees of the party and all collegial bodies. It was pointed out entirely correctly at the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that there are instances in which executive bodies, specifically, party committee bur os , and even the party organization, have been able to place themselves above the elective bodies

and dictate their own policies to them without taking account of the views of members of the Central Committee and the city and rayon committees. This goes for the soviet bodies as well. Here we are occasionally seeing too great a role given to the executive committees and a diminution of that of the meetings of the buros of people's deputies. This kind of situation cannot be accepted at a time when we are trying to make a success of our restructuring effort.

Nor can we continue to tolerate the shortcomings in the performance of the elective party bodies themselves. We hold regular plenums and meetings of the buros of our party city and rayon committees, while fewer and fewer questions are coming in in the form of recommendations from higher-level bodies. But the discussions of a great many problems are not always producing the kind of results we are looking for. Here's an example of what I'm talking about. The party's Yurbarkas rayon committee has discussed questions concerning management of the development of agricultural production four times over the past three years at plenums and meetings of the party aktiv. We have nevertheless seen no improvement in the situation. And this is because these discussions have evolved into ends in themselves. They are not being followed up by the necessary organizational effort or by any real oversight over progress in implementing decisions.

It has to be said that changes in the style and methods of operation of a great many of our party committees are coming too slowly. Many of them are simply taking their time, apprehensive of any departure from established traditions. Personal organizational work with people within the party organizations and work collectives is still being found to be supplanted by bureaucratic motions. We are seeing this approach most prominently in the cases of the Kapsukas rayon committee (comrade V. P. Sinitskas), the Kayshyadoris (comrade Ya. P. Greychyuvėne), Kelme (comrade I. K. Leynartas), Utena (comrade V. Yu. Tvaryėnas), Lazdiyay (comrade K. K. Stontselis) and a number of other party rayon committees.

Speaking in Tallin M. S. Gorbachev warned of the danger that some party leaders might begin to show signs of complacency: this restructuring business, they might say, is something they've already gotten behind them, and if there's still any restructuring to be done the only thing they can say is that at least it's not them. This would be an inexcusable mistake.

Now, it might not have been necessary to get into all this if we had seen more vigorous, purposeful involvement in matters concerning the restructuring of the style and methods of operation within our party committees on the part of the various departments of our central committee, and specifically the organizational affairs department (comrade V. A. Berezov).

We have yet to establish the practice on any extensive basis of hearing reports at plenums and meetings of party committee buros from senior officials of party organizations and work collectives concerning the progress their organizations are making in the reorganization effort and in implementing decisions of the 27th Party Congress. As things are now, this kind of report has become the subject of discussions in only one-third of our party committees. Nor has this practice become firmly established within the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania. The Pakruois, Shakyay and a number of other party rayon committees have been contenting themselves of late with discussions essentially of questions suggested from above only. This is

an indication of lack of initiative on the part of our party committees and is something that ultimately divorces them from the urgent problems of the cities and rayons.

We need to be getting away more rapidly from our tendency to overorganize and become overly enamored of the purely formal aspect of things in our conduct of our party conferences and party committee plenums and bureau meetings and resolve urgent questions openly in an atmosphere of constructive criticism and self-criticism. Party committees should be getting away from the practice of exercising petty tutelage over soviet and management bodies or of attempting to usurp their functions. What they are obliged to do is to be more demanding of them and behave as organs of political leadership.

The reorganization effort is going to get bogged down and we are not going to get the results we need to see if we are unable to involve all 6000 primary party organizations and all 200,000 of the republic's communists in active, effective efforts. It should be pointed out in all frankness that this key, mass-scale echelon of our party structure has as yet been only lightly gripped by enthusiasm for the reorganization campaign. A great many of them are still not demonstrating the necessary militance and failing to make the rigorous, principle-based demands on party members we need to see. At every turn we are still encountering instances in which it is difficult to establish any connection between party influence and the performance of one collective or another or the resolution of social questions.

Some primary party organizations are not demanding the strict adherence to principle on the part of communists and are taking a liberal view of violations by them of party regulations, Soviet laws and accepted norms of behavior. Last year alone, for example, this kind of situation made it necessary for the party's Klaipeda city committee 21 times and the Birzhay and Taurage city committees 7 times to rescind and then stiffen party penalties imposed on communists for various forms of misconduct. A similar state of affairs can be observed in a number of other city and rayon party organizations.

The militancy and effectiveness of the primary party organizations is going to be to a great extent determined by the way the party's rayon and city committees work with them. Party officials in many of these higher-level organizations are still spending more time on the bureaucratic routine than in making an effort to probe deeply into what's going on at the local level.

Our party organizations need to be concentrating their efforts first and foremost on developing in communists and all workers a new, forward-looking way of thinking. To insist on and maintain a universally vigorous, dynamic mode of action, a unity between the word and the deed, an adherence to principle and a high level of demandingness. These are essential directions in which our party organizations should be focusing their efforts with a view to achieving a real restructuring, a restructuring in deed.

The January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee adopted a far-reaching aimed at reforming and injecting new life into our cadres policy. We have to be able to insure that at all levels of party, government, economic and social activity we have in the positions of leadership people who are devoted to both the party and the people, individuals capable of genuine innovation, of overcoming inertia and routine and of

implementing party policy creatively and imaginatively. Herein lies the task of tasks for the republic party organization at this particular juncture.

We are going to be advancing and favoring only those workers who not simply agree with the restructuring effort in words, but who also involve themselves in an active, effective, creative way in the process of renewal and who devote maximum effort to the common cause and show themselves capable of achieving success. And I would like to give particular emphasis to the part of the plenum decision that says that anyone who proves himself incapable of effective positive change in the area of responsibility entrusted to him, who remains indifferent to the changes now under way and who clings to the past and the old ways of doing things, this type of individual has no right to claim or occupy any position of leadership.

Now what I just said applies to all cadres, but I'm directing it first and foremost toward those at the primary echelons: officials at the republic level, the first secretaries of the party's rayon and city committees and the chairmen of our city and rayon executive committees. Each and every one of our officials at these levels is going to have to rethink, reanalyze and reevaluate thoroughly and self-critically his performance and the results he is getting, compare these with the rigorous demands outlined by the January plenum and then draw for himself the proper specific, practical conclusions.

The CPSU Central Committee attaches fundamental importance to efforts to arrive at a timely resolution of our personnel questions. Now the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania is not going to go in for any leapfrogging in personnel affairs, but it is going to be pursuing a policy of rejuvenation and renewal more vigorously. In the meantime, we can also observe signs of immobility and stagnation. You can't really consider it normal, for example, to have one out of every four department heads within the republic Gosplan still on the job when he's already reached the age when he could retire with a pension. This would also apply to a certain extent to management-level personnel in the mass media and propaganda organizations, a number of other ministries and departments and, taken as a group, to management-level people in our industrial and other types of associations, enterprises and organizations.

This trend, just as is the case with other deficiencies and shortcomings in our personnel policies, can also be seen in many of our party's city and rayon committees. We have a formally defined reserve of cadres, but it is poorly trained and prepared. It is for this reason forever being found to be ineffective and inefficient, and so we're always having to cast about hurriedly for someone outside this reserve category to elevate. We are still selecting and advancing our senior officials on the basis of a system which is still not open enough, a system which is too exclusive. Members of the party committees are offered sufficient opportunity for participation in this activity. Nor are the views of the primary party organizations and work collectives being taken into account any more than they have been.

The formalistic view of things can bring down any kind of human activity. But it is to be particularly avoided in personnel work. Unfortunately, however, instances of this kind of approach to things abound. What else, if not formalism and campaignism, can we call situations in which the buros of the party's Prenay, Kaunas and Skuodas rayon committees, for example, approve 6-10 performance reports on appointive [nomenklaturnyye] personnel during the course of a single sitting? Certification on some

managers and specialists for farms in Anikshchyay, Rokishkis and a number of other rayons were also rubber-stamped without any consequences, without anyone drawing any conclusions.

We need to be placing radically more rigorous demands on our senior officials. A genuine concern for cadres has nothing whatsoever in common with indifference or a willingness to tolerate or forgive just anything.

Irresponsibility and poor performance on the part of senior officials can be traced to still another source, one which we must also eliminate root and branch. And this is the practice of transferring individuals who have been failures in one responsible position to still another one. We can still not at all infrequently find situations in which a manager in a particular enterprise or farm who has not been able to handle his responsibilities in that position, or who has compromised himself in one way or another, has immediately been transferred to a position as assistant manager in another organization in the same or a neighboring rayon. The party's city and rayon committees should then move more aggressively and demonstrate much more rigor in requirements and much deeper adherence to principle in their actions.

An elementary duty of each and every party committee and organization is to demonstrate concern for the purity and integrity of the person in the position of leadership. We must strive consistently to rid ourselves of the time-servers and careerists, of those who compromise the title of communist and leader by an inordinate desire to accumulate material things, by greed, drunkenness and moral impurity. For precisely this type of misconduct the party this past year imposed punishment on 636 communists in leadership positions at a variety of levels, some of which had to be expelled from the party. And we are going to continue to wage a merciless struggle against this type of scandalous, disgraceful conduct.

Arousing our indignation as well is the fact that despite the CPSU Central Committee decree on Moldavia we are all familiar with, a decree aimed at eliminating the padding and overstatement of figures and other deceptive practices, some of our senior officials are still tolerating these criminal activities.

Nor will there be any place for favoritism, nepotism or preferential treatment or advancement for anyone standing in any particular relationship or because he might be one's fellow countryman or may be particularly loyal or devoted to one. It is a distressful and shocking thing that here, too, we have recently begun to see scandalous instances of this kind of conduct. Comrade A. S. Vyantsyavichyus, for example, first secretary of the party's Skuodas Rayon committee, was able to place his brother and even his wife in the position of primary party organization secretary and deputy kolhoz chairman responsible for political activities. We have also been made aware of similar conduct on the part of comrade A. Yu. Baranauskas, first secretary of the party's Raseynyay rayon committee. So the question naturally arises: how is it possible for this kind of activity to be tolerated by members of the buros of these party rayon committees and members of the party aktiv? I think it is clearly time for intervention in connection with this matter by the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

In our personnel activities and personnel policies we must always, rigorously and consistently, adhere to the dictates of a Leninist nationalities policy. The national

composition of our top-level leadership should correspond to the nationality structure of the republic's population. In a number of personnel categories, however, we have not yet been able to establish this correspondence completely. Not one representative of a nonindigenous nationality is to be found among the deputy ministers of construction, trade and a number of other ministries and departments, among the chiefs of administrations and heads of departments in the ministries of higher and specialized secondary education, public health or culture or on the state committees on construction, prices and the publishing and printing industries and the book trade. We can observe a similar state of affairs in the case of senior officials and other responsible personnel on the 22 rayon executive committees. In everything we do that is in any way related to the cultivation of relations among our nationalities we must demonstrate a particularly high degree of tact, consideration and discretion, consistent adherence to party principle and concern for the need to strengthen friendship and brotherhood between the nationalities of our country.

Today as never before we need cadres with a firm grasp of Marxist-Leninist theory, people with a thorough understanding of party policy and of the effort to step up the pace of the country's social and economic development, people consciously prepared to help implement this policy. The training programs for our cadres in the higher party schools have a major role to play in this effort. One of our top-priority tasks consists in seeing to it that a majority of our party staff personnel undergo a program of higher-level party-political education. The higher party school in Vilnyus has a major role to play here, and it has a big job ahead of it. We are not, as things stand now, satisfied with the job it is doing. The senior officials and party committee of the school are going to have to move more aggressively and resolutely to restructure, reorganize the programs and activities here in light of requirements outlined by the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The republic's ideological education specialists, too, have an important contribution to make to the effort to expand and deepen the restructuring campaign. Their most important task consists in helping each and every individual develop a deeper understanding of the nature of the changes under way in our society and in mobilizing all groups within the population for implementation of the policy of the party.

The focus of our entire ideological education effort should be shifted to the work collectives, that is, to the point at which the fate of the party's plans is decided.

The questions of our patriotic and internationalist education programs and of the effort to strengthen friendship between peoples deserve particular attention. The republic party organization has always consistently, unflaggingly pursued a Leninist party nationality policy. What is important now is to give a meaningful new impetus to this effort.

We need to create conditions in which we can provide training for cadres of all nationalities now living within the republic. In this connection we cannot but direct the attention of the republic ministry of higher and specialized secondary education (comrade G. K. Zabulis) to the fact that the past ten years have seen the proportion of the republic's nonnative nationalities decline among our student and graduate student populations as well as among our scientific personnel. The factors creating this state of affairs are to be sought first and foremost in the practices involved in the way we deal with our future specialists.

A cause of serious concern has been the fact that in a number of our VUZ's, to include some of the big ones, the Lithuanian Academy of Agriculture and others, for example, we are seeing too few groups with Russian language training. There are only a few students of nonnative nationality in the state conservatory and the art institute. The republic ministries of higher and specialized secondary education and public health and Gosagroprom, the heads of our universities and the party organizations in all our institutions of higher education should take this criticism seriously into account.

All of our senior personnel and the party aktiv as a whole should strive for a deeper understanding and clearer explanations of the Leninist nationality policy of the party and of the processes involved in the internationalization of our society. The republic's social scientists should be making a more significant contribution in this connection. Unfortunately, however, we have recently been seeing them begin to give even less attention to these questions. A number of groups of these specialists as well as some individual social scientists have yet to reorient, reprioritize, their activities and to direct their attention to the urgent problems we are facing today. It is a disturbing thing to see how unfocused are the creative energies of our social scientists. Despite the repeated observations in this connection, the social sciences division of the republic academy of sciences (comrade I. A. Matsyavichyus) has yet to take the necessary steps to improve the state of affairs in this area.

The genuinely creative approach will occasionally be found lacking in the performance of our pedagogical collectives as well. They persist in doing things the way they always have, just as though we hadn't undertaken any reform of our school system at all. And the result is that some of our student youth fail to develop a true class-oriented conception of the processes at work within the sphere of relations between our nationalities. Nor are we taking full advantage of opportunities offered during instruction in the elective course "Soviet Lithuania within the Family of Fraternal Peoples." Taught as it has been up to now, it simply does not measure up to today's requirements. The ministry of education (comrade V. P. Spurga) should take steps to update and refine the content of this course and elevate the level at which this instruction is presented.

We also need to take more vigorous, more consistent steps to eliminate manifestations of national narrow-mindedness, overweening national pride, nationalism and chauvinism. The party's city and rayon committees and individual party organizations must always be prepared to confront anyone expressing these views and attitudes, outlooks alien to us, with a principled political criticism of this phenomenon and to take steps to limit the spread of these ideas. The ideological departments of the central committee (comrade Yu. Yu. Kuolyalis) and all echelons and organizations within our counter-propaganda system must begin to move more aggressively and effectively in this area. We must also strive to expose in the most resolute manner the malicious, slanderous attacks by Lithuanian nationalist elements in the emigration and those who are protecting and supporting them in the West.

In conformity with requirements outlined at the January plenum, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania is preparing a program of steps to be taken to improve relations between the various nationalities within the republic and enhance the effectiveness of our programs of patriotic and internationalist education. A draft of this program of measures has already been made available to the party's

city and rayon committees. Unfortunately, however, a number of party committees have responded to this central committee undertaking in only a cursory, irresponsible way and have submitted no remarks or suggestions. We believe it would be a good idea to convene a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania within the very near future to look at these questions.

Over the course of the last few years we have been giving no small amount of attention to efforts to improve and strengthen our party leadership with programs of atheistic education. At the same time, however, a number of our party committees and primary party organizations continue to attach to this effort less than the importance it is due. From one year to the next we are seeing graduates of schools in Prenay, Vilka-vishkis and Ignalina rayons and within the city of Kaunas go on to the religious seminary. Religious attitudes among sections of the population in Vilnyus, Shyaulay and Shvenchenelyay rayons have consistently taken active form for a number of years now. We are not seeing the party demonstrate any consistent concern here in the form of moves to undertake a more aggressive program of atheistic education. What we need to do generally is to intensify the flow of well-argued criticisms of religious views and skillfully and resolutely debunk any expressions of clerical extremism.

We have recently seen a number of instances of good progress in our sobriety campaign. These, however, came by and large as a result of more vigorous administrative measures. Drunkenness and alcoholism are still yielding their positions only slowly. The number of instances of drunkenness in the home has been on the rise, and private distilling and speculation in alcoholic beverages is becoming more widespread. Vilnyus, Kayshyadoris, Shirvintos and a number of other rayons saw an increase last year in the number of crimes committed by persons under the influence of alcohol. Another source of serious concern is the increase we are seeing in the number of drug addicts and in the number of crimes connected with the use of drugs.

All these things call for more aggressive, more resolute action on the part of our party, soviet and economic administrative authorities, work and pedagogical collectives in our factories and schools and of our trade unions and Komsomol organizations in the campaign for the health-conscious way of life.

Also in need of major improvement are our efforts to deal with the problem of the misappropriation of socialist property, particularly in our large cities and in Klaypeda, Telshyay, Utena and a number of other rayons. Misappropriation and a number of other violations of law involving the derivation of unearned income constitute 65 per cent of all crime. Both our law enforcement agencies and people's control authorities (comrade A. K. Kayryalis) are going to have to step up the drive against the petty theft, embezzlement, the practice of overstating figures, unearned income and other economic crimes and irregularities.

In our efforts to implement decisions of the January plenum we are going to have to see a greater contribution by our press. As we have heard Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev emphasize, "more attention to business and a little less general discussion of the benefits of restructuring—this should now be the main theme of pronouncements by our mass media."

Over the course of the period since the 27th Party Congress, our mass media have made major strides forward in efforts to stir up the fighting spirit and improve their analysis of many aspects of our life and society.

The winds of reorganization and restructuring, however, have yet to begin to stir the desired degree of enthusiasm within editorial boards of newspapers such, for example, as the TARIBINIS MOKITOYAS, magazines such as LYAUDES UKIS, KOOPERATININKAS, MOKSLAS IR GIVYANIMAS and a number of others. These publications are giving us virtually no thoroughgoing coverage and analysis of the latest thinking and experience on the part of individuals and groups involved in the restructuring effort, for all intents and purposes there is no critical analysis, and many publications are limiting themselves to material which is essentially educational in nature.

Nor is our local press doing anywhere near what it could in the way of utilizing its capacities to the full. Tolerated by a number of our party committees, it is still coming out with rough-looking, unattractive publications. Here we would include the Kapsukas and Shyaulay city papers and the Moletay, Ionishkis, Pakruois and a number of other rayon papers. The working journalists here will frequently be found avoiding the pointed issues and still rejoicing over minor accomplishments.

The affirmation of openness and an atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism has inspired our writers and artists. Many of them are deeply aware of the need to take a new look at themselves and reorient, restructure, the activities of the creative collectives.

We call upon the masters of our art and our literature of all generations to render more vigorous assistance to the party in its efforts to achieve a revolutionary transformation of all aspects of the life of our society. It is a matter of both honor and conscience for each and every one of them to defend and assert through the power of the artistic word the ideals and values of socialism and strive consistently to enrich the spiritual world of man.

And now a few words concerning some current business. We did not begin the second year of the current five-year-plan period in a way which the historic significance of the year of the 70th anniversary of the Great October would appear to require. Nor did we see any substantial improvement in the situation in February. Looking at performance results for the first two months of the year, we find 23 industrial enterprises failing to fulfill contractual obligations.

Nor have contract construction organizations fulfilled plans for the two-month period. We are seeing delays in work on the construction of a number of projects of utmost importance for our economy. The figures for retail turnover did not measure up to plan targets either.

It goes without saying, of course, that the operations of these organizations were affected by problems with supplies of machines and materials and the difficulties associated with wintertime operations. But these factors cannot entirely justify poor performance. Our ministries and departments, party city and rayon committees, association and enterprise managers and primary party organizations must take steps immediately to remedy these shortcomings.

The progress we are seeing within the agroindustrial complex cannot leave us satisfied either, for that matter. We must do everything necessary to bring the winter livestock maintenance period to a successful conclusion and to insure thorough preparation for the spring sowing.

The situations we have been looking at here point to the fact that there are still a great many shortcomings and deficiencies in our performance. We have taken what are still only the first steps in our restructuring effort. It is therefore extremely important for all of us to intensify our efforts, pick up the speed and strive to increase our contribution to the work at hand. And here I am referring to everyone: members and candidate members of the central committee, members of the inspection commission of the Communist Party of Lithuania, secretaries and members of the bureau of the central committee, members of the republic government, all our cadres and each and every communist as an individual.

People are going to judge the restructuring effort and our performance in this area on the basis of the concrete achievements we can point to, on our practical results. Once again I want to underline the fact that the most important criterion for evaluating the performance of any individual today consists in his attitude toward the restructuring program and in how active he is in contributing to the success of this effort. We have to see more than just agitation in favor of restructuring. What we need to see is consistent, concrete, painstaking efforts from one day to the next.

The bureau of the central committee and I as first secretary are fully aware of the responsibility we bear for the shortcomings we have seen in the performance of the republic's party, soviet and economic bodies involved in the restructuring effort.

There are no secrets in the work of the central committee bureau. We are continually reviewing situation and discussing how better and more effectively to organize the activities of the party central committee, the republic government and other party, soviet and other bodies engaged in the effort to implement decisions of the 27th Party Congress of the CPSU and the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

The central committee bureau held a meeting on March 5, at which in a very principled, direct way we reviewed for one another what we thought were the areas in which success was still eluding us and areas we needed to give particular attention to in light of decisions of the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The members of the bureau offered a good many suggestions aimed at improving the style and methods of our work. I am of the opinion that this practice would now, at this critically important stage of our restructuring effort, be one the bureaus of our party city and rayon committees could also adopt to beneficial effect.

