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JPRS-UPA-87-016

27 JULY 1987



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JPRS Report

Soviet Union

Political Affairs

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SOVIET UNION POLITICAL AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

Yeltsin Addresses Moscow Gorkom Plenum (B. N. Yeltsin; MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 23 Feb 87)	1
Moscow Gorkom on City Jan-Mar Plan Fulfillment (MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 24 Apr 87)	29
Moscow Gorkom on Crime in Local Meat Industry (MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 16 Apr 87)	34
Leningrad Obkom on Vyborg Socioeconomic Progress, Other Issues (LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, 30 Apr 87)	37
Expanded Georgian CP CC Buro Meeting Focuses on Economics (ZARYA VOSTOKA, 27 Jan 87)	39
Georgian CP CC Buro on State Inspection, Restructuring (ZARYA VOSTOKA, 15 Jan 87)	42
GSSR: Construction Ministry Warned of Problems in January (ZARYA VOSTOKA, 23 Jan 87)	44
Tajik CP CC Notes Insufficient Measures To Curb Disease (KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, 15 May 87)	48

MEDIA, PROPAGANDA

TaSSR Oblast Press Timid in Implementing Atheist Propaganda (V. Vorobyev; KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, 28 Feb 87)	51
--	----

HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY

Restructuring Blocked by Adherence to Outmoded Principles (N. Manaseryan; KOMMUNIST, 5 Apr 87)	56
Book on Early Period of Transcaucasus Reviewed (ZARYA VOSTOKA, 14 Feb 87)	60
Western Views on Central Asian Nationalism Criticized (G. Volter; KOMMUNIST KIRGIZSTANA, No 2, Feb 87)	63
Uzbek Historians Criticize Inaccuracies, 'Plagiarism' (M. Nazarov, A. Akramov; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 14 Feb 87)	70

CULTURE

Moving Artists Out of Moscow Park Sparks Protests (IZVESTIYA, 8 May 87)	74
Conflicts Between Goskino, Republic Studios Increasing (Algimantas Brazaytis; IZVESTIYA, 4 May 87)	79
Role of Schools in Discouraging Rock Music Discussed (M. Molchanov; RABOCHAYA GAZETA, 17 Apr 87)	83
Abkhazian Writer Interviewed on Survival of Traditions (Georgiy Guliya Interview; NAUKA I RELIGIYA, No 4, Apr 87)	87

SOCIAL ISSUES

OGONEK Examines Polish Example of Public Opinion Study (Vladimir Kovalev; OGONEK, No 10, Mar 87)	94
Procuracy Official Decries Rise in Moonshine Production (Viktor Vasilyevich Interview; SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, 21 Mar 87)	103
Scientists Defend Shock Treatment for Alcohol, Drugs (Ye. Isakova; IZVESTIYA, 9 Apr 87)	108
Kazakh Officials Examine Russian, Kazakh Language Education (KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 5 Mar 87)	111
TaSSR: Health Official on Toxic Substance Abuse (M. Gulyamov; KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, 3 Apr 87)	116

REGIONAL ISSUES

Moscow Rayon Officials Host Open Phone Line (A. Moguchiy; MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 7 Jun 87)	119
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PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

YELTSIN ADDRESSES MOSCOW GORKOM PLENUM

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 87 pp 1-3

[Unattributed report on speech by B. N. Yeltsin, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, at the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Plenum held 21 February 1987: "Act Decisively and Persistently"]

[Text] Comrades:

The January CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized the particular significance and responsibility of our time.

In his report, Comrade M.S. Gorbachev discussed the most crucial questions which affect life in the party and the country. Like all Soviet people, Muscovites support the plenum's ideas. The report triggered interested reactions abroad as well.

The main documents of the plenum have been published. I am confident that you have studied those materials, for which reason there is no need to report them to you now.

Today, in our collective party council, we must include in our specific plans and, above all, in our actions, that which was earmarked by the Central Committee Plenum. Therefore, the gorkom buro hopes that this plenum will not limit itself to going over already discussed matters and will not become an arena of self-accountability but will formulate a constructive program for action for the city party organization in the implementation of the tasks formulated by the party's Central Committee.

The time has come to review the work we have done since the 26th City Party Conference and to check our accomplishments and plans against the resolutions of the Central Committee Plenum and make the necessary corrections and refinements. Our task is to formulate the type of forms and methods of work which will enable us to implement most efficiently the plenum's resolutions and to involve all people in restructuring. This will provide reliable guarantees for the irreversibility of the changes which have been initiated in the city.

Comrades:

To the Muscovites, the deep renovation of all aspects of our life and the restructuring of the economic, social and spiritual areas are related, above all, to the conversion of the city's economy to intensive development.

This is the material base of restructuring. Last year's Politburo resolutions on the most topical problems and on the Concept For the Development of Moscow Until the Year 2000, and on pulling the city out of a state of socioeconomic stagnation earmarked the trends and pace of its development.

As you may recall, at the 27th Congress a pledge was given on behalf of the Muscovites, that they will not be dependent. We must ensure a real acceleration with our own forces, without drawing additional manpower. At the last plenum, we jointly passed the firm and difficult decision of overfulfilling the assignments of the 5-year plan with fewer workers, and of no longer recruiting out-of-town workers. This is one of the specific features of Moscow's restructuring.

The only way to follow such restructuring undeviatingly and efficiently is by comprehensively enhancing the labor and overall civic activeness of Muscovites. The resolutions of the January Central Committee Plenum provide the means to this effect: cost accounting, the new economic management system and self-financing; the broadening of socialist democracy will release the energy of the people by decisively eliminating red tape and bureaucratic centralism and thoroughly changing obsolete work methods with cadres, which are hindering progress.

Only thus can the 12th 5-year period become a real turning point in the city's socioeconomic development. The targets planned for 1986-1990 make the city's obligations stressed.

You are familiar with them.

Based on a profound study of the situation and taking the errors of the past into consideration, long-term target programs were developed for virtually all economic, social, cultural and moral areas. The working people of Moscow actively joined in the struggle for the implementation of the plans and something has already been accomplished.

The participants in this plenum were given the information on the work of the gorkom buro and secretariat for the period after the 26th City Party Conference. The document shows the changes which have been made in the city in the past year.

Let me cite a few figures only.

The growth rates of industrial output averaged 4.6 percent or double the average annual figure of the 11th 5-year period. The volume of machine building output increased by 7.8 percent and labor productivity by 5.2 percent. The growth of labor productivity in capital construction nearly

doubled. Moscow's railroad workers are handling the increasing volume of work with fewer personnel.

The renovation of the active share of basic production assets was 50 percent faster. Working time losses declined by 25 percent. Contractual delivery discipline improved significantly. The integration between science and production is increasing.