In connection with the discussion held at the meeting referred to above it should be pointed out that the bureau of the central committee remains plagued by a lack of sufficient resolve and consistence in tackling a great many problems. It is not taking a properly demanding approach in dealings with cadres and holding them accountable for their performance in their areas of responsibility. Central Committee secretaries comrades N. A. Mitkin, V. S. Astrauskas, A. K. Brazauskas and L. K. Shepetis should be demonstrating more energy and a higher degree of exactingness in managing affairs within their spheres of responsibility and greater initiative in solving concrete problems.

In our view, the republic council of ministers (comrade V. V. Sakaluaskas, chairman) should be able to function to greater effect. Comrades Yu. I. Bernatavichyus, Yu. M. Sheris, B. A. Zaykauskas, B. A. Kazanavichyus, Yu. L. Rusenko and A. Yu. Chesnavichyus, deputy chairmen of the council of ministers, will still frequently display

a degree of inertia, not always playing their role in advancing major initiative questions. So as not to be said to be making unfounded statements, I will mention only one example of what I am talking about. The problem of changing over to two- and three-shift schedules is a matter of enormous importance to the national economy. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has referred to it on a number of occasions. The CPSU Central Committee and the union government have dealt with the question in their decisions. We have covered it in several of our own decisions. But senior officials in the republic council of ministers and together with them high-level officials in our ministries, enterprises and party and soviet bodies have still accomplished little, for all practical purposes, in arriving at a resolution of this critical question. They have so far limited themselves for the most part to talk and discussion and displayed an unjustifiable passivity.

Together with the republic council of ministers, the presidium of the supreme soviet (comrade R. I. Songayla) needs to be moving ahead more vigorously with efforts to restructure the activities of the soviet at all levels and create a situation in which senior soviet officials, and the entire soviet organization, begin to function at maximum effectiveness and get out of the habit of looking back over their shoulders, always waiting for some kind of special instructions. There are a great many problems which are not going to be solved by any body other than the soviets. The soviets have been invested with a great deal of authority, and this authority now needs to be exercised to the full. So from the soviets we need to see more consistent, more vigorous action. Our people are expecting this from them.

So what I'm saying in a nutshell is that what is demanded of us is not simply an itemization of shortcomings, but rather concrete deeds. The restructuring effort is a serious test of our maturity. We have to do everything we can to make sure it doesn't get bogged down in desultory discussion and that as a program it develops in both breadth and depth. It is precisely this which today's plenum must set as its objective.

Permit me now to conclude my report with a quotation from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev: "We need action, action and once again action — vigorous, bold, creative and competent action!" This is now the most critical item on our agenda.

We can assure the Central Committee of the CPSU that the republic's communists are prepared to tackle these problems and will do everything within their power to render a worthy salute to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and insure successful implementation of the plans outlined by the 27th Congress of our party.

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MEDIA, PROPAGANDA

AFANASYEV, OTHERS SPEAK AT JOURNALISTS' UNION CONGRESS

Afanasyev Report

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 4, Apr 87 pp 6-17

[Accountability Report by V. G. Afanasyev, chairman of the Governing Board of the USSR Journalists' Union, published in condensed form: "Acting Aggressively, Boldly, Creatively"]

[Text] Five years have passed since the last congress of USSR journalists, the fifth.

The earlier of these years were ones of recognition of the need for a major turning point in our lives, while the last two were years of decision, years of a new beginning. These two years were marked by the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the 27th CPSU Congress (1986) and the January (1987) Plenum.

The April Plenum of the Central Committee proclaimed a course toward acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

The 27th CPSU Congress confirmed, comprehensively developed and rendered this course concrete. It defined the conception, the general line and the strategy of the party in the present stage. A strategy of restructuring of all of our lives, all of our work. Restructuring in the name of acceleration.

The January Plenum summarized the first positive results of restructuring and acceleration, and noted that restructuring is only beginning, that only the first steps have been taken. That the process of restructuring has turned out to be more complex and more difficult than previously conceived. The plenum conducted an inventory, so to speak, of our shortcomings, the problems, the difficulties and the tasks, and it clearly determined the things that we had not done, the things that had to be done and how, and the path we needed to follow.

The plenum spelled out the theory and policy of restructuring, and it steered the line of the 27th CPSU Congress into the plane of practical work in all areas. That is what M. S. Gorbachev said in an interview with journalists in February of this year.

Some tend to view the plenum as having essentially a critical orientation. But the truth is far from so. The significance of the plenum lies chiefly in its eye on the future, in its bold and, I would say, valiant work in behalf of the future.

Restructuring can be defined as decisively surmounting sluggish processes, dismantling the mechanism of deceleration and creating a dependable and effective mechanism of acceleration of socialist society's socioeconomic development.

Comprehensive development of our Soviet socialist democracy and socialist self-management and reliance upon the living creativity of the masses is the core, the heart of a dependable and effective mechanism of acceleration. This is true in the economy, in politics and in the party itself.

Our path into the future lies through democracy. We must learn to live and work in the conditions of expanding and deepening democracy.

Democracy is people. It is created by people for people, for the individual. Its most important principle is high respect of the value and merit of the individual. This idea permeates throughout the proceedings of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum. And it is no accident that the plenum discussed and resolved the question "On Restructuring and the Party's Personnel Policy." It was but one issue, but it was extremely important and fundamental.

How are we, the Soviet journalists, responding to the restructuring issue?

Restructuring in Life and in the Press

Restructuring has begun. The first successes have been attained. But at the same time it is not proceeding as quickly as we would like. To be more precise, it is proceeding too slowly. In the real world, in life. And in the press as well.

Things are especially difficult for our press, and for the mass media in general. After all, we journalists must pursue two exceptionally complex and important objectives.

The first: reflecting with maximum accuracy the course of restructuring and its results in the world around us, and helping the party and the state to achieve success in restructuring and in acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

The second: reconstructing ourselves, the Soviet mass media--newspapers and journals, radio and television, news agencies, book publishing houses.

What is hindering restructuring?

Many factors were named at the January Central Committee Plenum: the difficulty of the tasks--they have turned out to be much more complex and

difficult than previously believed; the inability and sometimes even the reluctance of some Soviet people and executives to carry out these tasks; a lack of democracy, an inability to live and work under democratic conditions, in which the broad masses take a direct part in preparing, making and carrying out decisions; mistakes in personnel policy.

I would like to turn attention to one other factor--understatement of the value of the systems approach to reality, to solution of the problems facing the society.

For example when we solve production problems we forget about solving social and human problems. We have the production capacities, but we lack housing, schools, children's nurseries, medical institutions, stores, clubs and so on. As a result the output capacities are there, but there is no one to exploit them.

The 27th CPSU Congress called for an abrupt swing toward social and human problems.

Our chief task as journalists is to fight uncompromisingly for the solution of social problems, to fight for the individual, for creation of the most favorable conditions for his labor, life, personal satisfaction and rest.

Or on the other hand we might be solving economic problems by creating production capacities, but we forget about nature, about the cradle in which man and mankind were born, in which they live, receiving all things from nature but often giving nothing back to it. Or worse, destroying it.

Journalists, writers and our society can take pride in our successes in nature conservation. We are helping to abort the ill-conceived plan of diverting the northern rivers south, we are saving Baikal, Aral and Ladoga from pollution, and we are saving Yasnaya Polyana, where Lev Tolstoy lived and created.

Let us continue to fight for the preservation of our nature, for the purity of its rivers and lakes, the seas and the air.

But let us return to restructuring, to acceleration.

We perceive restructuring as a gigantic, highly complex system, a mixed system in which people, collectives, society, industry and technology, various sorts of relationships between people, between people and technology, between people and nature, and between moods, feelings, thoughts and ideas have become intimately intertwined. A system in which objective and subjective factors interact, and in which an uncountable quantity of decisions, decrees and codes that are sometimes very difficult to comprehend circulate.

Let us analyze this complex system which we call restructuring. Let us determine its basic parameters. And let us correspondingly isolate the tasks we face.

The First Parameter: Its Breadth

Restructuring embraces all spheres of Soviet society without exception--the economy, the political system, and social and spiritual life.

This breadth generates enormous difficulties for us journalists, since we have never before encountered a problem of this sort. It is easy to become confused. But whatever the case, the economy is supreme over all else. It is the basis of everything else. And we are obligated to show it the utmost attention. Of course with regard for the particular features of the publications with which we are involved, though the economy does permeate through everything. For example we even have something such as the economics of culture.

The Second Parameter: Its Depth

Restructuring embraces the entire society from top down. The individual, the labor collective, the society--such are the principal elements of the vertical cross section of restructuring. Though little and sometimes weakly, we do write about the individual. We write a lot about social problems, but not always competently. And the collective, the labor collective, remains somewhere in the background for us.

So let us intensify our attention to the labor collective, let us comprehensively analyze its characteristics--economic, social and spiritual. Let us raise its weight and authority in society. We are obliged to do so, moreover, by the Law on Labor Collectives and the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), the draft of which is presently being discussed by all the people.

The Third Parameter: The Methods of Restructuring

The methods of restructuring are administrative and economic, and extensive (predominantly quantitative) and intensive (qualitative). Economic methods and intensive, quality-oriented methods are decisive. They are the ones that must remain at the center of our work.

The 27th CPSU Congress stated quite categorically that it is time to surmount "the prejudice against commodity and monetary relations, their understatement in the practice of planned management of the economy" ("Materialy XXVII syezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress], p 40).

The role and place of these relations in the system of planned--let me emphasize the word planned--management of the economy is yet another important topic discussed in the press.

Extensive factors have exhausted themselves. The main road of development of production is intensification, its qualitative transformation. We must not and cannot forget this for even a minute.

The Fourth Parameter: The Factors and Resources of Restructuring and Acceleration

There are three main factors of acceleration: the scientific-technical revolution, utilization of the latest accomplishments of science and technology in production and in other spheres of social life; improvement or, more precisely, radical transformation of the economic mechanism and of the entire system of management, decisive replacement of the present spending mechanism by an antispending, economical mechanism; the human factor, all-out activation of the people's efforts in labor and social life.

Thus we have before us a system of factors. Each of them is of the utmost importance, each is organically interrelated with every other, and one without the other is unimaginable.

Our press writes a great deal about the scientific-technical revolution, about the accomplishments of science and technology, and about the things that are hindering their utilization in production, in personal life and in culture. But there are many difficulties and costs in this area.

We know how to write about that which is, that which can be seen by the unaided eye so to speak, and we do not write about it badly, but we haven't yet learned to write about that which will be. The scientific-technical revolution is a "long-playing" factor, an intransient factor, and therefore it is important to study what is being done today in behalf of the future, and what has been done to sharply increase labor productivity.

Take for example an enterprise that is undergoing restructuring. That it is undergoing restructuring is a fact. But is this restructuring proceeding only in formal terms, on what technical base is it proceeding, what will its results be in a year, 2 years, 5 years? Are materials, labor and money being wasted? There are many examples where restructuring is proceeding for the sake of restructuring, on an obsolete technical base. Or consider the case where a new machine is being designed. How new is it, does it satisfy the highest requirements, is it capable of surviving competition in the world market? There are also many examples where equipment designed with yesterday's ideas is served up as something new. Another example. New equipment and procedures equal to and surpassing world models have been created. The question here is this: Are we ready to put them into series production, to duplicate them in quantities needed by the country and for export? We are far from always prepared to do so, and therefore it happens that we are forced to go abroad to purchase things that we ourselves had invented.

As we can see, problems associated with the scientific-technical revolution and utilization of its accomplishments have become entangled into an intricate knot. Journalists are trying to help untie this knot, and to make sure that the conveyor beginning with a scientific idea (an invention) and leading to development, design, experimentation, experimental models and finally to series production would operate trouble-free.

One of the most important tasks today is to create an antispending economic mechanism, to reject reliance upon gross indicators, to reject product sales volume in rubles as the main indicator for planning, controlling and evaluating the work of enterprises, associations and ministries.

Gross indicators are decelerating scientific-technical progress: It is unprofitable to produce inexpensive, light, economical machines because they mean a loss of rubles to the manufacturer.

PRAVDA for example has been fighting the emphasis on gross indicators for around 20 years. It has published hundreds of articles. Nonetheless gross indicators continue to dominate the economy as they have in the past.

We talk a great deal about the new system of management, which has been introduced into almost all of our production operations since 1987. Yes, this is a noticeable step forward, a measure which in some ways limits the importance of gross indicators. Full economic accountability, self-financing, fulfillment of contracts, state certification of products, a new wage system--all of this is good. But we are still far away from full economic accountability, from fulfillment of contracts in their entirety and so on. Moreover effective stimuli for confirming such practices in the economy are still few in number: After all, the new instructions put out by the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems are written in such a way that an average of 95 percent of wages are calculated depending on the attained base--that is, the same ruble-oriented indicator. And all other factors--quality, contract fulfillment and so on--determine only the remaining 5 percent.

All of this has an extremely negative effect on the human factor, inasmuch as creativity, quality labor, high competency and professionalism are not stimulated.

Some kind of supernatural reverence of the ruble, an emphasis on making money has confirmed itself in our society and in production. Product quality, product assortment and consumer value have become valueless. Marx's premise that only an article which is necessary to society and man, an article which is consumed, can add to national wealth has been forgotten. Unneeded, poor quality machines and mechanisms and consumer goods lingering in warehouses, hoarded goods and unfinished construction do nothing to increase our national wealth. On the contrary they ravage the country, inasmuch as labor, raw materials, materials and energy are expended uselessly, and frozen.

Producer-consumer relationships and relationships between producers and services on one hand and clients and recipients of services on the other are a very important, an extremely important problem--economic, social and moral.

In a planned economy, the producer pulls all of the strings. No matter what he produces, the consumer will be forced to take it, irrespective of its quality.

We talk a lot about permanent direct ties, about wholesale trade in production resources, about many other measures having the purpose of seeing that the consumer would receive precisely what he requires. But progress is slow.

Things are especially bad with consumer goods and personal services.

Good procedures have been introduced. Wholesale fairs in which orders can be placed on the basis of the appropriate contracts are being organized. But unfortunately goods offered at wholesale fairs last year worth hundreds and hundreds of millions of rubles were left unsold, needed by no one.

A few words about personal services, and about car maintenance in particular. A thriving breeding ground for bribery, extortion and misappropriation! It is extremely difficult for an individual to get a car fixed, be he a war invalid or a labor veteran. People of prominence or, what we see more often, people with means get served first. Here again the ruble stands above all else.

Absence of spare parts is said to be the reason for this. But the foreman, the fitter, Uncle Vanya or Uncle Petya can always find them, for the right price.

Here as in many spheres of our life, shortages are created artificially. They are created by the producer and the service representative at the expense of the consumer and the recipient of services.

Why don't we rise together as a wall in defense of the consumer (be it an enterprise, an association, a sector, the society or a client)? We have all of the means of doing so--articles, interviews, discussions, satires, essays, television and motion picture documentaries, photographs, raids. Let us attack without mercy the producer who makes things no one needs, who makes them for the sake of the plan, for the sake of that same ruble.

M. S. Gorbachev has spoken on several occasions about the need for cutting the "gross indicator knot," for creating an antispending economic mechanism. We journalists are obligated to help the party and state to complete this very difficult task.

We have become accustomed to criticizing the economic mechanism. But criticism alone falls far, far short of what we need today. We need to persistently seek ways of creating a new, effective antispending mechanism. We need to seek the building blocks, of which we have many, out of which the edifice of this mechanism will be built in the end. We need to intensify our attention to this problem to the utmost--a regular CPSU Central Committee Plenum was devoted to its discussion and solution, after all.

Creating a new economic mechanism that would stimulate scientific-technical progress and growth of the education and qualifications of the laborers would be unimaginable without the participation of the broad popular masses. And this would be possible only through all-out development of Soviet socialist democracy and socialist self-management by the people, through growth of the competency, professionalism and, most importantly, the responsibility of personnel, and especially executives.

"Only through successive development of democratic forms inherent to socialism and through expansion of self-management can we make any forward progress in

production, science and technology, literature, culture and art, in all spheres of social life," said M. S. Gorbachev in his report to the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "This is the only path that ensures conscious discipline. It is only through democracy and owing to democracy that restructuring itself can be possible. Only in this way can we clear a broad avenue for the most powerful creative force of socialism--free labor and free thought in a free country."

We have before us an entire program of development of the problems of democracy in the press. Our task is to follow the guidelines of this program, to implement it successively, persistently and systematically. There is positive experience here as well--election of production leaders, the competitive system, certification of workers and so on.

It is important to support this experience, to shield it from formalism and bureaucracy, to assist in its wide dissemination.

The fight against bureaucracy, formalism and paperwork has been and continues to be the most important task of the mass media. Bureaucracy is the chief foe of restructuring. It has penetrated so deeply into the most diverse spheres of the society's life and into management organs that it will take a great deal more time and effort to do away with this ugly phenomenon once and forever. Honing the economic mechanism, creating order everywhere and in all things, raising responsibility and confirming Lenin's business-like, creative work style in all places--such are the resources by which to eradicate bureaucracy. The press is called upon to assist the party and state in utilizing these resources to their fullest possible extent.

Activation and mobilization of the human factor to solve the problems of acceleration and restructuring presupposes a relentless struggle against antisocial phenomena, and purification of all things alien to us, of things imposed from outside and contradictory to the very essence of socialist society.

What I am talking about is successive and persistent eradication of violations of labor discipline, misappropriation and bribery, speculation and parasitism, drunkenness and hooliganism, private-ownership psychology and money-grubbing, groveling and servility. Manifestations of alien ideology and morality and all negative phenomena can be fought by the power of public opinion and the law.

The power of public opinion is primarily the power of the press, radio, television and the news agencies: After all, the mass media are in fact the field, the space upon which the opinions of millions upon millions are formed and expressed.

To put it frankly, we have been more than successful in this struggle. It is difficult and perhaps even impossible to find an issue of a newspaper, a journal, or a television or radio broadcast in which "antiheroes" are not exposed to the light of day. We have even gone overboard in some areas and in some instances: We have gloated over and publicized "antiheroes" and their

ignoble and often criminal deeds beyond measure. The rubric "From the Courtroom" wanders from newspaper to newspaper, from issue to issue.

But sometimes we forget that our main task is not to expose and castigate faults, but to prevent them. And so let us get serious about preventing antisocial phenomena, and crimes in particular.

The efforts of workers of the press help to create a healthy moral atmosphere in the collectives and in the country as a whole.

Nonetheless the press has done far from all it can in this sphere of our society's life.

Absence of consistency is the main shortcoming: We work in spurts, taking up causes in fits and starts. We fire a few volleys at one flaw or another, and then we fall silent until instructed from above to resume our offensive. Journalists often focus their attention on petty, secondary facts, on small enterprises and organizations. Sometimes we get carried away with extraordinary incidents and accidents. Nor are we adverse to sensationalism. The situation in the sectors and in the national economy's key facilities is being analyzed weakly in the press. We rarely generalize the positive experience of enterprises in which labor and production discipline is high. We do not reveal sufficiently well the role and possibilities of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and the role and place of the communist in instilling order at work and at home.

We are noticeably preoccupied with exposure of purely administrative punishments of violators of the rules of law and morality. We do little to publicize and utilize the power of public opinion and the collective, and our entire democratic system.

The acuity with which we perceive the problems of drunkenness and alcoholism has dulled. We do not criticize the ministries and departments that create obstacles to conversion of enterprises to the production of nonalcoholic beverages. The press is reacting too slowly to growth of moonshining and to the retreat of drunkenness into the home. Little is written about the organization of leisure time.

We need to intensify press coverage of the fight against unearned income. Party, soviet and law enforcement organs that are slow in initiating the struggle against unearned income are not always criticized sharply enough. There is a noticeable preoccupation with reporting trials and with describing the details of crimes.

The struggle against antisocial phenomena is an important task of the press.

I would also like to dwell on some sore points of our ideology and indoctrination.

Resurrection of nationalistic sentiments, which grow into serious conflicts with the slightest encouragement (the events in Kazakhstan for example): The press is called upon to fight these sentiments with ideas and deeds which

instill in the individual a feeling of internationalism, friendship and cooperation of peoples.

Activation of religion and of religious views and customs: The press is called upon to fight religion with scientific dialectical materialistic philosophy, with our Soviet customs and rites.

The spread of pacifist, cosmopolitan motives in the consciousness and acts of some Soviet people: The press must counter these motives by instilling a sense of patriotism and love for the motherland. In our efforts to confirm the values of mankind in general and, paramount among them, the value of human life itself in our extremely dangerous thermonuclear and space age, we must not lose sight of our class and party landmarks. We have no right to forget that Soviet journalists are party journalists. We are soldiers of the party, and the cause of the party, the cause of socialism and peace is also our own vital cause.

The press devotes attention to all of these problems, but not regularly. This work must be made more aggressive, it must be conducted systematically and consistently.

There is one other problem in the human sphere--our relationship to history, to our spiritual legacy.

Our ideological adversaries are trying to draw us into a debate about the past, especially about mistakes made during the time of socialist society's formation. Journalists and writers sometimes "nibble" at this bait. Our history contains both joyful and bitter events, and therefore it would be deeply wrong to focus attention on the bitter. We cannot forget the names of individuals and all the more so entire periods in the life of the people, who lived, believed and labored under the guidance of the party in the name of socialism. "In this period of transition," said M. S. Gorbachev in an interview with journalists in February of this year, "we need an objective, comprehensive view of reality more than ever before. The truth must be complete. Then it would have the quality of being constructive."

It is the sacred task of Soviet journalism to give the complete constructive truth in our publications, on the screens and in radio broadcasts, to reflect the life and destiny of the people in its real dialectics, complexity and contradictions, together with all of its accomplishments and mistakes.

We need to support and strengthen the individual's spiritual world, his convictions. Restructuring would be impossible unless the individual relies on high spiritual values. And we the journalists are called upon to glean these values from what we observe today and from the glorious history of the Country of the Soviets.

Restructuring in the Press

We journalists are pleased, or to be more exact, proud that the mass media received a high assessment from the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat.

"Editorial collectives have boldly tackled issues that are complex and new in many ways," it was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress. "Newspapers, journals and television programs have been able to record the pulse of life itself together with its accomplishments and contradictions; analytical thinking and civic-mindedness have become more prevalent, and problems are posed and shortcomings and omissions are criticized more keenly. Many constructive proposals have been offered in relation to important economic, social and ideological issues."

I think that journalists have passed the precongress examination.

Today we must take another examination, one that is perhaps more important, an examination that will ascertain how deeply and comprehensively we can reveal the rich theoretical, political and practical content of the congress's proceedings, and most importantly, how effectively we can help the party implement the decisions of the congress, to reconstruct the country and to accelerate its socioeconomic development. We are called upon to fight for every line of the congress's decisions, to work actively and productively, and to attain maximum effectiveness of our articles. The congress demanded this of the press: "Effectiveness of the mass media is acquiring increasingly greater significance today. The Central Committee sees the mass media as the instrument of creation, as the means of expressing the party's point of view, a point of view that is incompatible with bureaucracy and narrow local interests. And everything that is dictated by fundamental considerations and by the interests of improving the work will be supported by the party as before. The more thoughtful and dynamic and the less sensational the mass media are, the more productive their work will be."

The criticism directed at us during the congress does not negate the most important thing: We are on the right track, we are on the road of restructuring and acceleration. Of course not without costs, failures, mistakes, inaccuracies and so on and so forth. We accept the criticism, and we make the appropriate conclusions from it.

New topics and rubrics have appeared in the newspapers and journals, on radio and television and in the materials of the news agencies. Round-table discussions, debates, raids and campaigns are being conducted.

Yes, the press is undergoing restructuring. This restructuring is especially noticeable in the central press. This is chiefly because the party Central Committee, the Central Committee Secretariat and Politburo and M. S. Gorbachev are devoting an especially large amount of attention to the press, and providing direct leadership to the press. The first telephone call M. S. Gorbachev made literally within an hour after the 27th Congress adjourned was to PRAVDA. His first public meeting, if we can call it that, following the congress was one with executives of the mass media. And in mid-February of this year he met once again with journalists. This six-hour meeting, this discussion, this frank conversation was exceptionally interesting and productive. The statements made by the Central Committee general secretary in this meeting represent an elaborate, concrete program of actions by the press

in this time of restructuring and acceleration. Soviet journalists have adopted this program as their call to action.

Democratic traditions are rather deep and broad in journalism. After all, press organs have always been organs of collective leadership. These democratic traditions originate with V. I. Lenin. We need to utilize them to their full extent in the new conditions.

Restructuring in the press also of course presupposes a large number of organizational measures and improvements in the structure of publications and the system for stimulating the workers. But our reader does not care how many departments there are in the editor's office, who heads them, and what wages a given colleague receives. What is important to the reader is the material itself; the content of our publications is important to him. Therefore we must carry out restructuring chiefly in regard to the content of our materials.

Positive changes have occurred in republic and local publications. But as was noted at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, not all of these publications have wholeheartedly joined the restructuring effort; they do not stick to their principles when posing certain issues, and they fail to maintain a critical attitude toward shortcomings. Many party committees do not always make good use of the media, which are a powerful lever of restructuring, and in some places they even continue to constrain their activities.

And I mean constrain, often going as far as suppressing a critical orientation adopted by the local press. Thus there is good reason for the party Central Committee to intervene in such cases in order to restore truth and justice and to support the press and honest people concerned with the way things are going. The Central Committee has adopted around 10 decrees on the press and its materials.

And yet, if we look at the press as a whole, its restructuring is proceeding too slowly, with difficulty. Some journalists have proven to be unprepared and incompetent in stating and solving the problems of restructuring and acceleration. Others have become confused, unable to collect their wits and reject the thinking stereotypes that came into being in the conditions of stagnation, window-dressing and ballyhoo. Slowness of restructuring in day-to-day life has also had an effect, especially locally.

Journalists have also proven to be poorly informed: All-encompassing social statistics are still unavailable to them. And even in general, the level of knowledge maintained by journalists leaves something to be desired.

Nonetheless, the main cause of slowness in restructuring lies with our own slowness as journalists, the unjustified expectation carried by some of us that everything will work out in the end on its own.

No, it will not work out on its own. Restructuring of the press is something that we the journalists must do. And we are obligated to work actively, creatively, with the highest degree of professionalism.

I have worked in the press for around 20 years, and I think that the press has never enjoyed as much authority or played as enormous a role in society as it does today. Nor has the press ever borne such enormous responsibility. We need to infuse ourselves with the spirit of this responsibility to the fullest.

Journalists have answered with all of their soul to the party's appeal to disseminate democracy, glasnost and truth, no matter how bitter it may be, and to develop criticism and self-criticism.

"Our people need the entire truth," noted M. S. Gorbachev at the January Central Committee Plenum. "I would like to recall in this connection Lenin's premise spelled out in a letter to the editor of ISKRA: 'It is high time to resolutely discard the traditions of sectarian clannishness, and to promote a decisive slogan in the party with the support of the masses: More light, let the party know everything....' Today as never before, we need more light, so that the party and the people would know everything, so that we would have no dark corners that might once again allow development of the mildew, of all against which we are now waging a decisive struggle, a struggle that is still far from its conclusion. Therefore, give us more light!"

We journalists, and together with us the writers and workers in the arts, are striving to "shed light" upon our life, together with its successes, shortcomings, difficulties and contradictions. We are trying to peer into those "dark corners," of which there are still many. We are striving to first reduce the number of these "corners" and then to rid ourselves of them forever.

The attitude toward criticism changed toward the better in the press in recent years, especially following the April (1985) Central Committee Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress. The number of areas in which criticism is forbidden has decreased. It must be said however that such areas still exist, and attempts are being made to create new areas, as will be discussed below. The reaction to critical articles has become more dynamic, effective and decisive. The rank of organs subjected to criticism has risen. They now include republic Communist Party central committees, ministries, and kray and oblast committees.

Nonetheless we cannot say that the attitude toward criticism is as it should be.

In 1986 PRAVDA received 622,044 letters--80,000 more than in the previous year. Workers sent in 24 percent more letters, the intelligentsia sent in 69 percent more, and students sent in 44 percent more. This pleases us. But we are troubled by the fact that the quantity of letters discussing persecution for criticism more than doubled. We are talking about thousands upon thousands of letters.

To our great misfortune, wittingly or unwittingly a rather wide assortment of tactics were developed against criticism in the press.

"Forbidden zones" immune to criticism still remain. Take the space agencies for example. They issue ironclad statements suitable for all cases of life: "The mechanisms are operating normally, the cosmonauts are in excellent health." But once we met a large group of cosmonauts at the offices of PRAVDA (see "Ascension into Heroism," 12 April 1985). Things were actually not as stated in the official space flight reports. Unforeseen circumstances in space flight, dangers along the path of the cosmonauts, risks, heroism and self-sacrifice have been in abundance! There were sacrifices as well. But writing about these things is forbidden. Agencies responsible for space exploration have drummed it into their heads that things within their domain are always orderly in all ways, "everything is proceeding normally." And without the consent of these agencies, the press can say nothing that may be embarrassing to them. Is this an anachronism? Yes!

Wielding a rubber stamp stating that "everything is in order," these agencies padlock their doors to the press, thus depriving it, and together with it its readers, our people, of information describing how dangerous and heroic the labor of the cosmonauts is, and how great, selfless and heroic these beloved children of the motherland are. Moreover their example can and must be used as a means of indoctrinating our children, the young. All the more so because they are so infatuated with space.

There is one other forbidden zone--ecology. Here as well we must get numerous clearances before we can publish, and once again from interested agencies (the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control etc.). It took an enormous amount of work and the help of a central committee secretary for PRAVDA to break the stories about Baikal and diverting northern rivers to the south.

A rather simple but I would say a rather powerful technique for warding off criticism has recently been in use. A certain oblast committee first secretary would criticize the central press at a congress or a Central Committee Plenum (often in general form, unspecifically). After that it is difficult to criticize the oblast. Any criticism is taken to be an act of revenge by the newspaper for criticism. Thus a new "forbidden zone" immune to criticism arises.

Matters go so far that attempts are made to raise doubts as to the right of Central Committee press organs to criticize oblast committees. The argument goes as follows: A newspaper reporter with no work experience in party organizations cannot judge their work.

This brings up the question: Since when and why have reporters of party newspapers ceased to be party workers? The work of a journalist employed by the party press has been and continues to be party work. That's the first point. Second, many journalists have worked directly in party organizations for years and years, or they have studied party work in their functions as journalists for decades, and know all there is to know about it. Third and finally, criticism must be concrete. Cite for example a newspaper article with which you disagree, and then prove that you are correct. And if the newspaper has erred, it will apologize.

One frequently employed tactic is to ignore the press, to pretend nothing had been said. Creative organizations, writers and workers in the arts are especially sensitive to criticism. They not only fail to respond to criticism, but they sometimes organize "anticriticism" campaigns. They have become used to engaging in "retaliatory" criticism.

The most widespread form of reacting to criticism (of warding off criticism, to be more exact) is to write hollow, insubstantial responses for form only. Critical articles or letters from complaining readers are often forwarded to the organizations that give cause for criticism and complaints. We all know what happens: The point of contention is allowed to quietly drop out of sight.

Criticism is often responded to by persons without the authority to make the appropriate decisions. The problem is left unsolved in this case as well.

The attitude toward persons guilty of omissions and shortcomings, and sometimes even crimes, is liberal more often than not. The subject of criticism is given a warning, his sins are exposed in public, and in the worst case he is reprimanded (the reprimand may be ordinary or strict, and it may or may not be entered in the individual's personnel file). Then the reprimand is repealed, and things continue to move at a snail's pace.

A culprit is also frequently fired, but people are not told directly why he was fired and where he was transferred. He may be transferred immediately and, more often, after a certain while to another position in another rayon, and sometimes he may even be promoted.

The targets of criticism sometimes appeal to higher authorities, and those sometimes rise to the defense of the former. These higher authorities jealously protect their bureaucratic interests.

Preventive steps are sometimes taken as well. As soon as a reporter is given the job of criticizing something or gathering critical material, the telephones begin to ring. Attempts are made to keep the report from being published, and if such attempts are unsuccessful, the targets of the criticism seek acceptable answers that would smooth over the problem, and they call the editor's office to find out "who gave permission for this," "on whose orders was it done," "what is behind all of this," "who is washing dirty linen in public" and so on.

We have numerous examples of direct or indirect suppression of criticism. The "critics," which include journalists as well, are discredited, fired from their jobs, expelled from the party, and sometimes even placed behind bars.

The scenario of this procedure is approximately as follows. The critical report is studied under a microscope. Any inaccuracies or exaggerations are sought (they do in fact occur, unfortunately, as will be discussed below), and if they find them, they attempt to discredit the entire article, even though in principle the statements it contains are correct. They dig into the

biography and the current affairs of the "critic" and the one whom he is defending. And if they find something, the "critic" ends up paying in the end.

The need for developing glasnost, criticism and self-criticism--this tested instrument of socialist democracy--was emphasized at the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum with special force. The mass media are to play a major role in this regard. Condemning hostility toward criticism and cases of persecution for it, of direct suppression of criticism, M. S. Gorbachev declared the necessity for keeping up the efforts of the press in the development of criticism and self-criticism. There should be no areas in the Soviet society closed to criticism. This pertains fully to the press as well.

When we criticize, we need to map out the ways of eliminating antisocial phenomena, but sometimes we tolerate a one-sided approach to illuminating the problems, and we concentrate on the entertainment value of our work, on plot. What we need to think about first of all is what sort of response an article would elicit in our society. Among our people. We need to consider not only the immediate effect of what we say, but also the consequences.

Criticism is a sharp implement, and it must be used competently, wisely and circumspectly. Criticism is effective only when it is concrete, when it is irreproachably accurate, when it is creative. One-sidedness, distortion of facts and soiling of the honor and merit of the individual and the collective are especially impermissible. Criticism is not a one-way street: The targets of criticism must answer for their sins as well.

The party is hopeful that reports of the mass media will continue to be distinguished by depth and objectivity, by high civic responsibility.

"The press," it was said at the Plenum, "must support glasnost in the country, and keep our people informed. But it must do this responsibly--this is our wish. It must not succumb to sensationalism, to seeking 'shopworn facts.' We need a press that participates actively in restructuring!"

We must admit that we do not always relate responsibly toward our statements; we permit mistakes, inaccuracies, omissions and exaggerations. Sometimes we do succumb to sensationalism.

Such things are the result of a superficial, one-sided approach to the problem, neglect of the golden rule of journalism: "A top should be spun in both directions." In other words we need to approach a problem systematically, comprehensively, and reasonably weigh all of the pros and cons. Only in this way can we avoid mistakes.

Of course, it would be best of all not to make mistakes, not to allow inaccuracies. And this is what we are striving for. But if we have erred, we should apologize. This is what we have started to do, and this is what we will do in the future.

There is one other question I would like to pose--that of the ratio between critical (negative) and positive articles in the newspaper. If we consider just quantity, the ratio would clearly be in favor of the positive.

But the problem lies in the fact that in the big picture, from a broad perspective, positive articles are clearly lacking. Take as an example the problem of self-financing in industry and construction. The places and names that enjoy the limelight of newspapers, journals, radio and television are always the same--Togliatti, Ivanovo, Sumy, Travkin. But the bulk of the positive experience is local and unpretentious, drawing little public attention.

Who is to blame for this? The press, of course: Journalists are not searching very thoroughly for the positive experience of restructuring, they are traveling the easy, well-trodden path of famous places and names.

It stands to reason that it is extremely difficult to illuminate the progress and results of construction and acceleration in the press. This is chiefly because we have never been faced by such rapid and fundamental restructuring of all sides of our life and consciousness. We figured out rather quickly what it is we need to dismantle and carry away in the course of restructuring, but our ideas about how to replace the obsolete and the outdated, and with what, have not been at all clear, nor are they any clearer today.

There is little positive experience of restructuring yet; there are literally just hints of it. Collecting together the hints of this experience, and supporting and publicizing it is the task posed before journalists by the party. And we are obligated to carry it out.

We must seek new places and names insistently, we must spread the word about positive experience more widely, we must encourage restructuring if you will, and help acceleration.

There is one other problem. When it comes to negative things we write with a flourish, keenly and interestingly, sometimes almost in the manner of detective stories. But we have not yet mastered the ability to write just as well about positive experience. Our positive heroes are masked by numbers, liters, hectares, kilograms and rubles. Behind them, we often lose sight of the individual, the personality together with all of its strong and sometimes its weak traits. Mastering the art of writing well about good things is one of the most important tasks of journalists.

And so, restructuring and acceleration in the work of the mass media and the press presupposes first of all a reexamination of content, a shift in the focus of the press toward the problems of restructuring and acceleration of the socioeconomic development of Soviet society, toward deep, comprehensive analysis and reflection of the factors of acceleration--the scientific-technical revolution, the economic mechanism and the entire system of management, and the human factor. The supreme task of our press, radio, television and publishing houses is to illuminate where we are, what positive things we have achieved, where we have fallen short, the kind of problems,

difficulties and unfinished tasks we face, and most importantly, what we need to do to make acceleration a day-to-day reality.

But this is not enough. Restructuring in journalism mandatorily presupposes upgrading the quality of our work, improving our proficiency. This work--difficult but extremely important and necessary work--must be done collectively, purposefully, resourcefully and creatively.

The quality of the work of journalists has risen noticeably in recent times, especially following the 27th CPSU Congress. Our articles have become more timely, substantial and effective. The subjects we write about have become broader and more diverse. We can state categorically that there is not a single sphere in the life of our society, of the people and of the party which is not reflected in the press.

The trust of the masses, the readers and the listeners in the press is greater than ever before. Growth in the volume of newspapers and journals being printed is a persuasive confirmation of this. The circulation of PRAVDA has gone over the 11 million mark, that of IZVESTIYA is 8 million, that of TRUD is 18.2 million, and that of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is 17 million.

There are many true masters among Soviet journalists. But are we able to assert that all of our journalists are distinguished by high proficiency? Not at all.

We still encounter overly long, boring articles containing little that is new, insignificant topics, dullness, cliches and linguistic poverty.

There is much that is archaic, that fails to satisfy present requirements in the work of the press intended for foreign countries. As a rule, materials transmitted abroad are voluminous, as a result of which they get into the foreign press late and in distorted form. Our commentaries are often behind the times, their content is uninteresting, they abound with flat conclusions, ideologized stereotypes and excessive enthusiasm and pedanticism, they are limited to simple retelling of official materials, and they do not take the local audience into account. They are too edifying and didactic, and they perpetually rehash the same old platitudes.

To stay on top of things we need to continually raise the proficiency and the quality of the work of journalists--both those who write and those who edit; we need to increase our exactingness toward both authors and editors. We must reject outright anything that is obviously substandard, rather than relaxing the standards to some average level, as we sometimes do.

We still have blatantly poor workers, and there are even more mediocre workers who just put in their time for their paychecks. This situation is promoted by the flat wage scale still applied to journalists. We need to decisively rid our ranks of people who are incapable of working in the press. Of course, this must be done circumspectly, carefully weighing all of the pros and cons, but it must be done. Journalism is an important, creative field, and therefore the people in journalism must be creative, and they must be imbued with the highest sense of responsibility.

Certification is called upon to play an important role in evaluating the work of journalists, in selecting the best and in promoting them. Certification has been carried out in many press organs. It has made it possible for us to clear away the "ballast," to reveal capable and talented people, to promote them to executive roles, and to replenish the reserve of candidates for promotion. It has encouraged development of initiative and helped to raise the criteria used to evaluate the work of journalists.

Certification was carried out under the conditions of glasnost as a rule, with the participation of party, trade union and other organizations, and the entire collective. But unfortunately there have also been instances of a formal attitude toward certification, of failure to reckon the accounts and to get rid of objectionable and obstinate personnel.

The flat wage scale must be done away with as well. The first steps are being taken in this direction. A number of central newspapers have converted to a new wage system. Pay is varied within the bounds of the annual wage fund. Additional payments for high quality and proficiency total up to 50 percent of the salary. It is difficult to make any conclusions as to the results yet--not enough time has passed, but there are hopes that the results will be positive.

Repealing the flat wage scale and redistributing assets is admittedly a painful process, sometimes a tormenting one, since many journalists would have to quit due to age, the inability to work under modern conditions, and inertia. Also, there are some among them who had contributed a great deal in the past.

But at the same time this process is a necessary one. Life and the topics we write about are changing, and this means that the press corps must change as well. The road is being cleared for young, searching, creatively working journalists. We have great hopes for them. They are working with experienced masters to raise the press to a new, higher qualitative level.

Let me repeat that there are true masters of journalism in the press organs. But this is not enough. We have to see that all become masters, so that every organ of the mass media would have its collective of masters, so that every article is executed masterfully. This means that the material must be important, profound in content, timely, interesting and clear in form. So that a reader acquainting himself with this material would receive not only knowledge and new information but also, if you will, pleasure. It stands to reason that this does not exclude materials and broadcasts intended for entertainment, but the latter must satisfy the highest requirements. All the more so because we sometimes look at entertainment as something secondary, as something of little importance, which is why vulgarity, lack of taste and primitivism often thrive in this area. We need to decisively rid ourselves of all of this.

From the proficiency of individuals to the proficiency of the many, and in the final analysis the proficiency of the entire collective: This is what I see as the essence of restructuring of journalism, of raising its quality.

We need to seek talented authors more aggressively (the country is rich in talent), we need to attract writers, publicists, scientists, laborers, kolkhoz farmers and thinking people who know their stuff well and who can write. We also need to make better use of our own workers.

Our reports should be distinguished by relevancy, importance, depth, comprehensive analysis, logical correctness, comprehensibility and clarity of form--of language, of the manner in which the material is presented. Newspapers, journals, and radio and television broadcasts must always contain centerpieces that would carry the issue or broadcast, impart meaningfulness to it and attract the attention of readers.

Executives in the mass media and propaganda have an especially large role to play in raising the quality of our work.

Today's executive must think broadly, with an eye on the future, he must work creatively and resourcefully, and he must develop the initiative and creativity of the entire collective. He should decisively reject the flawed principle of holding a tight rein.

Professionalism--that is the main criterion for selecting and placing executive personnel. Professionalism is, first of all, a knowledge of one's field. But this is not enough. The ability to manage the work, to organize people to achieve certain goals is needed. The ability to rely on the organ as a whole, on the entire collective while still taking responsibility for the needed decision.

Executives must assume responsibility more boldly, they must not fear responsibility, and they must exercise their rights more widely. They must steer away from the practice of gaining numerous approvals for an article, from lengthy reworking of the text of articles, and from "self-censorship," which reduce the timeliness of publications, hinder the quest for topics beyond the commonplace, and generate dullness and constrained thought, forms and arguments.

The amount of news in the press has risen in recent times. We are informing the reader about events in the country and abroad increasingly faster, and in greater volume and diversity. New news departments have appeared.