The construction organizations are increasing their capacities. After a 15-year stagnation, the volume of contractual work showed a 4.4 percent increase. For the first time in recent years state capital investments were used in full, showing a 15 percent increase compared with 1985. A substantially faster commissioning of capital assets compared with the growth of capital investments was achieved. All most important national economic capacities were installed. The plan for the construction and completion of housing was fulfilled 105 percent. Particular attention was paid to the comprehensive development of residential areas. Compared with 1985 the number of completed kindergartens, hospitals and polyclinics doubled and that of stores increased by 30 percent. Another 426 trade and public catering enterprises were opened. For the first time all housing was completed with built-in and added premises, as stipulated in the plan. This work done by the construction workers and its further improvement will enable us to strengthen the city's social infrastructure and to improve services to Muscovites; the levels of social development planned for 1990 were either reached or almost reached for a number of indicators.

The construction of youth residential complexes moved ahead. The first 10 projects for physical culture-rehabilitation projects, made of rapidly assembled structures, were completed. A total of 117 such projects will be completed during the 5-year period. The implementation of a program for improving social labor conditions at enterprises has been started.

The transport organizations improved their work somewhat. Transportation requirements were met in full and the handling capacity of the passenger transportation system increased.

As a whole, some positive changes were achieved in various sectors thanks to the efforts of labor collectives and public organizations.

However, comrades, could we describe such results as a new quality reached in the work? The party gorkom buro believes that no more than was planned was accomplished, that restructuring has only been initiated by some collectives and not by all organizations. Few changes have been made in the overall situation in Moscow. The work being done today greatly suffers from quite old and deep sores and inertia, as confirmed by the numerous letters received from Muscovites, by meetings held with them in collectives, by articles in the press and by some results.

Remember the tremendous stress which everyone felt last November in implementing socialist pledges. Within a single month growth rates dropped sharply and everyone plunged into rescuing the state plan.

Moscow's industry as a whole fulfilled its annual production marketing plan, including contractual deliveries, 99.92 percent; 18 enterprises have on their conscience the remaining 0.08 percent, which let the entire multi-million strong city down. Those who thus "distinguished" themselves were named in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA.

Responsibility for the failure in fulfilling the contractual procurements plan in full also pertains to some party gorkom departments, above all those headed by Comrades V.I. Zhdanov and V.S. Sablin. They are still having difficulty in mastering methods of political management of the economy and the ability to anticipate results promptly.

Nor has the plan for the completion of schools been fulfilled. The culprits were identified. They include the construction and construction materials department of the party gorkom (Comrade A.A. Vankov) and the Gorplan.

The retail trade plan was not fulfilled.

Twenty-nine enterprises and 89 construction organizations did not reach the volume indicators set for the first year of the 5-year plan.

Last year four rayons--Voroshilovskiy (first party raykom secretary Comrade I.I. Zemskov, rayispolkom chairman Comrade P.V. Saprykin), Zhdanovskiy (Comrades R.V. Zhukov and A.N. Udaltsov), Kirovskiy (Comrades I.M. Golovkov and A.I. Ozornikov) and Leningradskiy (Comrades N.P. Bedrin and N.P. Oleynik) failed to fulfill their housing completion plans. Brezhnevskiy and Tushinskiy Rayons did not fulfill their plans for the completion of sociocultural projects. These rayons were eliminated from participation in the city socialist competition.

The results which were summed up in January 1987 indicate that last year no more than the obvious reserves were used; deeper opportunities remained untouched; the economic mechanism was not activated; no efficient organization and management system was established and, consequently, there was no stability in the work.

Despite the overall implementation of the city's plan for the volume of industrial output, nine city rayons failed to fulfill it: Babushkinskiy, Voroshilovskiy, Kievskiy, Krasnopresnenskiy, Kuntsevskiy, Leninskiy, Moskvoretskiy, Tushinskiy and Frunzenskiy. Furthermore, five of these rayons failed to meet their labor productivity assignments. The situation in terms of the implementation of contractual procurements drastically worsened (98.5 percent). Some urban construction and transportation organizations faltered substantially.

What were the reasons for such failures? The gorkom buro believes that in addition to the unsatisfactory preparations for the winter (although it was considered that everything necessary had been done), and a certain weakening of efforts, we must note the low competence shown by many economic cadres and the absence of a system in working with enterprises and sectorial managements

on the part of some party raykoms and gorkom departments (Comrades D.G. Chernik, A.I. Kudin and V.A. Yermolov).

This year's severe winter brought to light serious problems in important urban life-support areas, such as the fuel and energy and transportation systems.

To go back to last year's results, we must point out that the party gorkom obviously neglected a number of areas which determine the city's economic and social development.

The updating of the active share of basic production capital averaged some 11 percent in machine building and was even lower in other sectors.

We already pointed out that we must not allow the commissioning of new capacities with old equipment. Some projects were stopped midway, forced to redesign their technology and to install new equipments which, incidentally, will be issued today only to enterprises which convert to multiple-shift work. Other enterprises sneaked by, installed old equipment and are now begging for additional manpower.

The program for economic and social change in the urban economy is based on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the extensive involvement of the million-strong army of workers in science and in scientific services in solving practical problems. However, it is precisely in this area that it is too soon to speak of acceleration. Many projects have slowed down. Even the closing down of seven institutes did not make some heads of academic and sectorial science flinch. This indicates that we must act even more boldly in these areas.

Here are examples of the way science "influences" production. Technological production standards are low and working conditions unsatisfactory at the Mosselmash Plant. Muscovites are unwilling to work in that plant. The plant is staffed by people attending medical-labor prophylactic institutions. Meanwhile sectorial science (5,000 people are engaged in scientific work in the MinSelkhoz Mash system in Moscow) has totally removed itself from the solution of such problems. In Moscow this ministry is running one of the most backward enterprises in its sector.

The Moscow silk combines imeni Shcherbakov, imeni Sverdlov and Krasnaya Roza have totally broken down in recent years despite the fact that the city has an all-union scientific research institute for chemical fiber treatment (Director Comrade L.I. Gandurin and Party Buro Secretary Comrade G.V. Panchenko).

The Kauchuk Production Association and the Scientific Research Rubber Industry Institute are located cheek by jowl. However, the institute's managers (Director Comrade D.L. Fedyukin and Party Buro Secretary Comrade Ye.G. Fedorov) have remained indifferent to the fact that in frequent cases technological processes are of the prewar model and that the equipment is obsolete and inadequate. These are only a few examples selected among hundreds.

Such "interaction" between science and production cannot ensure the acceleration.

Prospects for radical improvements in this area remain unclear even in Oktyabrskiy Rayon, in which the city's highest scientific potential is concentrated. This was pointed out to Comrade F.F. Svetik, raykom first secretary. What was the reaction? There was a great deal of talk but no visible results.

The quality of output remains the city's gravest problem. The quality of most technical and consumer goods is considerably below world standards. The reputation of Moscow brands, particularly goods produced by the city's light and local industries, remains low.