Nonetheless, the state of affairs with news cannot satisfy us. We have not yet attained the required timeliness, we are often late in our reports on certain events. We need to improve our information work. It seems to me concurrently that more confidence needs to be shown to journalists in their handling of news.

We must create and strengthen stable, systematic ties with ministries and scientific research institutes. After all, we require both facts and solid scientific arguments in relation to important economic, political and ideological issues. The ministries and departments essentially have no interest in the press, and for practical purposes the information services working for them have transformed into an obstacle to the acquisition of news.

We need to make wider use of the possibilities of our own reporters. I can frankly state that many of them have lost their taste for news, they prefer to write lengthy or over-lengthy feature articles, which travel a hard road to publication, often becoming stale and outdated along the way.

The number of lines is doubtlessly an indicator of a journalist's work, and we do need long feature articles. But when quantity exists without quality, things are bad, since after all, quality, the depth of content and clarity of form, is the main criterion by which we evaluate articles.

Newspapers need articles of long, moderate and short length. The press would be unimaginable without reports on current events, which are lacking to some extent. We need to constantly, dynamically and accurately communicate new things in the world to our readers, listeners and viewers, so that they would receive important information first-hand, which unfortunately is not always the case. One of the important tasks of the press is to quench various sorts of rumors, conjectures and speculations. And this requires a free flow of information and glasnost. In the meantime we often evade debates, discussions and struggle.

Uniformity of the genre of our material, poor use of the creative resources of different genres, and of their analytical and descriptive possibilities, remains a significant shortcoming in the creativity of journalists. We need to devote more attention to problematic, social and critical reports, to analytical interviews, to reports on special assignment, to dialogue with publicists, to social portraits, essays and problematic articles.

We can upgrade the quality of our work only by maintaining a concerned, attentive and at the same time exacting relationship to journalists.

The Soviet Press in the Struggle for Peace. The Union's International Activity

International problems occupy an important place in the work of the Soviet press. And the most acute and important of them is the problem of war and peace.

The specter of a new world war, a terrible thermonuclear war is hovering over our heads today. If such a war is unleashed, in all probability it will be the last.

To mankind, to be or not to be is far more than just a question posed by Hamlet. How do we solve the problem of war and peace in the favor of peace, how do we preserve peace and ensure the progress of society and man? These are extremely complex questions. The party's conception of a new way of political thinking is a reply to these questions.

The main ideas and premises of this conception are contained in the proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress. The modern world has become too small

and brittle for wars and for power politics, states the CPSU Central Committee's political report to the congress.

"We cannot save and preserve it," the report reads, "unless we make a break--a decisive and irreversible break--with the pattern of thinking and acting that has been based for centuries on the acceptability and permissibility of wars and armed conflicts" ("Materialy XXVII syezda KPSS," p 65).

Rejection of war and power politics in the age of the atomic nucleus and space is the main premise of the conception of the new way of political thinking. The party is exerting maximum effort to preserve peace.

The program to liberate earthmen from the fear of nuclear catastrophe, proposed by M. S. Gorbachev in his 15 January 1986 Declaration, is permeated by a sense of enormous responsibility for the destiny of mankind, for its survival.

By acting consistently step by step, we can carry out and complete the process of freeing the earth from nuclear weapons by the beginning of the year 2000. This naturally presupposes a total ban on the creation of offensive weapons in space.

This program foresees total elimination of chemical weapons and the industrial base for their manufacture, as well as reduction of conventional arms and armed forces.

Important disarmament initiatives were proposed at the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The CPSU Central Committee's political report to the congress offers a proposal to create an all-embracing system of international security, and it demonstrates the fundamental principles of such a system in the military, political, economic and humanitarian areas.

On 6 August 1985 the Soviet Union declared a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear bursts (this was the day that the Americans dropped an atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima 40 years ago). Many times this moratorium was extended in the hope that the USA would follow our example. But it did not. On the contrary around three dozen nuclear devices were detonated beneath the Nevada desert since the time the moratorium went into effect. In the interests of defense, we were compelled to abandon our unilateral moratorium.

October 1986. Reykjavik. Agreements of historical importance were reached here. A world without nuclear weapons was visible not as a mirage but as an imminent reality, one into which we could step tomorrow if both sides had the desire and felt the responsibility. But this reality did not come about owing to the infamous SDI (the "Star Wars" program), which the boss of the White House holds onto so tenaciously.

Faithful to the spirit of Reykjavik, the Soviet Union treats that event as a reference point from which we must proceed in the matter of disarmament toward reduction and total annihilation of nuclear weapons, toward nonmilitarization of space.

The "Delhi Declaration of the Principles of a Nuclear Weapon-Free and Nonviolent World" signed on 27 November 1986 by M. S. Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi is persuasive evidence of the aspiration to practically implement the principles of the new way of political thinking.

Nuclear weapons have not yet been eliminated. The Soviet Union and India proposed signing an international convention prohibiting the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons. There are many difficulties along the path of these proposals: The leaders of the USA and some other Western countries do not know how or, more accurately, do not wish to think and, most importantly, act in accordance with the new policy, clutching the insolvent idea of attaining military superiority.

True, from time to time they do speak good and necessary words. Recall in this connection Geneva in November 1985, the meeting between M. S. Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. It was noted in a joint Soviet-American declaration that "nuclear war must never be started, there can be no winners in it"; the importance of averting any kind of war, be it nuclear or conventional, was emphasized, and the desire "to prevent an arms race in space and to halt it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and to reinforce strategic stability" was expressed.

Reasonable words. These words are what brought the "spirit of Geneva," the spirit of hope into being. It seemed as if fresh warm winds would start blowing at any moment, and that they would at least begin thawing the ice of the cold war a little. But this did not happen, because to the U.S. president these words remained just words. In his actions, meanwhile, he has pursued and continues to pursue policies contrary to the interests of peace and the security of nations.

The Soviet Union is a mighty, proud, great country, one which will never compromise its independence, one which will not allow itself to be dictated to.

The modern world is contradictory, but it is also interdependent, and integrated in many ways. This is precisely the way it should be represented in the press. The task of ensuring peaceful coexistence, of creating an all-embracing system of international security has priority significance to the press, as a task of importance to all mankind.

Propagandizing socialism as an alternative to capitalism and the advantages of socialism as a society of laborers, as a society of social justice and real democracy, as a society that rejects militarism and power politics, as a society offering a nuclear-free future to mankind is the core of the work of the press in the area of foreign policy.

The press is striving to demonstrate the peace-loving nature of the Soviet Union's foreign policy fully and comprehensively, and to reveal the essence and significance of Soviet peace initiatives that account for the interests of all peoples and states. These initiatives must be kept open, the rebuttals to them by the adversary must be accounted for; we must not fear entering into debate and discussion with him. We must not fear opposing these rebuttals by

the logic of our position, by the new way of thinking, one which strictly accounts for the realities of the nuclear and space age.

Journalists are mastering the principles of the new way of political thinking, and they are making the Soviet and world public aware of it. They are waging an uncompromising struggle against those who are trying to make a weapon out of power politics and who are often successful in doing so, against people who are building their military muscle and attempting to dictate their evil will to peoples and states from a position of power behind the false screen of a "Soviet threat." Journalists are carrying the truth to the people about what the Soviet Union is doing at home and beyond its borders, and they are persuasively demonstrating that nothing is more desirable to it than peace, national security and the progress of man and mankind.

But at the same time we do not always account for the fact that the foreign policy line pursued by the party issues forth organically from the restructuring proceeding in the country. The course toward acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development is not being illuminated adequately in materials intended for foreign consumption, and our foreign policy is being reported without tying in its relevance to the domestic political processes occurring in the country.

We have not yet occupied our rightful place in the international market of information. We are ignoring the fact that the capability for anticipating the news, for providing full information has enormous significance in today's conditions.

We need to systematically demonstrate that the effectiveness of the USSR's peace-loving policy depends to a decisive degree on how successfully our domestic affairs are managed, on the contribution made by every communist, by every citizen to the success of the country as a whole. The strategy of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and its implementation will do the most to promote reinforcement of the USSR's international positions, and it will impart weight and authority to the country in the international arena.

The press, radio and television are called upon to systematically and convincingly expose the reactionary essence of modern capitalism, and chiefly American capitalism, to expose certain traits of capitalism such as antihumanitarianism, militarism, the ravaging of developing states by transnational corporations, and violence.

We are doing a great deal in the struggle against our ideological enemies and their accomplices. But it must be said outright that we do not always act in a good and timely manner. There are still people among us who feel that they can unquestioningly decide the ideological battle in our favor by simply reading the riot act to our adversaries.

We must divorce ourselves once and forever from the obsession with slogans, the absence of proofs, the impertinent emotions and the clamorousness still prevalent in our articles. Our task is not to defend ourselves, not to justify ourselves, and not to act in accordance with the doubtful principle of

justifying our own wrongs by accusing others of the same (this is still happening unfortunately), but to attack, to display greater persistence, initiative and aggressiveness.

It is our duty to continue to criticize bourgeois ideology convincingly, to expose all falsifiers of history trying to diminish the international significance of the October Revolution and the path that our party and people have traveled, and to decisively repel anticommunism, anti-Sovietism and opportunism in all of its guises.

We need to expose the reactionary policy of imperialism and the various lies about socialism, about its foreign policy, and the myths of a "Soviet threat," of violation of human rights by socialist countries, of "terrorism," of the USSR's military superiority and so on. We must keep in mind in this case that our enemies are not sitting idly, that their actions against real socialism and against its policy and ideology are becoming more and more insidious and sophisticated, more and more widespread and coordinated. Ideological sabotage is being waged against us by competent hands and by insidious minds. We are called upon to counter this effort by our own abilities, which are so much greater than those of the enemy, and by sober calculation, reason, solid argument and aggressiveness.

This is why our ideological weapons must be maximally accurate and sharp, timely and irrefutable.

The international activities of the Journalists' Union are expanding and deepening. Ties are presently being maintained with over 80 national journalistic organizations in 66 countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. The USSR Journalists' Union is a member of four international specialized journalistic organizations, and each year it entertains delegations averaging around 500 foreign journalists and sends over 300 Soviet journalists abroad.

Deepening of cooperation with journalistic organizations of socialist countries and searching for new, effective forms of such cooperation are the leading directions of the Union's international activities. These relations are built on the basis of bilateral five-year agreements and annual protocols. They bring together national journalists' unions and associations of 14 socialist countries; among them is the All-Chinese Association of Journalists, with which the USSR Journalists' Union recently restored contact.

Strengthening and developing ties with journalistic organizations of developing states of Asia, Africa and Latin America remains one of the important directions of the union's activities. Long-term agreements on cooperation have now been signed with many countries with which contacts had been sporadic before. These agreements foresee mutual consultation, exchange of delegations and publications, and provision of moral, material and technical assistance.

In its relations with journalistic organizations of capitalist countries, the USSR Journalists' Union is concentrating its main efforts on publicizing the peace-loving policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and mobilizing public

opinion in Western countries to support the struggle for peace, disarmament and detente.

In the years since the union's Fifth Congress, increasingly more attention has been devoted to developing and strengthening ties with the International Organization of Journalists [IOJ], to strengthening the unity of the ranks of the international democratic journalists' movement, to the struggle being waged under the auspices of the IOJ for peace and cooperation between nations, social progress and establishment of a new international information exchange, and to defending the legal rights of journalists to work and professional activity.

The Tenth Jubilee Congress of the IOJ held in Sofia in October 1986 became a major event in the activities of the IOJ in the intervening period.

The Union's Creative Work

Before going on to a description of the Union's creative work, I would like to make one remark. We journalists love to perform, to talk; we are never at a loss for words. As a rule we stick to the subject, though sometimes not without a touch of demagoguery. There is much talk about the creative nature of our union, and this is proper. But unfortunately many journalists are extremely reluctant to participate in creative work, in the work of elected organs. A good half of the members of the Secretariat do not even attend the meetings. Things are much the same at the level of the republics, oblasts and rayons as well. Many of the union's sections and commissions are inactive, some primary organizations are in a dormant state, and so on.

Thus we find that words and deeds do not always agree. This is an abnormal phenomenon. We must put an end to it. Deeds must correspond to words.

The resolution of the Fifth Congress of the Journalists' Union encouraged all journalistic organizations to participate actively in the struggle of the Soviet people to implement party decisions, to improve the organizational and creative activities of the union and to utilize international ties effectively. Without a doubt these are our main guidelines, they are binding, and their scope is vast. But restructuring made it necessary to flesh out this general program with very specific content, and most importantly, to sharply intensify the struggle to achieve high end results. These tasks were to have been completed to a great extent by plenums of the Governing Board and Secretariat.

The Governing Board held nine plenums in the period between the congresses. Moreover the union participated in preparations for and conduct of two joint plenums of the country's creative unions. I must admit that the usefulness of some of the plenums was low. The discussion of the issues was not always truly creative, there was no real exchange of opinions, and urgent creative problems of Soviet journalism were not addressed. The same speakers took the podium from one year to the next, and as was rightfully noted at one of the recent plenums, not even the order in which they spoke ever varied. Debates followed well-rehearsed scenarios; mass media executives often limited their

reports in these plenums to listing the numerous directions of their work, the campaigns they had started, and laudatory evaluations devoid of any serious analysis of the practical activities of journalistic organizations, devoid of criticism and self-criticism. A spirit of verbosity and back-slapping reigned, and it was not until the latest plenums that it was surmounted to some extent. In these more recent plenums the shortcomings in the work of the Journalists' Union as a whole and of its organizations and the staff of the Governing Board, and the need for sharply raising the role and authority of journalistic organizations were addressed incisively and scrupulously.

The Secretariat has held over 50 meetings. That's a lot, and perhaps even too many. Specific problems concerned with the activities of republic, kray and oblast primary journalistic organizations, creative commissions and sections were discussed, and sensible decisions were made.

However, many of the decisions did not offer a clear program of action, and they did not account for the actual possibilities for implementing them. Resolutions often abounded in impersonal verbs--implement measures, take notice, examine, develop, recommend. Execution of adopted decisions was poorly monitored, and for practical purposes this effort was left to its own devices.

In addition the agendas of Secretariat meetings were sometimes overburdened by petty issues that can be resolved administratively.

One of the reasons for the low effectiveness of the Secretariat's activities is that not all secretaries have actively participated and displayed an interest in the union's functions, and related to their responsibilities indifferently.

To improve the work of the Secretariat, it would be suitable to initiate the practice of having it give accountability reports at plenums of the Governing Board. This would impart greater democracy and glasnost, it would promote development of criticism and self-criticism and greater responsibility of each for his assigned work, and it would make it possible to promptly replace a Secretariat member who steps down for one reason or another by a more-energetic, principled, young, good organizer and a creatively active journalist.

Both our successes and our shortcomings are reflected as in a mirror in the activities of republic, kray and oblast journalistic organizations. They are doing a great deal of work with the main goal of raising the efficiency of the press and the occupational proficiency of journalists. Some organizations deserve the kindest praise.

However, on the whole the work of local journalistic organizations is still quite far from the requirements of restructuring. It was noted at recent conferences and congresses that there is a great deal of disorganization, formalism and rubber-stamping in this work, and that it clearly lacks life.

The new requirements have compelled us to consider more attentively the role played by secretaries of the governing boards of republic, kray and oblast

journalistic organizations and by our authorized representatives locally. Their work has been proceeding in a lackadaisical atmosphere, attending to immediate needs and today's concerns. They have become accustomed to excusing their inaction by objective circumstances and to awaiting assistance from, or more accurately solution of their problems by, the central organization: They'll come and fix it. Such parasitic predispositions have been detrimental to our progress.

The role and place of primary journalistic organizations, of which there are around 5,000 in the union, have risen dramatically in today's conditions.

The union's Governing Board has done much in the period of accountability to raise the role, authority and importance of primary organizations: A statute on primary organizations was approved, a competitive review of the best organizations is being conducted, and all questions concerned with creative organizational, educational or international work are coordinated with the secretaries of the organizations, the staffs of which have been reinforced significantly. The primary organizations must become the leaders of new projects, and we will actively support them in this.

The work of creative sections and commissions elicits concern. Frankly speaking in the period since the last congress only the all-union economic journalism, youth press, periodical press art and photo correspondence sections have been operating more or less adequately. The overwhelming majority of the sections--both all-union and local--are understaffed today, they are not controlled adequately, and they convene haphazardly. And if we consider that the rare section meetings are conducted formally, without a lively exchange of opinions between attending members on the important problems of journalism, and that local sections and commissions go years without receiving concrete assistance from all-union sections and commissions, there can be no discussion of any kind of serious influence of these organizations on the creative activities of editorial collectives, or of training creative replacements.

Sad as it may be, we will have to begin with the basics in this area. With drawing up a well-conceived, interesting plan of work for the sections and commissions capable of attracting attention, with clear distribution of responsibilities between the members of their buros, and with introduction of a strict system of control and accountability, one which might encourage us to relate to public affairs responsibly and with spirit.

Creative writing competitions occupy an important place among the numerous forms of creative activity in which the USSR Journalists' Union engages.

Creative writing competition is the highest form of creative competition between journalists, where the winner is the journalist who has attained the summits of proficiency, and who in his work has not only been able to reflect the main processes occurring in life but has also done so masterfully, brilliantly, truthfully and boldly.

This is why we must be very cautious and demanding when we pick the winners on one hand, and why we must publicize the best experience to the fullest, making it available to all journalists of the country on the other.

The union set up significantly more exhibits in the period of accountability. Its various exhibits attracted around 400,000 visitors in something under 2 years.

Eighty-six all-union and zonal scientific-practical conferences, press conferences, seminars and short courses were conducted in the period between the congresses. Some creative function of this sort was conducted practically every month.

As we can see, there have been a rather large number of creative functions. And of course, the benefit from them is considerable.

Nonetheless we are not entirely pleased with this work. While in most cases we do discuss topics and problems at our seminars, we avoid discussion of occupational proficiency. Basically what we do in these seminars is coach journalists on the important problems of the day, but what we should do is teach them to write clearly, profoundly, interestingly and persuasively. Meaning that substantial restructuring is required here as well.

The union's central and local elected organs, commissions, sections and competitions are the essence of democratic forms of life of journalists, forms of socialist self-management. And as long as we are fighting for democratization of all of our life in our newspapers, we should also show some concern for developing democracy in the life of the union, for filling its organs with rich content, for transforming them into truly creative organs.

We need to define the status and functions of these organs more precisely, reinforce them with active and resourceful people, and guide and monitor their work competently.

Things That Still Trouble Us

Time and the framework of this report prevent me from going into detail on a large number of other problems troubling us.

One of them is material-technical support of the mass media and propaganda. This is one of the most painful problems. Even PRAVDA, the flagship of the Soviet press, is living in the 19th century: It is still using hot-lead typesetting, working with linotype machines that were abandoned in most developed countries decades ago. The scandalous attitude of planning and supply organs toward polygraphic industry, toward the needs of the press is simply amazing. The demands on the press are growing, but these demands are not enjoying material-technical support.

The situation is no better, and perhaps even worse, with the supply of office equipment. In this age of scientific-technical revolution, when every schoolchild is learning to use a computer, it is hard to imagine that

journalists furnished today with turn-of-the-century office equipment find themselves on the sidelines of the scientific-technical revolution.

The Journalists' Union does not have the power to solve the problems of material-technical support to the press. This is a matter for competent organs. We await from them not words, promises and resolutions, of which there are plenty, but action! Real action.

There are many, many gaps in the training and advanced training of journalists. Only around half of all colleagues of the Soviet mass media and just around 30 percent of those in rayon press have a special education.

Moreover, the training provided to journalists leaves something to be desired. It is more theoretical than practical.

There is a need for serious restructuring in the training of journalists. It may be that the party will have to take charge of the training of journalists for party press. It would be profitable to think about how to do this.

The USSR Journalists' Union is the largest and most powerful creative union. There are a hundred thousand journalists toiling in the country. Of them, 85,182 are members of the union. Approximately 6 million unofficial correspondents work with us. We are immeasurably grateful for their unselfish work, for their efforts to help the press in solving the problems that trouble the people and the party.

Some believe that ours is not a creative but a professional union. We do not enjoy the privileges granted to writers, artists and workers in motion picture industry (very unimposing though these privileges may be). We do not have a journalists' fund. Moreover the profits from our publications--journals, books--are entered into the budget of the Central Committee and the "Pravda" Publishing House, and what is most amazing and incomprehensible, into the writers' fund. We help members of our union as we can, but our help totals but 2 rubles per person per year.

But we do not grumble, we do not complain, we do not ask for any special treatment. Though we could always ask, since after all, the profits of many publications are in the hundreds upon hundreds of percent.

We are proud to work so closely with the party, to be the foremost daily propagandists of its policy, to agitate for the life of this policy, to organize the masses in such a way that party policy would become a direct reality.

But journalists, and especially those working at the rayon level and for large-circulation publications, are poorly paid. We are not lavished with apartments: Around a third of all journalists rent rooms from private landlords. Only around a tenth of all journalists qualify for passes to sanitoriums, vacation homes and resort hotels. Mortality among journalists is very high. According to UNESCO data we are among the "top runners,"--in second place after miners.

Sad but true, the prestige of the journalist is falling. We need to avert this undesirable phenomenon.

The Law on the Press is presently being written. The draft of the law is being discussed. Objections, proposals and amendments have been stated. They will all be examined and considered. It is our hope that the law will raise the authority of the press, and the prestige of journalists.

Now a few words about the draft of a new edition of the USSR Journalists' Union Charter, which we are to discuss at this congress.

The main idea behind the proposed draft is to bring the main premises of the union's charter in correspondence with the requirements of life, restructuring and acceleration, and to generalize the experience of journalistic organizations in carrying out the tasks posed by the 27th CPSU Congress before the mass media and propaganda, and before the USSR Journalists' Union.

Special emphasis is laid on the premise that our union is a creative organization, one which displays concern for satisfying the socially meaningful needs of journalists, and one which defends the rights of journalists and participates in solving the problems of their work, life and education.

The basic directions of the union's activities are defined: reinforcing creative initiatives, and activating the work of primary journalistic organizations and creative associations.

The tasks, functions and forms of work of republic, kray and oblast journalistic organizations and primary organizations are spelled out more clearly, and changes are made in the structure of the union's executive organs; establishment of the Council on Professional Ethics and Law deserves mention.

Many issues associated with the working, personal and leisure conditions of journalists were brought up for discussion in congresses and conferences. Considering this, the charter reflects the problems of material-technical support to a greater extent.

Many proposals were stated in regard to the union's role in encouraging the wide masses to participate in the work of the mass media, in regard to the creative union's concern for the purity of its ranks and for raising the requirements on persons joining the USSR Journalists' Union, and in regard to expanding democracy, glasnost, collectivism and the responsibility of each for his assigned work in the union. These proposals were reflected in the proposed draft of the charter.

This year the party, the Soviet people and world progressive society will celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Soviet press is striving to portray fully and comprehensively the path that our country has traveled in the past seven decades, its grandiose successes in all spheres, and its glorious future. Nor are we forgetting the shortcomings,

difficulties and unsolved problems. The unfinished tasks, the urgent tasks of modern times, the tasks of the future are objects of our constant concern.

It was noted at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum that the country and the party are aware of our shortcomings. They are planning the ways to correct them. They know what the problems are. They are determining the means of their solution.

What we need now is action, action and more action. Aggressive, bold, creative, competent action.

And we journalists are obligated to act in this way.

Comments of Other Speakers

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 4, Apr 87 pp 21-24

[Unsigned article: "The Delegates Speak--from the Verbatim Account of the Congress"]

[Text] M. Poltoranin, Chairman, Governing Board of the Moscow City Journalistic Organization

The growing force with which the party transmits the pulses of innovation into all spheres of the society's life is evident to us. But we also observe that these pulses often weaken in the viscous medium of ignorance, or that they collide with the wall of bureaucratic, personal egoism. There are still many opponents of renewal who have become accustomed to holding the reins themselves while dumping responsibility on others. And when we talk about our tasks today as journalists, it seems to me that the most important one would be to punch holes into these walls of egoism, and then raze them to their foundation.

Who erects these walls? Who holds the keys ready to open the gates to a new era of permissiveness at any moment? There is no need to seek these people out--they betray themselves when they speak with irritation against expansion of glasnost, against the critical orientation of the newspapers.

V. Stanev, Chairman, Moldavian SSR State Committee for Publishing

Five thousand critical articles and exposes were published in Moldavian city and rayon newspapers following the 27th CPSU Congress. There were official reactions to only 300 of them. This is at the rayon level. At the republic level, meanwhile, the standard practice is entirely different. There is a unique tactic of rapid reaction, a kind of ping-pong game: You write about us, we reply for you.

P. Novikov, Chairman, Governing Board of the Donetsk Oblast Journalistic Organization

Neither the USSR Procuracy nor the country's Supreme Court has yet explained how legislation should be applied in relation to those who fail to respond to critical statements in the mass media and propaganda resources, or who reply following long delays. Total impunity is rampant in this area, even though the violations of the law are graphically obvious.

Of course, we journalists must remember that our criticism has to be 100 percent correct. And not a tenth less!

G. Lazarev, Editor, Uritskiy Rayon Newspaper NOVAYA ZHIZN (Orlov Oblast)

Where and when, in what spiral of history did the journalist's work deflate in value? How is it that its significance has come to depend not on content, on how it reflects the voice of the party, but rather on the place of publication? In the central press his work is treated as being important and weighty, while in rayon press or, as an example, in wall newspapers its value is nil. Please excuse my frankness, but this is the way things are. With this approach, we find that there are different truths: one in the central newspaper, another in the oblast newspaper, and a third truth in the rayon newspaper.

V. Korotich, Editor-in-Chief of the Journal OGONEK

The changes that are occurring today are revolutionary in that they are promoting a rebellion against narrow local interests, against low, provincial spiritual and creative ceilings, against the myth that some words may be uttered exclusively from Moscow's platforms, and even so, not farther than a radius of 5 kilometers from Pushkin Square. The impression is that some "theorists" are eager to prove that glasnost and restructuring are possible only in some isolated mass media organs, and only in individual articles of an isolated issue at that. And that in all other things we can live in the old way, and suppress glasnost as before. No, restructuring is an all-union process. It is a matter of honor for each of us to do away with all sanctuaries of outdated thinking, of obsolete beliefs, to put out the last embers of the fire of open resistance to restructuring.

A. Varsobin, Chairman, Governing Board of the Leningrad Oblast Journalistic Organization

Why is the central press undergoing restructuring faster? Because it had acquired considerable experience in solving general party and general state problems before this all began. Multiply this experience by the possibilities which our central newspapers possess and which--let us be truthful--had not always been utilized to their full extent in the past, and you will understand clearly why the central press is pulling out ahead of the pack.

The picture we see in the local press is different: It has never had to deal with anything but local problems, and suddenly it is compelled to rise to the level of general party and state problems, though from a local aspect.

Were we prepared for such changes? Speaking honestly, no! And first of all we found ourselves unprepared for deep analytical work, unprepared both professionally and organizationally. Serious restructuring of the structure of our press and business-like, principled certification of all of its components are required.

O. Yakimov, Chairman, Governing Board of the Yakut ASSR Journalists' Union

Events occurred last year in Yakutsk which were qualified in a local party document as negative antisocial manifestations among some students of the local university and the city's working youth. These events had a pronounced nationalistic coloration. And we workers in the republic who deal with ideological issues--this includes the journalists as well--find ourselves in the position of the peasant who turns religious only after the lightning strikes. This event revealed not only our poor work in international indoctrination but also our abstract way of looking at this problem in general.

Take for example the Baikal-Amur Rail Trunkline. Imagine how much we have written about the railroad as being an international construction project! But the railroad also has a vulnerable side. Its invasion into regions inhabited by local nationalities inevitably breaks down the traditional orientation of their life and encourages them to adapt to new social conditions, which does not always proceed painlessly. The problem of adapting the local population to new social conditions arises. This is not a simple problem. At certain times it elicits attention in international relations.

We need the help of the press in this area.

A. Pyanov, Editor-in-Chief of the Journal KROKODIL

Satire is experiencing a difficult time, a time of crisis in some ways. That which was discussed between the lines, by innuendo in satires is now being published openly on the front page of PRAVDA or SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

Today, reports from plenums of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee or from oblast party conferences and meetings of the Committee for Peoples Control are more interesting reading: They attract readers more strongly than do well-written, beautiful satires about speculation in pollock roe. Satirists are perturbed, and even embarrassed. We need to seek new forms adequate to the atmosphere of glasnost.

V. Alekseyev, Chairman, All-Union Commission for Problems of the Worker and Agricultural Non-Staff Correspondents [Rabselkor] Movement

Staff and public correspondents are two banks of the same river called the press. Our congress is being conducted with the slogan "Support Restructuring!" But I think that the Rabselkor Movement needs fundamental restructuring more than any other aspect.

There were several dozen Rabselkors in the last journalist congress, the fifth. But today, you might run into one or two, and that's all. Nothing, not a word is mentioned about Rabselkors in either the congress's report or subsequent statements.

At the same time negative phenomena are occurring on a major scale: Rabselkors are being dropped by their editors, they are being forced to ghost-write for staff correspondents, incisive public correspondents are being subjected to reprisals, and they stand defenseless before the persecutors of criticism.

G. Koposov, Chairman, All-Union Photography Commission

If we take a moment to look at each other in this hall, we would see that we are all different. Each one of us has a unique appearance, a unique countenance. But were our photographs to be published in a newspaper together with a report from this hall, we would find that all of us are the same, all of us are faceless. Photojournalism is perhaps the most visible part of journalism, but it is the most invisible in the restructuring which is now proceeding. The newspapers and journals carry rubber-stamp photographs of countless smiles that say nothing about anything.

R. Darbine, Senior Editor, "Liyasma" Publishing House (Latvian SSR)

Let me ask you this: Does anyone here personally know a worker who would purchase a machine tool with his own hard-earned money to make things for his plant. No one? I don't either. But I do know photographers who, wishing to put out good work, have robbed their own families of money in order to purchase camera equipment for five, six or seven thousand rubles of their own hard-earned money. They purchase this equipment not in stores, but from speculators. How long must we test a person's enthusiasm? We need to manufacture professional motion picture and still cameras in this country. And if this is impossible, then we need to think about allocating the appropriate funds for acquisition of this equipment abroad.

E. Lukanskaya, Editor of the Republic Newspaper ZORKA (Belorussian SSR)

The accountability report and materials in support of it contain not a single line about children's and youth press. Our own Journalists' Union has

forgotten about us as well. We do not even have a section which might unite workers in children's and youth press.

"The Best of Everything for the Children" is a slogan dear to all that we have become accustomed to. But the attitude toward children's journalists is insultingly condescending. Children's journalists are treated as being retarded in their professional development. Growth of a journalist working in a children's press is defined as moving to an adult newspaper.

It is so difficult sometimes for children to interact with adults because of their patronage, their unwise prohibitions, their arbitrary decisions. Children are very vulnerable, they are sensitive to injustice, formalism and eyewash. Is this not something all of our press should be interested in?

We are given very little room to write about all of the numerous problems of schoolchildren and the Pioneers. We still do not have newspapers for beginning Pioneers. While I do know what the situation with newsprint is, I still feel it necessary to raise this issue.

V. Burlakov, Editor of the Newspaper NOVOROSSIIYSKIY RABOCHIY (Krasnodar Kray)

I am in favor of introducing the most progressive forms of labor organization--self-support and self-financing--into the editorial collectives. But tell me this, why can truck drivers of the seaport of Novorossiysk decide themselves how they will work, with what equipment and for what wages, while journalists can't?

L. Kravchenko, First Deputy Chairman, USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting

Decisive restructuring was started in television following the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. We essentially decided on its complete renewal. Illumination of international events has changed dramatically. We no longer fear open debate with the adversary, and we invite discussion with representatives of the West, with bearers of a point of view alien to ours. Our arguments appear even more substantial in active debate with them. This openness of opinions is especially typical of television bridges.

But we have also noted open resistance to the new, displayed often by authoritative, respected people. The well-known scholar Yu. Zhdanov complained about us to the Central Committee, and writer V. Belov has written to it as well. There are many honorable comrades who feel that the television program "Twelfth Story" and television bridges undermine our ideology. Many of our journalists have also been fearful of open, live broadcasts.

We still frequently encounter cases of professional unconscientiousness, self-seeking and cliquishness in our milieu. These phenomena manifest themselves in many ways. As gross mistakes, exaggerations and overzealousness. As stand-ins for the real authors of articles and broadcasts. As well-prerehearsed statements to the press concerning certain works of literature,

motion pictures, theater, music and, of course television. As unearned income, as free-lance hack writing at the expense of one's direct responsibilities. As unethical behavior in communication with people, and finally as intrigues carried on by certain groups in editorial offices.

L. Voznesenskiy, Political Commentator, USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting

What we need is moral restructuring. While I do not wish to exaggerate the role played by journalists in the gigantic process occurring in the country, I do not want to belittle it either, because every time we belittle our role in this process, we allow for a kind of self-indulgence that encourages us to do less, to back away from the struggle that needs us. There are still many among us unfortunately who are overecstatic with themselves, who are excessively self-confident, people who have lost touch with modesty. I find such facts disturbing and entirely unacceptable in our work under the new conditions. When our professional journal ZHURNALIST publishes a highly critical article, one which could be an object of professional analysis, and a fabulous school for young journalists, this material is met with suspicion by Central Television's Main Office of Propaganda, and suppressed. PRAVDA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA KULTURA criticize television propaganda practically in concert, but rather than finding ways to improve our work, we look for ways to reply to these press organs and catch them on some minor point in order to discredit the entire critical statement.

V. Karpenko, Editor of the Newspaper VECHERNIY KIEV

It often happens that journalists who argue for criticism the most are also the most fearful of criticism directed at themselves.

At the beginning of the year our newspaper conducted a write-in readers' discussion. The letters began flowing in. And some of them were critical, often with the postscript: "I know that you won't publish this anyway." But it was actually the strongest criticisms that we published. This elicited an entire avalanche of letters: We received over a thousand in a month and a half.

But that's another topic. What I want to talk about is how hard it was to get this going. The talk in the editor's office turned to whether it was right for us to air our purely journalistic problems in public. And when the newspaper apologized to the readers for a number of unfortunate mistakes, and singled out the journalists to blame for them, a gloom fell over the entire editor's office for several days. This was unusual and painful, and it was unexpected. It took us some time to become accustomed to accepting open criticism gracefully.

By the way, the public apology of the newspaper IZVESTIYA for inaccuracies in an article about the Bolshevik Plant was accepted approvingly in Kiev. The apology not only did not diminish the newspaper's authority, but on the

contrary it strengthened it: Citizens of Kiev speak of the newspaper's honesty with great respect.

V. Chikin, Editor-in-Chief of the Newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA

The trials of the last two years have considerably thinned the ranks of the journalists. Some have been inspired by restructuring, and have grown stronger, while others have been thrown into confusion.

It took us several months in succession to carry out our personnel certification, during which we talked carefully with each person for as long as it took. And we discovered that unfortunately the number of truly active participants of the work is small--barely half of the editorial collective. Some, around 8 percent, have left us. For jobs in other departments, where they are working now. And those who remained, well, it is not all that easy to make them better workers. Political and professional anemia acquired in the period prior to April is having its effect. So are the inability to analyze current events, mistrust of one's strength and wide gaps in education. Workers with such deficiencies are now being compelled to do remedial work for the newspaper.

M. Leshchinskiy, Correspondent of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting

Whenever I sit down to write a report, a "sensor" in my head tells me: "The management won't approve, they'll throw your article out of the office." I have to fight hard to overcome such thoughts. And you know, it is always much easier to write freely and truthfully for another publishing house than for your own editor.

E. Araksman-Manukyan, Chairman, Governing Board of the Armenian SSR Journalists' Union

In our recently conducted personnel certification process we revealed persons who have been working in the editor's office for many years, but writing things that could be printed only in KROKODIL's department of ridiculous statements. Judge for yourselves. A certain journalist wrote the following in an essay on an 83 year old person: "He possesses a glorious past, a happy present and a fabulous future...." The certification process naturally left the author of these lines with no future at all (in journalism, that is). Nonetheless it is not very easy to relegate all such writers to "shore duty," and we must obviously conduct our certification as well as possible, rather than in the hasty and superficial way we have been doing so until now.

A. Bovin, Political Reviewer of IZVESTIYA

We need to make a distinction between official materials expressing the government's point of view from journalistic commentaries by authors. We need

to teach both ourselves and the world that if Bovin or Kondrashov writes an article or if Zorin speaks, they do not necessarily do so "from the Kremlin's position." Unfortunately this is not the first time this subject has come up, but things are still the same, and as long as they remain this way, comrades, there can be no talk of restructuring here.

There is one other sore point--the weakness of arguments, use of epithets in place of proofs. As an example when our minister travels to Australia, we write the word poyezdka [journey]. If a Western minister travels to Beijing, the word we use is voyazh [voyage]. And we think that the words "poyezdka" and "voyazh" solve some kind of problem. This solves nothing at all. If we write "poor" and "slanderous," these words resolve nothing, unless they are followed by serious, documented, convincing analysis of the facts. Persuasive criticism presupposes presentation of the opponent's arguments as well.

Yu. Zhukov, Political Reviewer, PRAVDA

Let me recall the time in the postwar era when the party posed the task of developing publicity on international topics. There is some truth behind the saying that innovations are but resurrections of forgotten ideas. For example, when after Churchill's Fulton speech it became clear that our former allies were burying the wartime agreements and that a new stage was beginning--the cold war, the party's Central Committee decided to intensify the ideological struggle in the international arena. If you look at a 1946 edition of PRAVDA, you would see that it devoted two pages to domestic topics and two to international topics.

Moreover a decision was made to create a corps of political commentators. When this issue was being discussed in the party Central Committee, Stalin said: "We need our Lippmans (Lippman was the most popular bourgeois commentator at that time, while we had no political commentators of our own). The Central Committee concluded that we need independent journalists who are able to reach their own conclusions. They must be published regularly, whenever they deem it necessary, and no one must edit their work.

All of the conditions were created for the work of political commentators, and instructions were issued that we were to be provided with all of the information we needed.

As far as our practical activities are concerned today, I am fully in agreement with the ideas stated by Comrade Bovin all the more so because they correspond in their entirety to the premises which the Central Committee of our party proposed back in 1946. I think that we need to follow up on this decision.

A. Belyayev, Editor-in-Chief of the Newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA

It is time for all of us to understand that newspapers present not the absolute truth in any one article, but rather the point of view of the journalist, the party worker, the scholar, or simply the reader. A point of

view, and not a prescription binding upon all. To learn to work democratically means to engage in debate according to the rules, rather than hastening to attach political labels to an opponent. The lessons of history must teach us something! It is time to recognize that different newspapers may have different points of view, especially when the discussion turns to evaluation of specific phenomena in the arts. I would hardly think that under today's standards it is proper to close an ongoing debate on some particular work after its author has his say in PRAVDA. It is another thing when PRAVDA publishes a decree of the CPSU Central Committee--in such a case it is in fact publishing a point of view common to all newspapers. Unless we can express different points of view openly and freely, of course without deviating from the positions of Marxist-Leninist ideology, we will not be able to develop public opinion, or raise its authority, or encourage the masses to work actively to achieve a conscious turning point in the accustomed course of our life. And it is entirely impermissible for a newspaper to allow itself to tell another newspaper what to print.

The USSR Journalists' Union must develop a more effective system of moral and material encouragement of those worthy of such encouragement. I think that the existing journalism prizes are clearly lacking. It might be a good idea to also think about special forms of support for talented journalists, young ones primarily. As an example we could consider perpetual prizes and various bonuses awarded for the most courageous report, for unrelenting and principled analysis of an important topic, for timely and interesting reporting, for a brilliant essay and so on. Something like what is done in the USSR Writers' Union. Incidentally, journalists that have received state and republic prizes can be counted on the fingers of one hand. And yet their labor deserves no less recognition and respect than the labor of the worker, the writer or the artist.

U. Orozova, Chairman, Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting

The Journalists' Union is the largest and most active union, but at the same time it seems to exist in name only, like the Nature Conservation Society. And perhaps its influence on the lives of journalists is just as "great" as the influence of that society upon maintenance of an ecological balance.

Our union is led both centrally and locally by extremely busy people. It is the only creative union that does not have a full-time chairman and deputies; their functions are performed part-time, and on a voluntary basis at that. What this means to journalists is self-evident. Our union is unable to solve the most urgent problems concerned with the work and life of journalists.

G. Seleznev, Editor-in-Chief of the Newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA

It has now been some years that we have been conducting the competition "Golden Pen" jointly with the journalism faculty of Moscow State University. Thousands of participants have written essays, but none of the people who are thinking of making a career in journalism possess the character of soldiers,

the character of active individuals wishing to improve real life, to make it better. Is this perhaps not why the prestige of our profession has been shaken, is this not why there are so few applicants to the journalism faculty?

The Journalists' Union must perform its protective functions more actively. I'm amazed by the position taken by the Governing Board of the Perm Oblast Journalistic Organization, which allows the oblast Komsomol committee to push its youth newspaper around. When will our union begin to act, when will we start effectively defending people who are essentially in the right but who find themselves in a complex situation?

Or picture an oblast party committee convening to discuss the press. Who should we criticize? Not the oblast party newspaper, and not the evening paper, let's criticize the Komsomol paper. Let's beat on easy targets and young boys. Comrades, we must observe social justice in this area as well!

N. Cherkezishvili, Chairman, Governing Board of the Georgia Journalists' Union

I oppose the so-called "rooster" principle of criticism, where the rooster crows but the dawn does not follow. The chairman and the secretary of the Journalists' Union are no less responsible for the union's work than anyone else. And when the union's secretary criticizes its work, elementary ethics requires that critical statements be followed by self-critical statements, and still better, by action.

V. Kuzmichev, Editor of the Factory Newspaper MASHINOSTROITEL (Bryansk Oblast)

It is my firm conviction that the Governing Board of the Journalists' Union is inadequately informed about the way things are going with factory newspapers, that it is not defining the role of workers' newspapers very clearly. It would be useful for the Journalists' Union to analyze the composition of the editorial staffs of factory newspapers. Why do they still not contain correspondents with an education in journalism? It is time to finally solve this problem on a countrywide scale. And what is the polygraphic basis of our printing offices like? This issue must be resolved immediately, because it is sometimes embarrassing to pick up the newspaper. Radio broadcasting offices exist in practically all of the enterprise's large enterprises. But look at their working conditions, look at the equipment they have. It is simply embarrassing!

N. Ryzhova, Editor of the City Newspaper KIROVSKIY RABOCHIY (Murmansk Oblast)

The issue of writing a unified statute on factory newspapers has come to a head. Factory newspapers often find themselves devoid of rights. As an example our oblast is preparing a staff reduction, even though the staff is already down to bare bones: Editors, for example, are not even entitled to employ a typist.

L. Avramenko, Correspondent-Organizer of Zheleznogorskiy Rayon Radio (Kursk Oblast)

You might say that absence of power cells, cassettes and film is too lowly a topic to be discussed from such a lofty podium. But it is precisely the lack of these little things, the absence of the most elementary equipment that keeps us from working creatively. After all, even our studio equipment is barely working, and all because local radio is managed by so many different departments.