An interesting attitude toward this fact is displayed by some managers: "Our goods do not get stuck on shelves." True, they do not! The reason is that simply nothing better is available.

Preparations for the introduction of state inspection took 1 year. Everyone claimed to be ready. What happened? One out of three enterprises in which such inspection was applied failed to fulfill its January plan (23 out of 59). Following the introduction of state inspection, the Pumps Plant imeni Kalinin (Director Comrade V.S. Abramov, Party Buro Secretary Comrade N.M. Cheremisinov) fulfilled only 37 percent of its monthly plan for the volume of output. What preparations were made for state inspection by the management and party buro and the Moskvoretskiy Party Raykom?

Failure is the only possible description applicable to the Mostochlegmash Association (Kuntsevskiy Rayon), the milling machines plants (Kirovskiy Rayon), Ritm (Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon) and many others. Nonetheless, the party raykoms failed to provide a party assessment of this political fact. Obviously, no proper attention was paid to the fact that state inspection is not merely an element of economic restructuring. State inspection is also a test of the professional and practical skills of managerial and engineering cadres. It is a matter of party policy. This year we must discuss not a "moratorium" but, conversely, an increase in the number of enterprises converting to state inspection.

Unrhythmical work is causing tremendous harm to the quality of output and the moral climate in the collectives. Many enterprises have not forsaken the faulty practice of waddling at the beginning of the month and then "rushing" with overtime and on days off. The result is the production of faulty goods and public indignation.

What kind of quality of consumer goods is possible if, for example, in the last 10 days of the month the plants imeni Vladimir Ilich and Orbita produce more than one-half of their monthly output. Is it impossible for the raykoms, together with the ministries, to study the situation, to help and to compel?

Currently all urban industrial enterprises have been converted to the new economic management conditions; 102 enterprises and organizations in group "A" sectors have converted to self-financing. Light industry enterprises have

converted to the system of working exclusively on the basis of trade orders and contracts.

However, the transitional period revealed the financial ignorance of many economic managers and their inability to work independently. They failed to study the new system profoundly, for which reason a number of party committees fear to deal with such problems in specific terms.

Last year one out of six urban enterprises failed to fulfill its plans for profits and for lowering production costs. There were considerable losses and inefficient use of all kinds of resources.

A number of enterprises which converted to self-financing are experiencing a financial collapse. No credit can be extended to GPZ-1 and the Frezer Association, which owe substantial funds to their suppliers and to the Gosbank.

The right of light industry enterprises to determine themselves the variety of their output has been broadened. This enables them to produce primarily "popular" goods. However, this year already 11 enterprises have failed to meet their procurement contracts: the leather enterprise, leather haberdashery, Trekhgornaya Manufaktura, the Zelenogradskiy Glass Buttons Manufacturing Plant, the Molniya Plant and others.

A substantial portion of Gosbank loans is used not for the development of output and social projects but for replenishing wasted or surplus working capital. Such stocks have been growing year after year, currently exceeding 600 million rubles' worth. More than 20 percent consist of unsalable goods.

On 1 January 1987 debts to the Gosbank and suppliers passed the 450 million ruble mark.

Most urban enterprises are not ready to apply the new wage rates and salaries. Some people have still not realized that there are no other ways for earning the necessary revenue for increasing wage rates and that the enterprises must save their funds and not expect state budget or ministry subsidies. Frankly speaking, this is not a pleasing picture.

Yet restructuring is not a link which we can remove and say: restructuring is under way. No. We must advance on a broad front and deal with all problems.

Implementing this year's obligations is very important in terms of the 5-year plan. Within 2 years we must increase industrial output by no less than two-fifths of the socialist obligations for the 5-year period, reach the 60 percent level in the share of superior quality goods and use state inspection for the most important commodities. Sixty-five percent of the overall increase in the need for material and energy resources must be achieved through conservation. We must complete ahead of schedule 20 sociocultural and industrial projects. All newly-built children's preschool institutions must have their swimming pools. The plan for the first 2 years for the construction of school buildings must be implemented and the lag of 1986 must be eliminated.

We fell behind before we even began. It was only in the middle of February that the party raykoms and the gorkom departments were able to complete their work on the planned indicators of enterprises and rayons. Judging by the planned indicators, a number of collectives are already making the implementation of the 5-year assignments doubtful. The plan of Sverdlovskiy Rayon does not call for fulfilling two-fifths of its assignment. It is obvious that some managers intend to hide behind other people's backs. This applies to the refrigerators plant (Director Comrade A.G. Korotkov, Party Buro Secretary Comrade N.V. Maslyatova), the Izolyator Plant (Comrades A.A. Barkov and A.V. Kolomin), the Elektroprovod Plant (Comrades V.N. Milovanov and K.T. Sapronov) and the Dinamo Plant (Comrades V.G. Subachev and N.A. Antonov). This is not restructuring and acceleration but retreat and obstruction.

Everything necessary must be done for collectives, rayons and the city to be appraised in all cases of people who have left a project unfinished or have failed, manager or worker, and of the steps which must be taken to remedy such shortcomings.

The party gorkom buro deems useful for the city to undertake the formulation of 1988 state plans as of now, during March and April. Unlike previous years, such plans must be drafted on the lower levels, i.e., on the levels of the brigade, section and shop. It is there that the greatest opportunities are found.

Comrades:

Let us now discuss the social sphere. In its work and plans, the party gorkom proceeds from the resolutions of the congress to the effect that the enhancement of the human factor can be achieved only with the help of a strong social policy, which means creating working and living conditions truly worthy of the working person and achieving in major and all other matters factual rather than apparent social justice.

Today no single economic manager would dare, in any case not openly, to try to push social problems affecting his workers into the background.

Our line of faster development of the social base has assumed the force of decisions and plans. By this I mean above all the formulation and approval by the Moscow City Party Committee Buro of long-term programs for housing, health, consumer services and public catering, and a program for improving Moscow population supplies with fruits and vegetables.

Problems of developing passenger transportation and material facilities for culture and public education were considered.

The resolution "On Strengthening the Material and Technical Base of the Flour and Bread-Baking Industry of Moscow City and Improving Population Supplies with Baked Goods" was passed.

The initial steps were formulated on the subject of "The Young Family." Decrees are being drafted on improving medical services to Muscovites and on milk, dairy product and sausage supplies.

Support of the social aspects of socialist obligations and the strengthening of the social plans of enterprises and rayons have become reality.

However, a good document or resolution is one thing and, as frequently happens, organizational work and results, another.

The results of the work of enterprises in trade, public catering and communal and consumer services for 1986 were summed up with the participation of party gorkom buro members. The study of their planning and economic activities indicated that they were insufficiently or, in some cases, entirely not aimed at the specific consumer, that they had remained unresponsive to changed demand and become alienated on the rayon level. That is why one of the steps which were taken was a review of the structure and criteria in assessing the work of main administrations. Each rayon soviet executive committee is becoming the true master of its rayon. Greater responsibility is assumed by the raykoms in choosing managers for the new rayon trade and consumer service units. So far, many raykoms have performed poorly in this role.