From the Editor: Having been unable to print the verbatim account in its entirety, we tried not to repeat many of the ideas that were contained in reports carried by other publications published on a more frequent basis. This of course means that many valuable and interesting thoughts were left out, but the journal will not forget about them. Every incisive remark, important thought and workable idea stated at the congress will be used by the editor as a basis for contemplation and for writing; we hope that participants of the congress and all readers will help us in this effort.

One more thing. A number of the delegates spoke on urgent problems in the work and life of press workers that are not directly within the competency of the USSR Journalists' Union. These issues will be posed to the appropriate organs by the union.

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SUPPRESSION OF ACCIDENT REPORTING SCORED

PM080941 Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 May 87 p 2

[Excerpts] With dull bangs the rubber kerosene tanks exploded. Flames shot out and finished the job--only the shell of the AN-24 remained.

Yermakov looked round. Skaryukin was fussing over Borodin, who had inhaled smoke.... The passengers! Yermakov began to count them again: 19, 20, 21.... He flushed: Where is the 22d? Whew, there he is, a tall guy with a bulging bag half a kilometer down the road. So he managed to get his things out as well!...

...The commission set up to investigate the incident was later to play over and over again the tape of the crew's conversations in the emergency. And in its conclusion it was to write: "The commander of the craft made the only correct decision."

This happened 16 December...1982. But no feature written in the immediate aftermath or pieces prepared by my colleagues on the other central newspapers were printed. Because permission was needed in order to publish. In my presence the editorial department chief spent the afternoon calling officials who could give the go-ahead for publications, and tried to prove that we are writing not about bad airplanes but about good people. But the unseen interlocutors, on just hearing about the well known disaster, refused categorically, without going into verbose comments: "Impossible!"

Today, in retrospect, I reproach myself for the fact that I did not try to go higher. People there may have proved bolder. Why did I not begin to fight, why did I agree with the "verdict"? Why, because I myself well knew then: Not only accidents but also many other incidents are not for the press.

But the most improbable rumors traveled around Kursk and Odessa....

In recent times one constantly encounters in readers' letters the perplexed question: What is happening in the country, why are accidents, collisions, and fire suddenly happening--it was not like this before? Unfortunately, it was. But the other factor was absent--honest, truthful information about it. This absence proved convenient for many people: If nothing unfavorable

happens then no one can take responsibility for it and no one can be punished for it. And again, if there is no information there is also no public judgment capable of preventing us calmly enjoying our job.

But in the achievement of this "fool" aim the destinies of individual people were not taken into consideration. And it emerged that the recent ban on openness concealed not only the defects--also left unknown were the names of those people who displayed in extreme circumstances those marvels of the character we proudly call "Soviet."

All these thoughts come to mind now, because I preserved my feature all the same. Because some confused feeling of guilt toward these people will not leave me be, and does not permit my memory to consign to the archive for a prescribed number of years that which only a few people--even among those close to them--know about the Kursk crew.

A man, if he is a real man, does not live by bread alone, he needs public appraisal, he needs the recognition commensurate with the deed. And if there is no recognition, then we involuntarily devalue the action itself. A deed of valor, I am sure, must not remain anonymous.

The commission published neither the cause nor the names of those guilty of the fire. You already know the appraisal it made of the crew's work. The minister's order contained these words: "For the courage displayed, the high level of flying skill, and its competent actions..." The minister presented inscribed patches to the crew members, and he awarded Yermakov the title "Excellent-rated Aeroflot Pilot." I observe: This title can also be received by a pilot before retirement on a pension for accident-free flying, and by any other Aeroflot worker for an irreproachable record.

...We build houses, machines, and ships. We build into them a definite degree of reliability. We know there is a limit beyond which a machine will break down. But how can we calculate the limits of a man's reliability? There are testers who are ready to be the first to step into the unknown. Any one of them is charged up for an action which others can then call a heroic deed. And this readiness of theirs is part of their profession.

The heroes of our feature, as you have seen, are ordinary people. Their work, according to the statistics, is less hazardous than, say, that of a driver. But a situation arose here wherein, beyond the limit of the equipment's reliability, man's reliability began to be put to the test. The 5 seconds, the 30 meters of field, the one true position in the calculation when landing without concrete strip and undercarriage might not have been enough.... But it was enough because each of these people had enough courage. And it was only because of someone's wariness that this courage did not receive society's due assessment. True, the crew does not bear a grudge against us or you.

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PRAVDA LETTERS HIT TAJIK SSR AGITPROP WORK

PM101211 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 May 87 First Edition p 2

[Article by special correspondents N. Kozhanov and O. Latifi under the rubric "Party life: Effectiveness of Ideological Work": "Sympathies and Antipathies"]

[Text] Just over 5 months ago some observations from Tajikistan were published under the headline "Say a word for the Soul" (PRAVDA 11 December 1986). That would seem to be a considerable time ago now, but the reactions are still coming in. Moreover, the authors of many letters say bluntly that they do not consider the topic exhausted, particularly in the light of the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum decisions. While noting the acuteness and topicality of the problems of ideological education, a number of readers draw attention to certain sensitive points which, in their opinion, have "unjustifiably" remained outside the scope of the discussions initiated.

Here, for instance, is a resume of a letter from V. Prikhodko of Kiev: "While exposing the formalist and ossified approach in many components of ideological work, the articles' authors have forgotten to mention a key factor on which the success or failure of education depends--the educator-cadres."

He is echoed by A. Sudakov, a serviceman from Dushanbe, who calls for "real fighters to be trained and placed in crucial sectors of education, and not simply the 'officials' and functionaries who have populated ideological circles in abundance in recent years...." On the other hand, one reader reproached the authors of the observations from Tajikistan with failing to show what an "incredibly heavy burden the cadres engaged in this work have to carry."

In brief, the letters made it clear that the topic raised deserves more detailed discussion. Well, we will try to continue this discussion together with our readers.

Who Will Say 'A Word for the Soul'?

This is how Dushanbe journalist V. Lysenkov put the question. "I was born and brought up in Tajikistan," he writes. "During 30 years of press work I saw for myself how religious manifestations among the population began to spread because of our inertia or, to be exact, our ideological passivity. The

so-called bride-money--redemption payments for brides--progressed even into the mountain regions where it had never even been heard of before.... A great deal can be written on this topic, but there is one question--the most important one--that interests me: Who is going to combat the manifestations of a way of life that is alien to ours, and how? After all, it is very clear that if the conventional methods and forms of work have not produced the proper result yet, they will not do so in the future either, however much you increase the number of lectures, meetings, and so forth. A different approach is needed. But are those people in our country who are involved in education today capable of this? Are they capable of giving people 'something for the soul...?'"

What can we reply to the author here? If we go on the statistics and questionnaire data (education, length of party membership, performance appraisal reports, and so forth), it can be said that there are no complaints about Tajikistan's current ideological cadres. Virtually all of them have experience of Komsomol, economic, or party work. They all, in general, know the range of their obligations.

But do the people at the plants, in the villages, and in the residential areas know at all well the actual, specific person of the lecturer, the leader, or the ideological section, institute, or department staffer? Are they keen to hear him, and do they look forward to what he has to say? Which of the republic's present ideological aktiv can be called without exaggeration the darling of the lecture halls or, for instance, a "dominant influence" among young people? We have often asked these questions in conversations with party committee leaders, economic chiefs, ordinary workers in the collectives, and clients of clubs and tea-houses. Alas, people at all levels found it "difficult" as a rule, to give an answer.

However, some names were mentioned. So, for example, Mirzo Boadzhanov, director of the republic's Political Enlightenment Center--already known to readers through the previous article--thought for a while then put another question to us:

"Did you know that until recently a woman known to everyone in the district as Mardanilna lived in Ura-Tyube? Even in extreme old age, when she was retired, she remained the highest moral authority for the surrounding population. People took both their joys and their sorrows to her."

"What was her job?"

"A doctor. And her real name was Mariya Danilovna Ryazankina. She was quite young when she arrived in the remote mountain village from the big city long ago with her doctor's diploma and traveling bag. There were still undefeated basmach gangs roving the district, and the local women still kept their faces covered. Epidemics--each more terrible than the last--still swept through the villages. And she would go from house to house, treating people not so much perhaps with medicines as with attentiveness and kind words, delivering babies, settling disputes, and helping to assert Soviet power in these regions. And most importantly, she taught people goodness and decency by her

own example, sharing with them need and danger. And, you know, with such backing how words increase in importance!

"But I understand that you want an example from the present-day, so to speak; professional ideological activists," our [word indistinct] sighed. "That is rather more difficult...."

"Are there none with talent?"

"That's not the trouble. For some time now a mood has begun to emerge sometimes in our work, whereby a worker thinks no longer about what he can give people in the post with which he is entrusted but about what that post can give him. So for instance, a few years ago a comrade whom I knew well beforehand was appointed to quite a high--in terms of the republic--ideological sector. And it seemed that the worker was good, capable, with academic training. But I recall how what struck me was that, virtually from his very first day in the new post, he stopped smiling."

"Was he so full of the importance of the task entrusted to him?"

It was rather arrogance. You can still see this kind of figure on the platform, especially if he has a prepared text in his hands, but it is difficult to imagine him having a free and open discussion with people among a kolhoz team or at a tea-house...."

'Drop Into the Tea-house'

We have taken this recommendation from the letter from the same V. Lysenkov. "The article's authors," he recalls, "wrote about the elders who meet for prayer in the mosque next door to the Political Enlightenment Center. But they did not mention that there is another house close by there--the "Rokhat" tea-house. There are even special rooms in it for old people. There used to be kuzpachis there (quilts to sit on with cushions to lean on). There are no longer such comforts now, but people still come. Just listen to whatever the conversation is about, and think: Is it there are no wise, experts and authoritative speakers here from our ideological aktiv!"

Dialogues could be conducted from similar positions with young people too, in the opinion of another reader--O. Yusupov from Leninabad. "We need a 'breakthrough' to unregimented work with people. But, to achieve this, again we need down-to-earth cadres and organizers of education. Where are they?"

"Down-to-earth" cadres.... Again the same concern. But we have them, some people may reort, in abundance. Indeed: The agitation and propaganda sexton of any party gorkom or raykom will present you with lists of the best propaganda workers, women's council activists, and members of the control commissions for maintaining the laws on religious cults.... But this looks fine and inspiring only at first sight. One of us attended a political class in Leninshiy Rayon, led by one of the best propaganda workers--as we were assured at the raykom--whose experience was recommended for dissemination.

And what did he find? The most primitive exposition of platitudes and severe boredom and inattention on the part of the listeners, who patiently sat out the allotted time.

We will not name the propaganda worker in this case--the example is alas not so out of the ordinary. Moreover, the man seemed to be doing his job diligently. As he was able or, more precisely, unable, since--having taught him to accurately draw up plans for classes and to conduct summaries--it was not considered necessary to teach personal relations, dialogue, or polemics or to inculcate a taste for fresh thinking or the ability to abandon studied models....

However, this reproach of "they were not taught" certainly does not mean that there are no real enthusiasts in the sphere of ideological work and education in the republic. The Dushanbe Cotton Association collective speaks warmly of propaganda workers Valentina Biryukova and Zuleykho Karvanova. The women's council on the Lenin Kolkhoz in Kurgan-Tyube Oblast, led by agronomist Riskiniso Sirodzhidina, is really active. There are also several outstanding activists on the ideological front among the creative intelligentsia. We cannot fail to note, for example, the truly devoted efforts of movie director Davlatnazar Khudonazarov and the selfless passion with which he defends the need to foster among people, especially the younger generations, the culture of remembrance and loyalty to internationalism and to all that is best in history and in the people's traditions and customs.

And here it is opportune to return again to the question asked repeatedly in letters: Where are the organizers, what are they doing, and "What is in their souls?"

Where Are the Organizers?

"Are you really keeping an eye on them? They are repeatedly changing." We have heard this kind of complaint more than once about ideological work activists. Well, there is a considerable basis for this reproach. Take, for instance, the highest echelon of the republic's ideological aktiv. Not a year elapsed after the 20th Tajik Communist Party Congress before there was an exodus from the Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department--and it cannot be said that the people left of their own free will. Department Chief I. Kalandarov, his first deputy V. Dashkevich, and Press Sector Chief Kh. Karimov...all left, one after the other.

The cadre merry-go-round revolves ceaselessly in other ideological sections of the party apparatus too, in institutes, and in departments of the cultural and enlightenment council. This year already in Dushanbe alone, four raykom secretaries and the party gorkom secretary in charge of ideological work have been replaced. Incidentally, they are all women. Only one of them went for promotion. What happened to the rest, not even the aktiv knows.

A purge? It could be called that, especially since the grounds for reliving many of their posts, including the aforementioned staffers, featured very

specific improprieties and violations. The fact that people who are overwhelmed by jobs in other spheres are frequently appointed to sectors connected with ideological work also has an effect. He has not coped with his work, they say, but he will be able to cope here. By all accounts, the fact that it is mainly women who are entrusted with the leadership of this work is due to the apparent ease of this job ("what is it--just lectures and conversations"). But the "ease" proves to be deceptive, and the words of our reader about the "incredibly heavy burden" are not so far from the truth....

But there is also another side to the matter. When you start to speak to workers who have left ideological posts, and even to some of those working in them now, it is as if you are plunging into an atmosphere of mutual--and sometimes not unfounded--complaints, grievances, reproaches, and grudges. You hear a speaker pouring out his soul in bitter complaints about various kinds of "harassment," "scheming," and other intrigues, and you think: How irrational and painfully pointless is that person's expenditure of his mental resources, his emotions, and the energy of his mind and will!

In such an atmosphere, the position of the leaders of ideological life in the republic, and not least of course G. Bobosadykova, secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, assumes a special and, it could be said, determining significance. We had more than one conversation on this topic with Guldzhakhon Boboyevna. The Central Committee secretary spoke knowledgeable and in detail about the scale and complexity of the tasks facing the republic's ideological aktiv in conditions of restructuring. But, alas, as soon as the conversation turned to the specific state of affairs in the sections of the Central Committee and the party committees at local level, the institutes under departmental jurisdiction, and the creative unions involved in the education sphere, the tone of the conversation changed sharply, assuming virtually the same character as the comments of those with grievances."

Probably there was a considerable amount that was justified and personally suffered here. And, no doubt, the republic's ideological aktiv is following the correct path in ridding itself step by step of unscrupulous personnel who have become accustomed to total license. But life tells us again and again that we must under no circumstances be guided in cadre policy by personal predilections and attachments, by sympathies and antipathies. And how many rumors, conjectures, and mutual suspicions of "machinations" and "intrigues" would simply fade away if openness operated to full effect in every case of cadre reorganizations and if an open party appraisal was given!

In talking about some of the negative aspects of the organization of these matters in the republic, we would by no means wish thereby to cancel out the considerable achievements, traditions, and experience which exist here. Suffice it to recall the big international school in Nurek, the "worker's relay" movement...but the tasks which we have to tackle today and in the future in conditions of restructuring are too crucial for us to be satisfied with well-oiled models and personnel who remain the prisoners of ossified forms, methods, and customs.

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CSO: 1830/590

DRUZHBA NARODOV CONFERENCE VIEWS HISTORICAL ISSUES

LD312124 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0730 GMT 31 May 87

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television in Russian at 0730 GMT on 31 May broadcasts live a 90-minute all-union readers' conference of the magazine DRUZHBA NARODOV. The program is moderated by DRUZHBA NARODOV chief Sergey Baruzdin. Participating in a panel of writers are: Nataliya Ivanova, head of DRUZHBA NARODOV's Poetry Department; Bulat Okudzhava, a writer of prose and poetry; Chabua Amirzdzhibi, a Georgian writer; Anatoliy Rybakov, an author of novels; Mustay Karim, a Bashir poet; Leonid Terekopyan, DRUZHBA NARODOV deputy editor in chief; Oleg Chukhontsev, a poet; Yuriy Davydov, a writer of historical prose; Mykolas Sluckis, a Lithuanian writer; Vladimir Yavorivskiy, a Ukrainian writer and poet; Lev Anninskiy, head of DRUZHBA NARODOV's Department of Artistic Translation; Vasil Rykov, a Belorussian writer; Igor Zakhoroshin, a writer and DRUZHBA NARODOV executive secretary; and Aleksandr Radenko-Desnyak, a critic and translator.

The program is filmed in a studio with phone-in facilities, a large video screen, and a small audience, some of whom ask questions during the course of the program.

Opening the program, Baruzdin explains the call-in nature of the show and invites questions from viewers. A member of the studio audience asks Baruzdin about the difficulties he has experienced both now and in the past in his work as chief editor and what difficulties he expects in the future. Baruzdin replies that his work has become easier and more pleasant over the past 2 years. "As for the future," he said, "we will see."

Another member of the audience asks Anatoliy Rybakov about the number of books that have appeared recently which expose "negative phenomena" in Soviet history over the past few decades, including Rybakov's "Children of the Arbat." The questioner asks whether there is any sense in restoring the past in this way and whether it is not too late to restore the truth now.

"It is never too late to speak the truth," Rybakov replies. "There is no future without a knowledge of the past, both for the individual and for society. Another general answer is that, if we desire morality and training in morality, it is necessary to inculcate the truth. The person brought up on truth is a moral person. The person brought up on lies and half-truths is a person without morality."

Rybakov goes on to discuss Soviet histories of the 1930's, saying that "one of Stalin's merits" was that he was strong-willed, and therefore able to channel the enthusiasm aroused by the revolution into the creation of industry. The New Economic Policy [NEP] was not private enterprise, but a broad economic policy that envisaged ways for the development of society. However, Rybakov says, it was implemented in such a high-handed, administrative manner that it led to distortions in the economy, the effects of which are still being felt in agriculture and other sectors of the national economy. The implementation of the NEP also coincided with the creation of a Stalin personality cult which, in combination with Stalin's character--"about which Vladimir Ilyich Lenin himself spoke"--led to mass repressions, illegal arrests, and executions by firing squads. "We lost many millions of people." During these repressions, Rybakov says, one individual thought for all, thereby stifling initiative. Now, however, the scientific and technological revolution requires that each person be able to think freely and make independent decisions. "Unfortunately, at that time these qualities were naturally lost to a large degree." Rybakov concludes by saying that a return to the lessons of the past is justified and necessary in order to avoid repeating past mistakes.

A student at the Higher Komsomol School then asks Rybakov if he thinks that the party and state apparatus, as demonstrated in "Children of the Arbat," will distort the political line being pursued by the party and government and cause a breakdown in the course of restructuring. Her question is greeted by laughter and applause from the audience. Rybakov replies that the country's instinct for self-preservation will prevent such an occurrence, "so don't worry." The audience applauds.

An extract from a dramatization of Vasil Bykov's novel "Sign of Trouble" is then shown, in which a woman is seen protesting at the time of the enforced collectivization against the injustice and high-handed, un-Bolshevik nature of the actions.

Historian Yuriy Davydov emphasizes the importance of studying the past and of teaching history to children. He stresses the need for open access to archives. He says: "In our country there are 1.2 million items in archives that are, or were until recent days, kept for restricted access only. When one encounters this it is, above all, mindless and degrading. Items have reached me marked: Restricted Access. This means that someone decided for me that I could read this and I could not read that. You know, a restricted library stock exists in our country. This is an ancient tradition." He goes on to say that perhaps these restrictions will go, and that the restricted stocks may be opened, although with that resistance from the apparatuses which already has been discussed. Davydov recounts how he was denied access to a book entitled: French Emigres in Russia in the 18th Century because it was published in Russian in Paris in 19930. "In our line," he says, "one meets very many such idiotic, asinine, and stubborn acts in our country." His statement is greeted by applause from the audience.

Ukrainian writer Yavorivskiy is asked what he thinks of the Chernobyl problem. He says that if what happened at Chernobyl had occurred 5 or 6 years earlier,

the Soviet people certainly would have heard about the tragedy, but "at that state of our national openness [glasnost] we would probably only have heard that it was one of the best accidents in the world and on our planet." The audience responds with laughter. "It is a bad thing that this happened right at the start of the restructuring. Unfortunately, we lost a very great deal through this," Yavorivskiy says.

"I am asked what the situation is in Chernobyl now. There is a dead slice of land in the center of Europe, a dead slice of Ukrainian and Belorussian land from which the people have departed. The most alarming thing, on which I would like to dwell for a minute or so, is the affected cheerfulness with regard to Chernobyl. These mistakes were committed by our press in the first articles, but the saddest thing is that this is occurring at the present time, as well. Take the Ukrainian health minister, who is a very respected person and who, incidentally, spoke only on the ninth day after the accident. He informed us that it was necessary to wash our hands and feet well with soap. That was the first information given, when people were waiting to know what to do after finding themselves in this situation for the first time. The minister has been appearing on television again and has, so to speak, been cheerfully calming us. He brought along a diagram--you will not believe this --from which it turns out that before Chernobyl it was worse than it is now. The thought simply struck me that perhaps what we need is for another to blow up for everything to be absolutely fine in this situation." The audience laughs.

Yavorivskiy notes that his new novel, on the subject of Chernobyl, will be carried in the ninth edition of DRUZHBA NARODOV. He is then asked about the decline in the teaching of the Ukrainian language in the Ukraine. He replies: "Again, the roots of the vast errors that have occurred in our country must be sought in the past." Belorussian writer Bykov then blames "lengthy neglect" by the Belorussian leadership for the fact that the Belorussian national language is under threat of disappearance.