The party gorkom buro is paying particular attention to the most important component of the social program: improving food supplies and consumer services to the population. At this point we cannot speak of the standard of the capital city. All we were able to achieve last year was somewhat to improve the situation by opening new stores, cafeterias and service enterprises, particularly in areas of mass residential construction, opening additional facilities for placing orders and reception centers at industrial enterprises and organizations, expanding seasonal trade and opening 60 stores for cooperative trade. We have undertaken to involve more actively industrial enterprises and organizations in the technical retooling and repairing of trade enterprises. The customer, however, remains the final judge. The customer is dissatisfied with consumer services, trade and public catering. Although there is now a program and everyone knows what to do and how to do it, the efforts crash against a wall of indifference and the desire to keep things the same.

The process of strengthening many trade, public catering, fruit and vegetable and consumer service enterprises has not been completed. Corruption, bribery and theft of socialist property have still not been uprooted. The flood of complaints about low service standards, the lack of goods in everyday demand in the stores, and long waiting lines is not drying out. The poor situation of trade in vegetables makes this quite clear now, in the winter.

Working and living conditions in the service industry, which employs 300,000 people, have obviously been ignored.

The main reason for such shortcomings is the passive stance adopted by many party raykoms and primary party organizations, and their underestimating of the role and influence of service industry collective in enhancing the human factor.

The "Health" program, which was approved at a session of the Moscow Soviet, has been enacted. Work results for 1986 show a drop in morbidity and

mortality and an increase in the birthrate; the number of people kept under outpatient observation has increased.

Nonetheless, more tangible results could have been achieved had the rayons adopted a better organized approach to the formulation and implementation of the "Health" program. In Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon, for example, both the rayon and enterprise programs were drafted without adequate study and economic substantiation of the planned measures.

The heads of executive committees of the Moscow Soviet and the rayon soviets and the Main Health Administration of the Moscow City Executive Committee are not showing suitable acceleration in their work. We were relying, and still are, on Comrade V.N. Mudrak, the head of the main administration.

Comrades:

The January Central Committee Plenum formulated an energetic program for the democratization of all areas of social life and for increasing the power of the working man; this is the main guarantee for the success of restructuring.

This applies mainly to asserting democracy at work and the systematic application of self-government in the life of labor collectives. No radical restructuring of the economic mechanism will be possible without the real participation of the individual workers, brigades, sections, shops, plants, institutes and other organizations in the formulation and implementation of the economic and social plans of their enterprises.

Everyone agrees with this but some people are not in a hurry to act. Yet the Central Committee Plenum stated that one should not wait for instructions but show initiative, and act creatively. Today throughout Moscow there is no enterprise in which the council of the labor collective has begun to manage. Obviously, we can see the effect not only of the old liking of bureaucratic administration among those who consider themselves professional managers but also the habit of many of the "managed" not to stand out. This makes for a more peaceful life. This applies to both managers and workers.

We must surmount political laziness and apathy and restore to the people--and instill for the first time in many of them--the understanding that they and they alone are the masters of the production process, the masters of the country. Words were said on this account. The law on the state enterprise, which is currently being discussed, offers real opportunities to do this.

We must also put into motion the law of the worker's conscience. It is only this law that will block hasty decisions in choosing managers and efforts to choose a "convenient" and undemanding director. We must put more trust in the feeling of justice of worker collectives and their aspiration to care for the honor of their enterprise. Now, at the start of this road, new to us all, it is important to be extremely careful in order not to allow any errors or to compromise the project with formalism and excessive organization. The election of managers must not turn into the latest bureaucratic game. The party committees must make a close study of the initial experience of the Krasnyy Proletariy Production Association and the electronic machine building,

mining and pedagogical institutes of the mandate to assume one-man command granted by the collectives to the director of said enterprise, the institute rectors and the managers of many other organizations. Directors must become more democratic. However, this must stem from their convictions and inner feelings. They will not be judged by their smiles. Quite frequently, by paying superficial attention to the working people, to the workers, some managers try to present themselves as accessible and democratic people. The working person needs less words and more actions. It is then that he will experience and believe in democracy.

The trade unions can do a great deal in developing self-government in production.

However, the trade unions in the city are still not in a hurry to catch up with the processes of democratization of social life. Furthermore, they frequently react to them wearily.

The trade unions must wage an aggressive struggle for the interests of the working people for as long as bureaucrats and red-tape mongers, who are unwilling to consider the needs of the people, remain.

The lessons of the past were critically analyzed and foundations for future work were laid in the course of the accountability and election campaign in the city's trade union organizations. Fresh forces were brought into the leading trade union authorities. The management of the city trade union council has been entirely renovated. The number of workers, party members, young people and women members of the trade union aktiv has increased. All sectorial city trade union committees elected their secretaries among the workers. We have reasons to hope for a substantial increase in the activeness and independence of the city trade unions.

The party committees must help the trade union organizations to concentrate their efforts on solving topical socioeconomic problems and reviving the socialist competition.

A great deal remains to be done to improve electoral practices. As you know, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has deemed it expedient to make some changes in the organization of elections for local soviets of people's deputies. Experimentally, this was done in a few places in this year's elections. Electoral work must be cleansed from elements of formalism. We must develop in the voters real interest in nominating and electing reputable, active and responsible deputies.

We must put an end to the intolerable situation according to which some deputies are not even aware of who precisely has nominated them and why. The party's influence in the course of the electoral campaign should be such as to guide rather than take the initiative away from the labor collectives and public organizations. We must decisively abandon the precise estimate of decimal percentages of so-called "qualitative structure," which means the study of preselected candidates for deputies. We must abandon the system of formulating electoral instructions in the offices of executive committees

while ignoring the real requests and suggestions of the population which, as a rule, do not require major capital investments.

The efficiency of the work done by many Moscow deputies remains low. They are short of aggressiveness and real responsibility to the voters in solving the vital problems of Muscovites. Some permanent commissions and territorial deputy groups are sterile and lack initiative. Many deputies in Dzerzhinskiy, Kuybyshevskiy and Perovskiy Rayons (executive committee chairmen Comrades G.A. Pluzhnikov, A.P. Timofeyev and V.P. Shantsev) do not even have receiving hours for the voters and have simply lost contact with the population in their districts.

Yet areas in which the deputies could apply their efforts are extremely numerous. Here is an instance.

The number of Moscow offices, branches and departments of various organizations, even those located in other cities, is not decreasing. They occupy both nonresidential and residential premises of which the city is very short. The city has a great need for premises for cafeterias, coffee shops and stores. Such premises can be acquired by having offices located on the ground floor of buildings vacated. This is difficult to accomplish, for we cannot fully determine on a centralized basis even their number (they have neither bank accounts nor signboards). Why should not every deputy establish the existence of such "firms" in his own district, study the situation and submit suggestions?

The Moscow department of the Tbilisi SKB for container hauling has 20 employees. It has no bank account. The employees receive their salaries in Tbilisi, have three passenger cars and occupy a residential premise in the Moscow Fat Substances Combine.

Moscow sector No 3 of the Krasnodar Technical Services Center has 40 employees occupying premises in the building of the Oncological Institute. Many similar examples could be cited.

Even partial information indicates that the Gosagroprom and the USSR Minpribor are employing in the city 280 people in violation of regulations.

The decision has been made now to set up a special commission under the Moscow Soviet, which will be granted the broadest possible powers to solve this problem. Premises which were freed last year have already been occupied by 127 consumer service enterprises. This is only the beginning.

Changes must be made in the existing practice of submitting reports by deputies, ispolkoms and their administrations and departments to the population and to labor collectives.

Many population self-governing agencies must come out of their lethargy. Currently there are more than 10,000 house committees and other organizations in the city, rallying 200,000 Muscovites. Many of them, however, are idling although the majority of veterans' councils are functioning actively.

In addition to the retired, young people, workers, and party members who reside in the areas under the jurisdiction of house committees must be made members of the public self-governing authorities. It would be proper to reassign retiring party members to party organizations in their place of residence and to consider their work in such organizations as a very important party assignment.

The collectivistic feelings of the people must be roused.

Views are sometimes expressed according to which fairs are simply cases and recurrences of an ostentatious style. To begin with, however, let us point out that a trade fair is not a pageant. Last year Muscovites purchased at such trade fairs more than 140,000 tons of first-rate fruits, vegetables and other produce. Second, it would be wrong to ignore the natural, the age-old aspiration of the Soviet people to communicate and to display their collectivism and their openheartedness. The gorkom and gorispolkom intend not only to continue to hold trade fairs but also to sponsor mass celebrations. Specifically, preparations for City Day, which will be celebrated for the first time on 19 September of this year, should become a serious test of the readiness of all urban economic services to rally the efforts of the population in bringing order and cleanliness in all parts of the city, rather than only along Moscow's main arteries.

Comrades:

To broaden the social base of restructuring means, above all, most actively to involve young people in it.

Although many arguments and clashes of opinions are found in youth circles, they also show a great desire for change. The young are "loaded for action."

For the time being, however, changes in the work of the Komsomol have been insignificant. They have affected more the surface than the content. Bureaucratism has penetrated all too deeply in a live project such as work with youth. Many Komsomol leaders and apparatus of raykoms and gorkoms have essentially turned out to be alienated from youth circles. As the survey which was conducted before the accountability and election campaign indicated, one out of three Komsomol committee secretaries in Moscow was not considered trustworthy by the Komsomol membership.

A large number of informal youth associations have sprung up, each one with its own interests, inclinations and leaders. The Komsomol ignored them and failed to give them the necessary help in their establishment and to channel their activities in the necessary ideological direction. The Komsomol poorly influences the life of young people at work. One of the reasons for this is that party and economic managers have still not addressed themselves to youth problems. Many enterprise councils on work with youth are idling. No system has been organized for selecting among young people future production organizers. The plans for socioeconomic development of 28 rayons do not include parts on work with youth.

The party raykoms, committees and buros must enhance the initiative and autonomy of Komsomol organizations. They must be familiar with and respond more lively to their demands, and not discourage through petty supervision the desire of the young to participate in the process of renovation.

Comrades! Muscovites are very sensitive to the accumulated problems of cleansing the city's moral atmosphere. However, the fact that we name enduring and newly acquired vices, such as drunkenness, drug addiction, prostitution, parasitism and profiteering, by their names, does not mean that we have uprooted them. Philistine sighs, such as "where is the militia looking?" or relishing the details published in the press will not help. Specific steps must be taken in all such areas. The number of parasites who were held accountable and sent to work has nearly doubled (52,000). The minimal reserve, if we may call it so, for this year should be 70,000. The collectives must persistently work to keep such people on their jobs.

We are continuing our fight against drunkenness persistently, not retreating even by a single step. In the past year vodka and wine sales have dropped by 23 percent. The amount of vodka sold in January was 26 percent below the figure of a year ago. The policy of limiting access to alcoholic beverages and reducing sales will be uncompromisingly continued. Our main and basic attention, however, should be concentrated on antialcohol education at work, in the collectives and at home. The problem will not be solved through restrictive measures alone. Let us not conceal the fact that the production of moonshine in the city is increasing.

The party gorkom and raykoms can and must exert a more active influence on and purposefully coordinate the efforts of law-enforcement authorities and public units, medical and educational personnel, people in the arts and journalists in the struggle for a clean moral climate of the capital.

We must clearly realize that moral reconstruction will not work in the case of a certain category of citizens, and that the only possible action here is the use of the special steps stipulated in the criminal code. We must intensify the legal upbringing of Muscovites and develop in everyone a feeling of awareness of his responsibility to the law.

It would be just to make stricter demands on those who, by virtue of their position, are directly responsible for public order and for strengthening the party's influence on restructuring in the militia, the prosecutor's office and the courts. The gorkom's department of administrative agencies, the Moscow City Executive Committee, the Main Administration of Internal Affairs and the city's prosecutor's office (Comrades L.P. Belyanskiy, A.I. Kostenko, P.S. Bogdanov and G.I. Skaredov) have not achieved substantial results in the struggle against crime, abuses and immoral behavior.

The steps which are currently being taken to strengthen law-enforcement cadres and to create party committees in the rayon administrations should be used more fully in order to upgrade the efficiency of the efforts to strengthen law and order.

The coming spring elections for judges and people's assessors must be prepared very carefully and publicized more. They must be strengthened by electing the most fair representatives of the working class and the intelligentsia in Moscow and they must be protected from all kinds of pressure.

Openness is the best school for political education and self-education. Nonetheless, there are those who continue to question it and even to express their displeasure by asking whether some publications raise questions too sharply and whether we are hurting public opinion and losing "arguments" to the class enemy.

The essence of restructuring lies in the truth. The people are fed up with half-truths and verisimilitudes. The truth, however, means not only exposing the errors of the past or retelling shortcomings. What matters most is to seek a real solution to them. We must develop standards of criticism. More than ever before, criticism must be intelligent, sensible and competent. Healthy criticism must not become a way of settling accounts, gossip, denunciations and anonymous letters.

We are pursuing and shall continue to pursue tirelessly the general party line of promoting openness. MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA is naming managers who have failed to justify the trust of the public and openly discusses shortcomings and reasons for failures. We do not hesitate publicly to assess our own work and the work of party gorkom secretaries and department heads. The newly set up Moscow editorial board for television and radio programs is breaking down the "model stereotype."