Concluding the program, moderator Baruzdin says that all the unanswered questions will be given specific answers in DRUZHBA NARODOV in the near future.

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CSO:1800/730

SCRIPTWRITER ARGUES AGAINST CENSORING HISTORY

FM111347 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 7 My 87 p 5

[Article by scriptwriter Valeriy Frid, honored artist of the RSFSR: "Life, Author's Intention, Script: Honest Memory"]

[Text] I would rather not answer the traditional question about my current work: You never know what will become of an author's intention, of unfinished pages, and even of a complete script.

I would like to reflect aloud about work which I have not undertaken, work of which I think with timidity and emotion, work which I am probably obliged to do.

I will speak about matters that are personal and painful. Generally speaking, if it were a matter of only my personal pain, I could equally well keep silent. But I know that very many people think like me--think and speak out. Formerly they used to speak at home, when visiting others, or in movie studio corridors, but it seems to me that now is the time to discuss this problem in the pages of a newspaper.

Let me begin with an insignificant incident which occurred a few months ago--recently, and yet in a different historical epoch.

Aleksey Gabrilovich made an excellent television movie about the poet Yaroslav Smelyakov. Knowing that I had rather liked the movie, the director asked me to deliver an introductory speech before it was screened at the Movie Center. He did not ask me only because I had liked the movie; many others had also liked it, and they could have said so equally as well, of course. There were, however, other reasons.

As introductions to anthologies of his poems sometimes mentioned, Yaroslav Smelyakov was "a man who had a difficult time"--a euphemism meaning that he "had spent time in the camps." It was there, actually at Mine 13/14 near Inta in the polar region, that Yuliy Dinskiy and I met him. We met, we chatted, and we at once fell in love with his poems and with Yaroslav Vasilyevich himself, preserving this love all through life. That was why Aleksey Gabrilovich wanted me to spell out to the audience the things which the movie expressed in hints and paraphrases--according to the rules of the game prevailing at the time. (What a pleasure it is to write "prevailing at the

time!" This is an expression of both hope and confidence that things will be different now.... But let us get back to the past.)

I accepted with great pleasure: I wanted to tell our comrades, who had come to the premiere, about the strange and joyful emotion Denskiy and I experienced on hearing the newborn words, painstakingly written down in a school exercise book:

"The shimmering sea of red
"Brings back memories
"Of the school named for Ilich
"And of labor apprenticeship...."

These were the opening lines of "Cruel Love," a wonderful poem, the poet's declaration of love for and loyalty to his Komsomol years. Yes, there was a lot that had to be told--if nothing else, the tenderness shown to Smelyakov by his comrades in Finnish captivity and the respect with which they spoke of his behavior there. (He had been, to use the official terminology, organizer of one of the "Resistance Groups." In actual fact, he personally kept quiet about this--he felt awkward recalling actions which had been natural and mandatory for him.... But I am deviating from the main topic.)

On the day of the premiere I had hardly stepped inside the Movie Center when three senior union officials, confused and alarmed, descended upon me.

Valeriy Semenovich, are you going to deliver the introductory speech?"

It was easy to guess the cause of their confusion and alarm: They knew under what circumstances I had met Smelyakov. I was not going to feign puzzlement, and at once replied also to the unspoken part of the question:

"Yes, I am. And I will also say that he was in the camps."

"This is precisely what you should not do!..."

And we embarked on a conversation in which both sides understood each other perfectly well but pretended not to understand.

"Why?" they asked me? "After all, the audience is mixed, it is quite likely that some comrades from the raykom will also be there."

"So much the better! Don't you think they'll be interested?" I asked with astonishment.

"No, you must not, you must not." And they went on, sounding like Panikovskiy: "You know how much we respect you, but you must not! It would be a different matter if it was a scriptwriters' meeting."

"But what are you afraid of?! It wasn't you who sent him there, was it?"

The joke elicited polite smiles:

"No, it wasn't us.... But it is not worth it, honestly."

I tried to explain why I felt it was important for me to speak about that period of Yaroslav Vasilyevich's life, saying that Donskiy and I always believed Smelyakov to have been probably the most Soviet of all Soviet poets.

"This is what you should say!" my interlocutors were delighted.

I was not going to introduce the movie, and left in a terrible mood. I was not even angry with them: I understood that they had not been all that keen on being reprimanded...well, not quite reprimanded, just told off...well, not quite told off, simply stared at from beneath knitted brows by some higher-ranking boss: Why did you allow it to happen?!

I pondered that evening, and I am still pondering: What a huge mistake we make when we keep silent about the tragic fate of people who were boundlessly devoted to their country and the cause of communism, Civil War heroes, scientists, writers! How strange it is to see items marking the 80th, 90th, or 100th anniversary of the birth of renowned figures who died in captivity and were posthumously rehabilitated--items which suddenly stop short, just like their lives. What bewilderment is caused among those who do not know (and cynical smiles among those who do, of whom there are quite a few) by those panegyrics which say so much about man's life and not a single word about his death.

We are afraid to mention the injustices committed some 50 years ago--and miss what is probably the most suitable opportunity to speak about a radical turning point in our history, about the long-awaited triumph of justice. And, among other things, we feel rather shy to mention that, following the courageous decision by the 20th party congress, the stigma was removed from those who were unfairly sentenced and their relatives. And mainly that the people have been given back poems and books by slandered poets (which have, in some unfortunate cases, outlived their authors), that some most valuable works by cruelly and senselessly repressed scientists have reappeared from limbo....

True enough, there has been a tangible positive advance in the last few months, and we did read articles dedicated to the memory of the Chief Designer [Korolev] mentioning his arrest and the fantastic accusations leveled against him.

Didn't the creative exploits of Korolev and Tupolve--who, despite the blows of cruel fate, remained loyal to themselves, to their cause, and to their people--rise to particular heights? Isn't the figure of Rokossovskiy, who was returned to the army from the camps and who proved by his military feats the falsity of the accusations leveled against him, bathed in a special light? And is the unfortunate life of that very same Yaroslav Smelyakov not an example of staunchness, nobility, and devotion to the lofty ideals of communism?

Are these not the examples that must be used to educate those "incomprehensible young people" who are accused by the older generation of unbelief, nihilism, and God knows what else? If this is true for many of them, the most of the blame lies with us who have hypocritically failed to mention, or rather hushed up, tragic aspects of the country's history....

Yuliy Dunskiy, my friend, co-author, and first violin in our duet, did not live to see the coming of a time when it is possible to ask awkward questions aloud and expect an honest answer. How many times did he, and I with him, hear it said with a portentous smile:

"No, you must not, you must not touch on this subject. If it were to be tackled, then it ought to be done aloud! In a most serious fashion!..."

Meaning, of course, that this was not the time to speak aloud, and therefore it was better not to speak at all. And even any fleeting mention of the "roundups" [posadki] in 1937 was excised from finished scripts.

...I will allow myself another recollection, revolving around some quite recent events. At the request of one of the movie studios I wrote a script about Yakov Smushkevich--"General Douglas," hero of the Spanish [Civil] War and Khalkhaiin Gol, and one of the first to become twice Hero of the Soviet Union. Smushkevich was arrested 2 weeks before the start of the Great Patriotic War and, in contrast to Rokossovskiy, was not released. The script ended 1 year before his arrest, but it did contain one episode--a brief one but, by God, based on fact: One of Smushkevich's fellow-officers, wishing to do him harm, denounces him to a high-ranking Lubyanka official. I won't say that it was a particularly good script. Led by a desire to say more about a heroic person whose name has been well and truly forgotten even by many people of my own generation, I overloaded it with biographical details illustrating and encapsulating events. But the editor's letter, among the largely fair remarks, did contain the following passage which really struck me: "Doubts are elicited by the inadequate justification of the complex historical circumstances in which this person's talents unfolded and of the specific reasons which determined the outcome of his dramatic life. The author's poetic hints in this context only encourage unhealthy interest and all kinds of conjectures."

As we can see, the same old familiar tune.

"Honestly speaking," I wrote in reply, "I fail to understand: What kind of conjectures can be encouraged among the audience? A conjecture that Smushkevich would be arrested on the basis of an unfair accusation? But that is what happened. Our viewer, who is not a fool, would hardly imagine that the hero was rounded up for rape or robbery." This story had a strange continuation. Toward the end of last year--in other words after the 27th party congress and after the Fifth Cinematography Workers' Congress--a very pleasant director from the same studio came to me and asked me to rewrite the script omitting Smushkevich's military past, showing neither his youth, nor Spain, nor Khalkhaiin Gol, and concentrating specifically and solely on the

period while he was awaiting his arrest. Some turn of events.... I refused: I have different ideas about a biographical movie.

But why am I relating this apparently unimportant episode, which is of interest only to me personally? In order to voice the conviction that one must not rush about bouncing from one extreme to the other, one must not take either only the white or only the black out of the context of time. The history of any people contains both light and darkness; they do not necessarily appear in turns, they exist in parallel within the same time segment. It is not so easy to separate the just from the guilty in the maelstrom of those difficult years: By a quirk of ill fortune they could have suddenly reversed--and did reverse--their positions. A person does not always know what he will be tomorrow--judge or accused, prisoner or escort.

"...There must be no forgotten names or blank pages either in history or in literature. Otherwise they are neither history nor literature, but artificial and time-serving structures." This was said by M.S. Gorbachev at the recent meeting with leaders of the mass news and propaganda media.

It was said clearly and with the utmost honesty, and we must not forget it.

One of art's functions is to act as the people's memory. And memory retains everything--bad or good. Furthermore, as clever people have repeatedly noted, the good is more firmly and more reliably rooted in memory. Have we forgotten the tremendous and pure faith nourished by people at that time, faith which literally moved mountains? There was enthusiasm, a spirit of universal comradeship, and an equally universal contempt for money-grubbers and Philistines. There were remarkable social gains, and there were ambitious construction projects, there were nonstop flights to the other end of the world. There was, finally, the great victory in the Great Patriotic War.

There were, however, also other things which must not be forgotten, either.

I don't know whether I will decide to tackle this material--I am not one of the tribe of trail-blazers--but I think about it more and more often....

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CSO: 1800/730

PREPARATIONS FOR ORTHODOX MILLENNIUM VIEWED

Moscow GOLOS RODINY in Russian No 8, Feb 87 pp 12-13

[Unsigned article: "On the Threshold of the Millennium"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Excerpts] In a year and a half the Russian Orthodox Church will solemnly celebrate its 1000th-year anniversary. This event is an important landmark in the history of our country. How is the Russian Orthodox Church preparing for its anniversary? Our correspondent addressed this question to the Administrator of Affairs of the Moscow Patriarchate, the First Deputy Chairman of the Anniversary Commission of the Holy Synod, Sergey, Metropolitan of Odessa and Kherson.

The forthcoming anniversary of the Russian Orthodox Church, the 1000th-year anniversary of the christianization of Rus, is attracting the attention of foreign religious circles and the public. This is completely understandable considering the significance of the Russian Orthodox Church in the history of Russia, in the fates of European and world civilization, and its role in the contemporary ecumenical and peace movement. This interest in the anniversary also comes from the fact that the most recent period in the history of our Church is the first experience of the existence of the Church under the conditions of a socialist state.

The Russian Orthodox Church has already set about the preparation for holding the anniversary. A special commission of the Holy Synod was formed, with the Most Holy Patriarch of Moscow and All Rus, Pimen, at its head.

The central event of the anniversary festivities will be the holding of the Russian Orthodox Church Local Assembly. The Assembly's work will take place from June 6-9, 1988. Diocesan and suffragan clergymen, delegates from parish clergy and laymen from each eparchy, representatives from religious schools, monasteries, and agencies of the Synod and foreign institutions will participate. Guests present at the Assembly will be heads and representatives of Orthodox Churches, Ancient Eastern Churches, Churches with whom the the Russian Orthodox Church has a theological dialogue and cooperation, leaders of international ecumenical and peace organizations, and heads of Churches and religious associations of the Soviet Union.

On June 5, 1988, on the eve of the opening of the Local Assembly, a divine liturgy will be read in the Bogoyavlenskiy Patriarchy Cathedral; after the conclusion of the Assembly's work, on June 12, on the day of All the Saints Manifested in the Land of Russia, in all churches of the Russian Orthodox Church a thanksgiving service dedicated to the 1000th-year anniversary of the christianization of Rus will be held.

June 16 - 20 anniversary celebrations will be held in Kiev with the participation of the Holy Patriarch and some of the foreign guests and delegates of the Local Assembly. After the anniversary celebrations in Moscow and Kiev, and also in Leningrad and Vladimir, the celebration of the 1000th-year anniversary of the christianization of Rus will take place in all eparchies of the Russian Orthodox Church. The main measures on the eparchy level will be solemn worship services and gatherings with the participation of parish clergy and laymen at which the Acts, the Epistles, and documents accepted at the local Assembly will be read.

Within the framework of the preparations being made for the anniversary, in the summer of 1986 in Kiev and International Church History Conference was held. This year in Moscow the International Liturgical Conference will take place, dedicated to the christianization of Rus.

A whole series of anniversary publications is planned through the Publishing Department of the Moscow Patriarchy. Records with recordings of spiritual singing and video-cassettes presenting today's Russian Orthodox Church are being prepared for release.

The restored Danilov Monastery in Moscow, where the religious and administrative center of the Russian Orthodox Church will be seated, will become a Church-wide monument to the 1000th-year anniversary of the christianization of Rus. The vast building abutting upon the Troitsa-Sergieva Monastery, where at present the Zagorsky City Hospital is housed, along with a typography and several other state institutions, will be given free of charge to the Moscow Spiritual Academy; this should be considered a gift in honor of the 1000th-year anniversary of the christianization of Rus.

We hope that the forthcoming celebration of the 1000th-year anniversary of the christianization of Rus will permit the Russian Orthodox Church, from the vantage of our time, to evaluate its activity over the 1000-year period, sum up the experience of the existence of the Church under the conditions of a socialist state, and taking this into account, continue its service for the good of our people, for the sake of the preservation of peace on Earth, and in the name of the ideals of fraternal love and cooperation among all nations.

13320/9190
CSO: 1800/455

TASS REPORTS ON ANNUAL NATIONAL BAPTIST CONFERENCE

LD221052 Moscow TASS in English 0147 GMT 22 May 87

[Text] Moscow, 21 May (TASS)--The annual national conference of heads of Evangelic Christian Baptist churches ended here today. It was attended by 70 presbyters from different regions of the Soviet Union.

A TASS correspondent was told by Pastor Aleksey Bychkov, general secretary of the All-Union Council of Evangelic Christian Baptists, that over the past year new parish members, baptized in local churches, had joined the Baptist Church. Over the same period 50 new buildings for praying houses had been built in parishes. Religious literature was published in increasing numbers. Recently the All-Union Council had received from the publishing house and started to distribute among the parishes a new edition of the book "Symphony", required by preachers and people with interest in the Bible.

Participants in the conference passed an appeal to Christians worldwide expressing concern over the problems of security and preserving peace on earth. They also urged Christians to work to preserve the sacred gift of life.

"We are deeply convinced that current international problems can be solved not from the position of strength but only from the position of common sense. Therefore, we support the program of full elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of the 20th century," the appeal says.

"We can not be indifferent to the threat of nuclear war and again urge Christians and all people of goodwill to pool their efforts and exert every effort to bar the way to war, to promote better international climate and boost trust and cooperation between nations," it is pointed in the document.

The appeal supports the initiative of the North American peacemaking organizations Baptists for Peace to hold in August next year the Baptists for Peace International Conference on implementing the provisions of the Final Helsinki Act.

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CSO: 1812/240

ORTHODOX CHURCH LEADERS DISAPPROVE OF YAKUNIN'S ACTIONS

LD061705 Moscow TASS in English 1631 GMT 6 Jun 87

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jun (TASS)--Leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church disapprove of the actions of Moscow priest Gleb Yakunin. This clergyman has sent recently a letter to the Patriarchy setting forth his views on the actions of church leaders and the believers' position in the USSR. The letter, addressed to the patriarch, had been given to foreign correspondents even before the patriarch received it.

The senior leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church regard this act by Yakunin as not christian not only in form but also in content. Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Krutitsy and Kolomna held a press conference in his residence in the Novodevichy Monastery to explain the church authorities' disapproval of such behaviour by Yakunin. Metropolitan Yuvenaliy is the acting Moscow bishop and in this capacity is Gleb Yakunin's confessor. The Metropolitan is a member of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Metropolitan Yuvenaliy reminded that the church's internal life has its own laws and rules. One of such rules was the subordination of the priest to the bishop. Gleb Yakunin not only acted without the knowledge of church authorities but had directly misled them.

Gleb Yakunin has peculiar relations with the church. Way back in 1966 he was deprived of the right to minister by the Holy Synod for distributing publications slandering the church hierarchy. Later he was convicted by the court for unlawful activities. Recently Gleb Yakunin appealed to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet for a pardon, promising never to resume unlawful activities. His appeal was granted.

On his return to Moscow, Gleb Yakunin sent a petition to the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, Patriarch Pimen asking for his authorization to resume ministering. Taking into account Yakunin's repentance and his promise never again to repeat former mistakes, the Holy Synod gave a positive answer to his petition.

Already two weeks after the Holy Synod's decision, Gleb Yakunin broke his word and without the blessing of the church started to act on behalf of the church. In the meantime, his point of view was one-sided and unobjective, Metropolitan Yuvenaliy said. "Clergyman Yakunin," Metropolitan continued, "must decide whether he is with the church or against it. If he persists in his errors, the church will have to part with him."

Metropolitan Yuvenaliy and another member of the Holy Synod Metropolitan Philaret of Kiev told about the life of the Russian Orthodox Church on the eve of next year's celebrations of the 1,000th anniversary of the christianizing of Russia, preparations for which are in full swing already now. They noted that actions of such people as Yakunin misinform people abroad regarding the true situation of the believers in the USSR.

As citizens, "we do not divide ourselves into believers and unbelievers," Metropolitan Yuvenaliy said. "We all work hand in hand to the benefit of our home land." He commented with irony on the fact that Yakunin described as "prisoners of conscience" people whose activities had nothing to do with the suffering for the faith. The Metropolitan remarked that millions of people would have been imprisoned if people in the Soviet Union had been prosecuted on religious grounds. "Everybody knows that this is not the case: People are taken to court not for religious convictions but for criminal offences."

Metropolitans Yuvenaliy and Fialret told about the Soviet state's benevolent attitude to the church. They cited as an example the transfer by authorities of the church at the St. Daniil Monastery and active participation by state organizations in eliminating the consequences of a fire at the religious center of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra in Zagorsk, near Moscow. Figures were cited on the building and opening of new churches, an increased enrollment in religious educational establishments and on the publication of the Bible and other religious books.

It was noted that the relations between the state and the church were not rigid, that they were developing. This development was the subject of discussions between representatives of the Soviet authorities and the church hierarchy.

"The behaviour of Father Gleb makes one doubt his sincerity," Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Krutitsy and Kolomna said. "There is an impression that he is under the influence of certain ill-natured people and is a toy in their hands. As a bishop, I feel pity for him."

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CSO: 1812/240

ATHEIST EDUCATION PROBLEMS IN TAJIKISTAN

Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 22 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Rustam Alimov, first secretary of the Tajik Komsomol Central Committee: "To the Club or to the Prayer House: On the Problems of Atheist Education in Tadzhikistan"]

[Excerpts] Among a certain part of the youth of our republic, frankly speaking, there is widespread uncritical perception of religious pasaphemalia. They are often seen with religious stickers, calendars, and post cards and other objects of similar nature. And it happens that even more "serious things" attract the attention of young people. For example, special literature published abroad.

We strive so that each incidence of expression of religious sentiments among youth would cause alarm at the Komsomol committees. It is important to identify the causes of this phenomenon and all concomitant circumstances, and then set about eradicating them. We take it as our task not to pursue the problem on the inside, giving the appearance that nothing has happened, but rather to find the sources of the phenomenon and change the state of affairs at its root. With this goal in particular we recommend that Komsomol and Pioneer school organizations surround pupils from religious families with attention. In atheistic work we often operate under the premise that we must combat participants who are believers. This is fundamentally incorrect. The goal of our work should be to fight not against, but for each of them. Indeed if we are speaking of the participating youth, then it is here that part of the person is formed, a person whose world views and values in life are just taking shape.

Speaking of restructuring in the sphere of atheist education, we must keep in mind one not insignificant circumstance: to be sure, the clergy are not sitting with their hands folded, they are trying to take the current changes into account and adapt themselves to the moment.

There is but one possible conclusion: that the struggle for minds and souls of young people is not slackening. And here we cannot console ourselves with the knowledge that we are speaking about individuals or dozens of young people with weak convictions. We must struggle for each without exception. For this reason atheistic work is by no means limited

to lectures alone. Its focal point should be moved to the sphere of everyday life and leisure, which is one of the most vulnerable zones of atheist education due the difficulty in monitoring it.

Take, for example, everyday ceremonies. In our republic, taking into account its historic national features, they play no small part in people's lives. But what about the lives of young people? Do we always correctly evaluate the role and place of civilian rituals in their milieu?

Taking this problem upon itself, the Tajik Komsomol Central Committee undertook a series of concrete measures with the goal of solving it. Together with interested agencies, creative unions, scientific institutions we developed a whole integrated program "Molodezhnyy dosug" (The Leisure of Youth]. And then we took it to wide circle of young people for discussion. Many interesting suggestions resulted. In particular, the conducting of days for creative youth from various oblasts and rayons, the further development of intra-republic youth tourism, the rebirth of grand folk holidays, and the introduction of new ceremonies and rituals connected with weddings, births, and the beginning of one's work life.

In this work the Komsomol committees have the right to count on the help of scientific institutions, corresponding commissions at soviet executive committees of people's deputies. Life convincingly confirms that one mustn't underestimate the role of ceremonies in the life of a young person and all the more perceive them condescendingly or with a certain degree of irony.

Today one mustn't limit atheistic education or distinguish it from international education. Indeed it is not by chance that bourgeois ideologues at the contemporary level of the struggle of thoughts clutched, as though at a straw, at the postulate on activating the so-called "Islamic factor." They are counting on national isolation, fanning of hostility between people of differing religious convictions and different nationalities. And here there is plenty of work for the Komsomol. Its success in many respects depends on the degree of preparation, competence, and efficiency of ideological cadres. And we are solving this complex problem with the support of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee. In particular, our young leaders will in practice become familiar with the activity of the country's leading Komsomol organizations. There they will receive good schooling, and will be enriched with the experience of the communist education of youth.

Since the beginning of this year, more than a thousand young messengers have been sent from our republic on Komsomol trips to shock construction sites of the country. During the third work term and summer holidays 3.5 thousand students and upperclassmen helped outside of the republic to build living accommodations, hospitals, clubs, and kindergartens. Reinforcements for the working class of Tajikistan is being prepared in professional-technical institutions in Russia and the Ukraine. Here 6,000 graduates of secondary schools from our republic began courses of study in the great industrial centers this school year. And altogether

over the years of the 12th Five-Year Plan around 30,000 youths will learn their specialties there.

The Komsomol committees and leading Komsomol organizations are obligated to concern themselves every day, that is to say, to fight to overcome the false, illusory conceptions of young people that are preventing the development of the spiritual potential of their forming personality. The prescribed requirement is that Komsomol member means atheist and internationalist. We are not going the same way as those who have forgotten this truth, who are under the thumbs of the mullahs and clergymen, who have begun to listen to mesmerizing speeches. Comrades have the right to question sternly those who deviate so from the norms of Komsomol life.

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IZVESTIYA HITS 'DEMAGOGUERY' OF PAMYAT ORGANIZATION

PM101051 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jun 87 Morning Edition p 3

[G. Alimov, R. Lynev article: "Where 'Pamyat' Is Heading"]

[Text] There was a time when everyone was talking about the boom in physics. Then biology came into the forefront. And now, in our country at least, the interest in history has greatly increased. Like any interest, it manifests itself in different ways.

In Moscow and some other cities the informal "Pamyat" ["Memory"] association is making its presence increasingly felt. Its activists stress that it is a historical-patriotic association. In a number of places it has held a series of soirees devoted to specific topics, and at the beginning of May a demonstration was held by its activists in the center of Moscow, in the square by the Manege, which has already been reported by the press. They carried slogans demanding official recognition for "Pamyat" and an end to the work being done on Poklonnaya Hill (which has basically already been ended). There were also slogans saying: "The people's memory is sacred!" and "Out with the restructuring saboteurs!"

One man stood out among the ranks of demonstrators and gave commands:

"About turn! Hold your slogans! Forward with the banners of Russia!"

He was D. Vasilyev, one of the leaders of "Pamyat." He has approached by curious Muscovites and guests in the capital, including foreigners, who asked him what the demonstration was about. He replied that the "people" had come out into the square, "brave people" who could no longer endure the bureaucrats and other enemies who are "destroying out history and our culture."

"We are told that there is no enemy, but there is. Not only abroad but also within."

Again, the reader is right to be surprised: How can this be? In a recent address to the people the party Central Committee said that our entire society is on the same side of the barricades, but here we have something quite

different being said on the people's behalf. And how these ideas are being put across! One only has to question the conclusions of D. Vasilyev and others like him for them to shout:

"Comrades! He is a CIA agent -- do not listen to him!"

Jumping ahead a little, we will point out that our journalists' questions to "Pamyat" members were also considered "provocative and tactless" by its leadership, and on these grounds they have decreed that there must be no contact with us. However much we would like to, we find it impossible to relate this kind of attitude with the image of "fighters for openness against bureaucracy."

On the same day the participants in the demonstration were received at the Moscow Soviet by B.N. Yeltsin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Moscow Gorkom, who listened to what they had to say and answered their questions.

They left the meeting satisfied. Someone even recalled:

"It isn't St. George's Day today for nothing!"

However, even after this the leaders of "Pamyat" continue to complain that malicious rumors are being spread about them. Who would want to do this? Enemies. To blacken "Pamyat's" reputation. Why? Because by wholeheartedly supporting the restructuring process (although all our people support it -- author), it, "Pamyat," is helping to disclose the real reasons for many difficulties and takes an uncompromising stand on this issue. Which is not to the liking of a great many people (obviously not in our country--author).

The leaders of "Pamyat" tried to persuade us of this during a conversation which took place in D. Vasilyev's apartment on the Sadovoye Koltso.

The apartment where our conversation took place was like a museum. The walls were lined with icons, pictures, and old photographs, including some of the tsar's family and Stolypin -- yes, yes, the very same man who imprinted himself on the people's memory with the gallows to which he gave his name. On the table lay a volume of V.I. Lenin, open at a page where a letter from Ilich discusses the need to punish bureaucrats more strictly. The air in the room seemed to be thick with rage against communist bureaucrats.

No one is forbidden to decorate the walls of their home with their favorite portraits, photographs, even icons. And as far as bureaucrats are concerned, so much has been said and is still being said about them now that another accusation or two will not make very much difference. The decor and atmosphere of Vasilyev's apartment are not, therefore, very surprising. But how does all this fit together? Lenin on the table, Stolypin on the walls -- the latter,

as we later discovered, revered by these people as a progressive reformer whose experience they would like to use now in the restructuring process. What is this? No, cynicism and humor are firmly ruled out. They are completely serious. The organization stipulates that one of its aims is to "assert the way of life intrinsic to the nation."

Granted, they answered our questions (but mainly the master of the house; the rest, including one K. Andreyev, chairman of the association council, a worker, and a member of the CPSU, as Vasilyev constantly emphasized, just listened, speaking only rarely), but they constantly made us feel that our conversation was not one among equals. They gave the impression that everything would be much clearer to us once we had heard some recordings of "Pamyat" evenings, soaked up their atmosphere, and come a little closer to being "initiated."

We listened to these recordings and met some "Pamyat" members (until, as we said, the leaders of the association banned all meetings). What can we say? There was hardly any issue raised at these evening sessions which had not been raised long before by scholars, writers, and the public. Issues which had been discussed extensively and pointedly in the press, in letters to the leadership of the party and the country, and by this leadership itself at the most diverse forums and conferences. The only thing to distinguish "Pamyat's" formulation of these issues is its assumption of the role of main exponent of these matters, as well as its stridency and its attempts to always find the answers to these questions in the past. And not only to find these answers immediately but also to call the "guilty parties" to account according to its own particular understanding and interpretation of the issue in question.

But even this would not be so important if two factors were considered at least to some extent. The first -- and this has long been a well-known fact -- is that past experience can be an impediment to progress as well as a spur. The second point is that excursions are made into the past at "Pamyat" evenings in a one-sided, tendentious way. Any serious historian who has heard a recording or was actually present at one of these evenings will admit that the professional, scientific level of the discussion is not very high. This is apparent in the fragmentary nature of the information accepted by the participants in these evenings as gospel and in the absence of any real discussion. The version given is presented as the ultimate truth. This creates a spiritually hidebound atmosphere brooking no doubts. This must be the reason why one hears some "Pamyat" members and people close to them say:

"Discussion? What for? We have had to listen for 20 years. Now it is their turn to listen to us."

It is hardly likely that anyone would risk calling this kind of search for the truth scientific, apart from the leaders of "Pamyat" themselves. As a matter of fact they have no interest in a precise, scientific discussion of historical issues, but play quite skillfully on the totally understandable emotions of the people gathered around them, permitting no argument or serious discussion.

A "Pamyat" evening entitled "Moscow, How Much This Word Conveys..." which was attended by several hundred people, proceeded as follows. First, the traditional introduction: a peal of bells and a brass band. Then a film about the capital's remaining architectural monuments. Then an architect talked about the damage done to the face of the capital at various times and for various reasons, without consideration for age-old traditions, the principles of the city's architecture, and its unique style. The subject was continued by a geologist, who talked about Poklonnaya Hill and how it has served Moscow through the ages and about a rich but now, unfortunately, irretrievably lost cultural era -- evidence that there were settlements on Moscow's present site long before the city was founded.

But surely all this has already been discussed? Written about? Evaluated? Yes, and from the highest rostrums. We are all aware what has been lost. What is more, we could add a long list of ill-considered new names for Moscow's streets, squares, and alleys. This is all true. But, first, it is easy to be wise after the event and, second, is it right to consider only one aspect, in this case the architectural historical aspect, in isolation from many other factors, often contradictory, which has influenced Moscow's development as a city that has long been not only the capital of the USSR but also a major industrial and scientific center, a complex transport junction, and a city that is overpopulated but still taking in millions of new arrivals? What do you expect us to do? Close the city? Pull down people's homes and resettle everyone in 18th century wooden buildings, as some of this association's leaders suggest?

But the scenario for the evening does not provide for a thorough investigation of all this. Other things are intended. Taking the floor, D. Vasilyev begins, as he often does, with a quotation from V.I. Lenin: Why must we reject what is truly beautiful as the starting point for further development solely on the grounds that it is old? Why must we revere everything new as if it were god?

This is the ideological-political introduction, so to speak. The introduction to what? The speaker reads a passage from the writings of the constructivist ideologue Ginsberg in the thirties:

"We must make no new investments in Moscow and just patiently sit back and wait for the natural deterioration of its old buildings..."

As if Moscow's development since then had been exclusively and precisely as Ginsberg predicted. As if other viewpoints, other schemes, simply did not exist.

The auditorium grows noisy.

"And must we keep silent? Not seek the reason for this?", D. Vasilyev asks his audience.

No! He will not be silent; now he will at last reveal the reason. All the problems described above and others too have one root cause: the actions of secret enemy forces. What enemy forces? Just listen.

From the stage where he stand he enunciates each word very carefully.... "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion," of whose existence many in the auditorium had never heard before.

So what are these "protocols"? If you read them you sink into a world of superstition and charlatanism. The authenticity of the "protocols" seems so questionable to scientific historians that they do not even believe it necessary to investigate the history behind the appearance of this "document" -- a dark history, which has its roots in the intrigues of the international adventurists and literary plagiarists of the last century, the machinations of secret police agents, and the atmosphere of religious mysticism in which the tsarist court of that time was deeply enshrouded.

Even S. Nilus, who was responsible for preparing the "protocols" for the press, admitted: "I cannot find an audience to take these 'protocols' seriously. No one believes them."

Nilus was wrong. People have been found who, even if they do not actually believe in the protocols, at least actively give the appearance of doing so.

As often happens, in the brief period of liberalization which followed the tsar's 1905 Manifesto, the far Right was one of the first to become active, setting up the "Union of the Russian People." The minister of finance at that time, S. Witte, who wholeheartedly supported the union, described it as follows: "This party is patriotic to the bottom of its soul, but its patriotism is primitive and founded on passions rather than on reason and magnanimity. The majority of its leaders are political upstarts with a dishonorable way of thinking and feeling."

It was within this party, among semiliterate shopkeepers and petit bourgeois, that the "protocols" were adopted as a kind of ideology and played the role of detonator for an explosion of obscurantism. It is possible that the leaders of "Pamyat" are not aware of this; in any case, no mention was made of it at the "Pamyat" evenings....

The "protocols" made a deep impression on Nicholas II, who wrote in their margins: "It is as if our year of 1905 is in the hands of the 'learned elders....'!"

As we can see, the sovereign was not distinguished by any particular depth of political thought. History has well confirmed this.

According to eye-witnesses, the "protocols" were "literally devoured" by Kolchak. More and more new versions of them appeared in the newspapers of the White Armies and, when the inevitability of the Whites' defeat in the Civil War became obvious, their propaganda issued a false document which was allegedly a continuation of the "protocols."

The reader who has merely shrugged his shoulders up to this point will now exclaim: "But this is madness!"

True. But if we return to the demonstration with which our story begins, during it you could have heard the opinions conveyed to journalists by communist K. Andreyev, chairman of the "Pamyat" council:

"Today we must remember our mothers and fathers who fought one another in the Civil War for the sake of the same Russian land. The best people!.... Perhaps someone provoked them to this carnage."

In the twenties and thirties the "protocols" achieved currency in Germany.

An eye-witness describes the atmosphere at a meeting where the protocols were read and commented on. He says: "Young blood boiled, eyes flashed, fists were clenched.... Anyone who dared to voice even a shadow of doubt encountered shouts, insults, and sometimes even threats." (True, the shouts were not for CIA agents but for agents of the Comintern -- author)

...Hitler read the "protocols" and used them in his misanthropic practices; he left notes in his own hand as evidence of this....

In short, a long, tortuous, and dirty road was traveled by the "protocols" before they were heard from the "Pamyat" rostrum and became, in the eyes of the association's devotees, one of the keys to a "real" understanding of the past, present, and future of the country in which we live.

And how these protocols are interpreted! For example, the "protocols" mention some underground passages "in every capital, from where they are to be blown up with all their organizations and documents" (!). D. Vasilyev offers the following comments on these lines to those present at the meeting:

"When I read these 'protocols' I suddenly gazed in horror at a map of the Moscow metro system.... All the principal junctions are right below party and government institutions!"

The audience grows excited. Someone protests, but he is immediately forced into silence and made to leave the room, the remaining audience now "sure" who is destroying Moscow and why, where its trade mafia headed by the convicted Tregubov sprang from, and who offered it protection and why; everything has been explained, brought out into the daylight, and should no longer be endured! The crowd disperses to the strains of the march: "Into the Attack in Ranks of Steel...."

"Order in the soul - order in the motherland." This is how the writer V. Rasputin defined the meaning of civic spirit and patriotism in an IZVESTIYA interview some time ago. Talking to people who go to hear the "revelations" of Vasilyev and other "Pamyat" leaders, you feel that they are actually concerned by many real problems. But at the same time their attitude is one of amazingly unthinking credulity toward the strange world of fine-sounding

words which the "Pamyat" leadership weaves around itself, toward a world where virtually everything is imbued with some hidden meaning connected with the actions of those same "dark forces." A newspaper, if read against the light, can reveal some new meaning, a signal exchanged between secret forces. A monument to a leader, if you look for and find the right perspective, proves to be not simply a failure but a deliberate distortion to humiliate all of us. The hands of these secret forces even edit the speeches of the general secretary, reducing everything good said about the Russian people.

In short, as stated in a "Pamyat" address to the people, our country is in danger. We must "expose the secret headquarters" of the enemy and "close ranks." And this is your "national spirit"! Reading and hearing things like this, you can see how, once a phenomenon leaves the bounds of reason, it becomes its own antithesis. Lofty ideas become base. Patriotism becomes strident fanaticism. Vigilance against the penetration of alien ideas into our culture becomes hasty, hysterical suspicion.

It cannot be denied that the development of openness and the expansion of democracy are producing varied results. Including this strident, "vulgar" self-expression and the claim -- frankly stated in the draft statute of the "Pamyat" association -- to the creation of some new political organization which aspires to establish control over absolutely everything but accepts virtually no responsibility and which is rigidly structured. The draft is not the final document, of course, but nevertheless its provisions give grounds for these conclusions.

We must all learn to live in the new conditions. And we must realize, in particular, that greater democracy and participation in political and social life presupposes responsibility in addition to everything else. The responsibility of any organization, group, or person is judged by their actions and not by what they say. And we are prepared to write about the actions of "Pamyat" -- whether it restores a monument or sets up a cooperative....

But it has not yet gone as far as action. And so we can only write about the present features of "Pamyat": the demagoguery of a group of persons which exploits people's real concern with current problems and which is a strong blend of a poor knowledge of history and the present day and antediluvian ideas far removed from really vital issues and the search for construction solutions.

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CSO: 1800/706

SOCIAL ISSUES

BSSR: SUGAR SITUATION LINKED TO MOONSHINE

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 21 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by S. Ivanov, department chief, BSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and V. Bryl, SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA correspondent: "Concerning 'Raw Vodka' Monopolies"]

[Excerpt] Not long ago we dropped into a food store. We overheard a conversation a salesgirl was having with the cashier. "We are only letting one package of sugar go to a customer," the store worker declared. "How is that?", the woman said in surprise. "When did sugar start being scarce? Or, perhaps, someone has already gathered a rich harvest of fruit and has been buying up sugar for jam?"

Knowledgeable readers, of course, understand that this doesn't smell of any kind of jam here. It smells of ordinary moonshine. Informed people are able to provide a precise "calculation": in the manufacture of 9 or 10 liters of raw vodka under city conditions, for example, 6 kilograms of sugar are used up. Consequently, on the basis of its sale to the public, it is possible to judge in part the rates at which the cottage "moonshine industry" is developing. In March, 19,654 tons were sold by the republic's trade outlets -- 3000 tons more than during the same month last year.

Lists of those who are "devouring" the sweet product include the most varied people, both in terms of age and by nature of their occupations. About half of them are pensioners. But, as a rule, the latter are "frontmen": they know that they don't "pay much mind" to old people.

Pensioner A. I. Kononkova lives in Barani, which is in Orshanskiy Rayon. One would think these are venerable, sage years. But Anna Ilinichna has been engaged in a shameful trade. On 16 January, militia workers arrested her at a device from which an intoxicating liquid bubbled. Besides the finished product, they found 130 liters of mash. According to the most simple "raw vodka" arithmetic, to get this much, it was necessary to pour in not less than 20 kilograms of sugar. And other components!

Recently, a militia report arrived at the party organization of the Volkovysktsementnoshifer association. On 23 March, P. F. Smugara had been

detained in the village of Lasha in Grodnenskiy Rayon, although he himself lives in the village of Krasnoselskiy. The custodians of order has met Petr Fedorovich when he was selling moonshine to the villagers. They confiscated 25 liters. Figure how much this would be if translated into sugar.

Just think: wide-scale destruction of potatoes, sugar beets, bread, and of a mass of other comestibles is going on under the very eyes of our fellow citizens. A mockery of vitally needed products. During the course of a single recent raid operation in the republic, the defenders of the law uncovered hundreds of sites involved in the business of stupefying people and they found 1500 liters of moonshine and about 30,000 liters of mash.

It is also worthwhile reflecting a bit on the "fixed capital" of these raw vodka shops. Indeed, they did deal somewhat severely with the owners of these intoxicating "monopolies": they destroyed 390 installations during the above-mentioned mass investigation alone. However, the militia workers did not even have a chance to glance around before the moonshiners' apparatus reappeared in the very same villages and cities. Moreover, they are being even craftier. Now they are "brewing" raw vodka not only in the forest and at home, but also at work. It's handier. And not so suspicious. Still, the regional inspectors sometimes take a look here: participants in the raid group found a 40-liter can containing leftover mash in the shop managing mechanization at the Mozyrselstroy trust. There turned out to be nobody in the place. Therefore, the foreman, N. S. Klimenko, was held responsible for this outrage, on all counts.

The problem of getting rid of moonshining is, quite frankly, a complicated one. But the most unpleasant thing is that other officials are, willingly or unwillingly, facilitating this crime. Even for a nonspecialist, it is easy to determine that many of the sets of moonshine apparatus that have been found and confiscated were manufactured with the help of welding, which is used only in production. Moreover, stainless steel -- a strictly limited material -- is being used for this. You also don't buy milk cans and containers from milking installations at the store. And, nonetheless, the "supplier" is not to be found. The business people, in whose possession such equipment is being found, wiggle out of it the best way they can: they "found it", it was "left to them by their parents", they "bought it from a stranger", etc. It is, of course, difficult to accept such reasons, and also that nobody in a village, or even in a city noticed what was going on. They see, they know, but they remain silent, giving in this way their approval to the moonshiners. During the first years after the revolution, such cover-ups were severely punished. But now we are more gentle -- the law doesn't even contain an applicable provision.

Analyzing the criminal cases that have been concluded, one also sees that by no means the most severe sentences are being given out to the moonshiners. Eighty-seven percent of them have received fines. The court has deprived only 0.8 percent of the law violators of their freedom. The rest have been sentenced to corrective work for short periods of time with the assignment of 20 percent of their wages to state revenues. Or their cases have been transferred to a comrades' court.

No, we are not arguing in essence that all destroyers of agricultural products should be "sent up", one after the other. On the basis of statistics, we come to the following conclusion: wouldn't it be more simple to apply administrative measures to people who make moonshine, while retaining the former maximum amount for fines. All the more so as criminal law procedures only drag out the period necessary for examining a case and overload the courts. We also cannot ignore the influence which the very fact of a court conviction has on people's futures, especially young people. If a person is convicted or if his parents or relatives have been convicted, then he hardly can count on being completely trusted in the future, say, when entering a higher educational institution. It is clearly from this that the moonshining cover-ups and the system of mutual protection stem.

There are many other difficulties in combatting this evil. Under existing regulatory acts, it is not even easy to verify the presence of physical evidence itself. For example, they find mash in a person's possession. It is clear that this is raw material for making moonshine. But even here, he extricates himself: no, I made this for other purposes. We need to resort to different means of exposure.

Seventy-five percent of the "brew masters" who are being called to account have been making intoxicating drinks in their own homes. The procurator then questions the militia employee: and, when you caught them, how did you observe the constitutional right of these citizens to the sanctity of their homes? This means that it is necessary to find substantial cause even in order to enter the house of a "home craftsman". But indeed, on the other hand, it has already been officially recognized that the preparation of moonshine is a criminal matter, in other words -- a crime. Having received information concerning it, according to the law, a militia employee has full right of access to any area where it is being carried out.

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