We are openly analyzing plans for building various projects and the restoration of monuments. A nationwide discussion is under way of plans for a memorial to victory and for laying the third traffic ring. These are difficult problems. We must find their solution jointly. Only thus can we reduce the damage caused by the major errors and blunders in urban construction policy. We believe that today there neither is nor should be any subject, undesirable topic or individual which cannot be discussed by the mass information media. The only rule is to discuss everything truthfully and responsibly.

The party gorkom will always support the journalist or information medium who works conscientiously. Questions must be posed openly, honestly and very knowledgeably and their follow-up must be effective.

We cannot support people, including party leaders, who, to this day, are profoundly astounded when Moscow organizations are criticized in the central press. We care not for "the honor of the uniform" but for substantially helping the information media, including the critics, in bringing order in the city. We are teaching the people not to become accustomed to press criticism but to respond to it through action.

The journalist must not be hasty. We must convert from the type of criticism which merely records or describes to the analysis of phenomena in their totality; we must build a bridge from criticism to constructiveness. While bringing down mental stereotypes and the old mentality, we must help to build

a new mentality. We must seek experience, study it and disseminate it. In short, we must seek ways of improving life in the city.

This entirely applies to all soldiers on the ideological front. We must arm every working person with a clear understanding of tasks and with the necessary information and knowledge. We must awaken the resolve, the initiative and aspiration to do everything possible which is demanded of everyone in this crucial period.

Lectures and classes within the political and economic training system and articles in the press must assume the nature of polemics and debates. We must not allow for materials of the Central Committee Plenum to be "desiccated" and drowned in generalities and boring discussions. We must avoid foisting on people unquestionable truths and ready-made prescriptions. Instead, we must jointly discuss alternatives to specific decisions and their possible consequences. We must involve the working people, the entire population in the new social practices. Today this is one of the main tasks of the party organizations and of mass political and propaganda work.

The efficiency of educational work is greatly diminished by the fact that some members of the ideological aktiv have lost the trust of the people. This applies above all to those to whom restructuring is merely a circumstantial change from justifying to condemning stagnation. The habits of edification, pretentiousness and verbosity have proved durable. We realized this once again in the study and discussion of the accountability report submitted by the Perovskiyy Party Raykom to the gorkom buro. In this report boldness in general considerations peacefully coexists with timidity in practical affairs. Many party committee secretaries do not personally engage in ideological work, shifting it to their deputies. Economic managers avoid frank conversations on sensitive problems and prefer to smoothen sharp angles and to practice pontification, tolerance and self-adulation.

We must not allow the struggle against verbosity to turn itself into verbosity. The time has come for updating some of the ideological corps and for adding fresh forces to it. More than anywhere else here Lenin's behest is important: "Better less but better."

School curriculums and programs have been now reviewed and updated. The certification of the ideological aktiv is under way. It is important not to stop midway and to surmount the power of inertia, inability and, in some cases, unwillingness to take a fresh look at one's own work. The Moscow City Party Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department (Comrade Yu.A. Vinogradov) must set the example of persistent and systematic restructuring of ideological work.

Party work with men of literature and the arts requires new, nontraditional means and methods. Of late our creative associations have done energetic work to reorganize their structures. We believe that from the emotional-critical mood, which characterized their work in 1986, they must convert to the study of the nature of the creative process and to reliably blocking anonymous mediocrity.

The leaderships of our creative associations and the party organizations of cultural institutions do not always set an example in the struggle against political lack of principles and the cliquishness which are corroding some creative organizations. The voice of the party organizations in the creative associations is still weak and they remain in the shadow of the reputation of their leaders. They lack reliable levers with which to exert efficient party influence on the artistic intelligentsia, the creative youth in particular. It is time for Comrade P.P. Khilkevich, head of the gorkom culture department, and the secretaries of party organizations of creative associations and cultural institutions to restructure their party work.

Comrades:

The Central Committee Plenum noted that many leading cadres are noticeably failing in keeping up with the changing economic mechanism and the growing democratization of social life. Expectation syndromes are still apparent. Good decisions and decrees are not followed up and sink in bureaucratic mire.

The reasons for this are several.

The main one is that the party committees failed to provide a principle-minded assessment of the state of affairs in the organizations. They assumed a position of noninterference and failed to identify the specific culprits behind shortcomings and errors. This particularly applied to large collectives, ministries and departments. Was the Kievskiy Rayon CPSU Committee unaware of the scandals at the MID or the MVT? They were not but did nothing to put things in order.

Was the party committee of the Institute of the National Economy imeni Plekhanov aware of administrative shortcuts and arbitrary actions in filling positions and abuse of official position by its former director, Comrade Mochalov? Naturally, it was. However, it made no effort to put such managers who had overstepped the mark in their place. Such people also found defenders at the RSFSR Minvuz. Although proper conclusions have now been drawn, the moral harm which was done was grave. To this day some party organizations shut their eyes to cases of figure padding and accountability distortions and fail to create an atmosphere in which punishment for inflated figures becomes inevitable.

The city party organization has paid a high price for its failure to hold answerable and to control managers. Unscrupulous managers who practice two different sets of morality can corrupt entire collectives. Malfeasance and theft had assumed a widespread nature. The participants in this plenum are familiar with the situations which had developed at the main administrations of trade, public catering and health, and the Passenger Car Automotive Transportation Administration. Many militia personnel had sunk into corruption and complicity with criminals.

Such happenings developed in the Muscovites feelings of uncertainty and indifference to events and lack of trust in leading cadres.

Under such circumstances the first thing was to strengthen the leadership of the main administrations. This was done.

The Moscow City Party Control Commission (chairman Comrade T.P. Arkhipov) must not lower its principle-mindedness in improving the moral atmosphere and in the struggle for the purity and reputation of leading cadres. This will demand knowledge of the profound processes which influence individual personal cases and uprooting more energetically the reasons for cadre corruption.

We must learn from the past our lessons for the present and the future. In this area we can be greatly assisted by the further development of criticism and self-criticism. It is true that here as well some people have managed to adjust. Some so-called "restructuralists" have learned dashingly to criticize subordinates and scourge suppliers and related enterprises. They bravely criticize bureaucratism in general and inertia as a phenomenon. "Self-criticism virtuosos" have appeared as well, who conceal the true reasons for shortcomings behind idle talk. However, they object to criticism from below. They display unparalleled inventiveness, I would even say refinement in "perfecting" means of suppressing and neutralizing criticism voiced by rank-and-file workers.

Gorkom departments, party raykoms, party committees and party buros must assess most strictly any case of formalistic attitude on the part of cadres to criticism from below. Acceptance of criticism must become one of the leading criteria in rating cadres in the period of restructuring. Public and open control, particular from below, can only strengthen the authority of a manager in the eyes of the working people. All of us must learn, and learn how to work under the conditions of expanded democracy.

The Central Committee Plenum described the weakness of democratic principles and the lowered role of elected authorities as some of the reasons for stagnation in work with cadres. For a long time it was as though the staffs of party gorkoms and raykoms, soviets and trade union committees were classified into permanent and changing. For prestige considerations, year after year the first group included the same leading personnel, members of the nomenclature. Ordinary representatives, as a rule selected among the workers and periodically replaced, were in the second group.

The tone was set by the "leading part." Elected authorities had actually lost their functions of superior leading agencies. Many workers, and the majority of members of elected authorities, were actually removed from making collective decisions. The apparatus assumed many of the functions of the elected authorities. The ability to draft a text became the main criterion in assessing practical qualities in the selection of personnel.

We have begun to eliminate such unsuitable practices. There is little need today to invent something new. We must be guided by the Leninist principles governing the selection, placement and upbringing of cadres and pursue this line firmly and strictly.

Comrades, 1 year year has passed in the work of the city party committee buro after the 26th Conference. As you know, some changes have been made. We are

constantly seeking advice on how better and more accurately to organize the work of the party gorkom in implementing the decisions of the conference.

There are no secrets in the buro's work.

Last 12 January we frankly told one-another, on a principled basis, what it is that we (all of us together and individually) had been unable to achieve last year, and to what we should pay particular attention. I would like to inform briefly the participants in this plenum about that buro session.

Although we put on paper many crucial matters of the city's socioeconomic development (many good decisions were made on different levels), we were unable organizedly to work for the implementation of all targets. This particularly applies to updating production, stabilizing the work of industry and bringing order in the urban economy, trade, health care and transportation. Supervision over the execution of resolutions was inefficient.

We failed to develop a system of work with various categories of Muscovites, particularly men of culture and the arts. We did little in the area of ideological work, particularly in residential areas. Shortcomings in the work style exist. This is by no means the full list.

As you can see, many problems remain on which the party gorkom and its buro must work.

The individual buro members did not escape personal criticism. As you may recall, at the March 1986 Gorkom Plenum all buro members were assigned specific projects.

We summed up results and assessed their work individually. Here is what was said: Comrade Yu.A. Belyakov, second gorkom secretary, was unable to "build bridges" in the work of the gorkom departments. Departmentalism, if the term could be used in connection with the party apparatus, is still found in many, particularly sectorial, departments. He was unable to achieve substantial changes in the work of law-enforcement authorities and, consequently, in the state of public order in the city. Considering the gravity of the matter, he was unable to organize interaction among public organizations, builders, designers and architects on problems of preservation and restoration of Moscow's monuments of history, architecture and culture.

The members of the gorkom buro consider the lack of specific suggestions on restructuring ideological work and the activities of party organizations in science and education to be the result of poor knowledge of the specific situation, indecisiveness in rating cadres and implementing the new approaches on the part of Comrade Yu.S. Karabasov, gorkom secretary. The least changes for the better were made in medical services, for which he was responsible. We are constantly being reminded of this by the Muscovites.

Nor has Comrade N.Ye. Kislova, first secretary of the Sverdlovskiy Party Raykom, entered into her role as buro member.

Comrade O.A. Korolev, party gorkom secretary, is slow in gaining experience in party work and is insufficiently strengthening his contacts with the raykoms.

So far he has been unable to organize the stable work of industry. His interaction with central and planning authorities is poor.

Comrade A.V. Malyshev, milling worker at the Serp i Molot Plant, shows little initiative at buro sessions.

Comrade A.A. Nizovtseva, gorkom secretary, still lets herself be carried away in some areas, ignoring long-range developments. A number of problems of the still low standards in trade and consumer services are the consequence of her insufficient strictness toward managers in these areas. She has been unable to ensure the timely formulation of a program for improving public catering. The sales plan remained underfulfilled.

The aspiration to deal with a wide-range of construction problems, but poor organization of the work, created confusion in the activities of Comrade I.D. Pisarev, gorkom party secretary. The state plan for the completion of schools was not fulfilled due to lack of control on his part. This resulted in the city's failure to meet the stipulations of the all-union socialist competition. He was insufficiently persistent in fully solving problems of improving the living conditions of construction workers and stabilizing the collectives.

Comrade M.D. Poleshchuk, weaver at the Silk Combine imeni Shcherbakov, is not always active in the discussion of buro problems.

Closer working relations with departments and party gorkom secretaries could have helped Comrade V.T. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee, to learn faster the way soviets work. So far he has failed to influence the faster pace of reconstruction of the center of the capital, the city public services and utilities and cleanliness and order. The soviets must gradually assume increasing duties in this area.

Comrade S.A. Smirnov, Komsomol gorkom first secretary, is still not familiar with the variety of youth problems. His desire to implement the instruction of the gorkom plenum on building 50 youth complexes this 5-year period occasionally turns into assigning additional duties not to the Komsomol but the other city organizations and departments.

The buro members expressed to Comrade N.Ye. Chelnokov, chief of the UKGB, the wish to show greater initiative in informing the buro in connection with the need to intensify the struggle against negative trends and occurrences which still take place in the city.

Comrade V.V. Shirayev did not succeed in ensuring the full implementation of socialist obligations on the conservation of material and energy resources.

It was recommended to Comrade V.P. Shcherbakov, chairman of the city trade union council, who recently became buro member, to undertake more boldly and

confidently the task of improving in the social conditions of the working people at enterprises.

Remarks were expressed to the first secretary of the city party committee as well for the fact that although nearly 1 year had passed, he had still been unable to ensure the adoption of all the decrees passed by the government in implementing the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on the solution of some crucial problems of Moscow's socioeconomic development and for the lack of a system of work with cadres.

This year the buro members expressed many interesting suggestions on improving the work style. Such a discussion was unusual and difficult for the buro members. Judging by the reaction to it, it is also unusual for the city party committee plenum.

By no means does every gorkom member and candidate member work actively. Some of them are merely present at plenums and insufficiently participate in preparations for them.

Insufficient use is being made of the suggestions, knowledge and experience of gorkom members and candidate members in the study of the activities of primary party organizations and party raykoms, in preparing materials for consideration by the buro and the Secretariat and in supervising the full and timely follow-up of the critical remarks which were voiced at Moscow City CPSU Committee plenums. More than 60 percent of the party gorkom membership is not participating in such work.

Increasing the exigency toward everything and everyone is an imperative of our time. The time has come to hold accountable also those who became part of the leadership last year. For example, everyone worked hard at the vegetable trade fairs. The people in the city paused for breath. The Mosgoragroprom as well sighed with relief and satisfaction. However, it is too early for this. The impact of this project was not felt in Moscow. No need to go far for examples. Go to a vegetable store and you will see that little has changed. Now, in winter, vegetable trade in the city is simply poorly organized although produce is available at the bases. It is time for Comrade F.F. Kozyrev-Dal to prove himself and activate the goragroprom. A strange patience is being shown also by the gorispolkom. Does this topic have to be discussed again, as was the case in the spring, by the gorkom buro?

Success in restructuring in the city greatly depends on the work done on the rayon level. Not all raykoms are promoting an upsurge. Comrade V.K. Belyaninov, first secretary of the Volgogradskiy Rayon CPSU Committee, was able to develop a creative atmosphere in the activities of its apparatus. His aspiration to use democratic methods is actively supported by the raykom members. His experience as party committee secretary first and, subsequently, manager of a large scientific-production association is helping them to find the right approach to combining organizational with political and economic activities. This mood is influencing the party organizations in the rayon.

The Gagarinskiy Raykom Party Buro and its first secretary, Comrade N.M. Andreyanova began with a study of unsolved problems in the rayon. They

clearly determined what had to be done and how to do it. They began with the primary units, by establishing direct contacts with the people in brigades, sections, shops, and so on, where the outcome of a project is decided. They undertook specific organizational work. Today the rayon's economy is working stably. For three consecutive quarters its contractual procurements have been met 100 percent.

Comrades A.Ya. Nemtinov and A.V. Rudakov, respectively first secretaries of Lyublinskiy and Kalininskiy Raykoms, are energetically changing obsolete approaches to the choice and placement of cadres and daringly entrust leading positions to young and capable organizers. Openness in solving cadre problems and firmness in replacing managers who have failed in their assignments are characteristic of the work style of Comrade V.V. Klyuyev, first secretary of the Leninskiy Rayon CPSU Committee. Comrade A.M. Larionov, first secretary of the Zelenogradskiy Party Raykom, is working on a planned and systematic basis with the cadre reserve.

Last November's seminar for first secretaries of city rayon party committees proved that most of them understood the nature of restructuring. The seminar offered the opportunity to discuss problems and to exchange practical experience. It seminar also proved that desire alone for reconstruction is insufficient. There must be a constant searching. Every bit of experience must be gathered and applied on a planned and purposeful basis in each rayon party organization.

A great deal depends on the initiative and personal example of the raykom's first secretary.

We have the right to ask Comrades B.K. Kuznetsov, A.N. Nikolayev, R.V. Zhukova, and A.F. Korchagin, respectively first secretaries of Babushkinskiy, Baumanskiy, Zhdanovskiy and Proletarskiy Raykoms, why is it that no active efforts related to reconstruction are visible in many party organizations in these rayons? Although these are experienced leaders who understand the tasks, think correctly and act confidently, no activities are apparent.

The rot of ostentation has deeply corroded many cadres, some of them in the party. Should we heal them, albeit painfully, or replace them? The gorkom buro has drawn proper conclusions from publications in the central press, which cooled down the zeal of lovers of praise at the Kirovskiy Rayon CPSU Committee (organizer Comrade V.M. Anokhin, second secretary), who wanted to be rated among the best in one fell swoop, for which purpose they had instructed the press located in their rayon to glorify the rayon day after day. Greater sham would be hard to find.

The raykoms are acting sluggishly in mastering political management methods. They forget to work with people. The workers at the Burevestnik Shoe-Manufacturing Association speak with indignation of the endless overtime and poor organization of the production process about which the Sokolnicheskiy Party Raykom shows no concern. The raykom (Comrade A.A. Maksimova) is obviously neglecting social problems, particularly at enterprises.

Comrades V.A. Zheltov, V.F. Matveyev and L.N. Nikolayev, respectively first secretaries of the Krasnogvardeyskiy, Sevastopolskiy and Solntsevskiy Rayon CPSU committees, are insufficiently strict in rating the practical and moral qualities of the personnel; they do not engage work actively on cadre problems and train reserve personnel poorly.

Eighteen first raykom party secretaries have been replaced since the 26th Conference. This may seem excessive to someone unfamiliar with the situation and with the gorkom's approach to replacing secretaries. A comprehensive and profound study of the activities of every secretary, his personal contribution to rayon affairs, consultation with the people, talks at primary organizations and labor collectives, personal talks with the secretary and a discussion with buro colleagues have preceded each cadre decision. Everyone was given sufficient time to assess his own forces and it was time itself that indicated the need for taking a specific step. Some secretaries voluntarily stepped forth and honestly acknowledged that "I cannot improve the level of raykom management." Eight secretaries were relieved for failure to cope with the work. Naturally, we do not call for a cadre shakeup but neither do we intend to be "good" at the expense of the public interest. Every party member must be rated according to the way he is carrying out, participating in and contributing to restructuring.

It may be useful for raykom secretaries and buro members to report at plenums on their personal contribution to restructuring.

The crux of the matter now rests with the primary and shop party organizations and party groups. It is precisely on them that party gorkom and raykom members and the party aktivs must focus their attention. Many are those who must be taught how to restructure.

Together with the sectorial departments, the gorkom organizational-party work department (Comrade V.V. Skitev) has prepared and will hold during the year seminars-conferences with primary party organization secretaries, based on the features of the development of restructuring in the various economic sectors. It would be expedient to earmark the basic organizations which will develop and disseminate progressive experience in the main areas of party work. The tasks set by the Central Committee Plenum will not be solved unless we accelerate the work of the primary party units. No slowing down must be allowed.

Many party organization secretaries in the city have actively begun to work in a new style and are setting the tone in restructuring. Let us cite as examples in this connection party committees and party buro secretaries, such as Comrade A.M. Svyatenko, at the plant imeni S. Ordzhonikidze; A.I. Kozlov, at Civil Aviation Plant No 400; Comrade N.I. Sidorin, at the Filevskiy Bus and Trolleybus Depot; Comrade K.I. Fadeyeva, at the Textile Printing Factory; Comrade M.S. Rykova, at the Ostankino Dairy Combine; and Comrade A.N. Shubin, at the Institute of Management Problems.

Comrade I.L. Voloshina is noted for her great strictness toward herself and others. As a creative person, she seeks new approaches to her work and encourages the party members to engage in a joint and active search for ways

to solve existing problems. Her party committee has been able to change the attitude of economic managers to problems of way of work. Such problems are being solved by the collective itself; the initiative of AvtoVAZ was actively supported and temporary repair brigades were set up. In the past year modern hygienic facilities, a cafeteria, a beauty salon and rest and mental relaxation premises were completed.

Concern for the people is yielding results. This collective, which only 2 years ago was lagging both in the city and the sector, is working steadily. All in all, the beginning of restructuring in it is clearly noticeable.

However, not all party committees and buros and their secretaries are working with initiative.

In preparing for this plenum, the gorkom members visited a number of labor collectives and met with workers, employees, young people and party activists. They saw once again that virtually everyone supports and considers restructuring necessary. Nonetheless, people stated openly and repeatedly that in many cases intensification exists in words instead of actions. A number of criticisms were addressed at party and rayon committees and the party gorkom.

Here, for example, are assessments by workers at the Kalibr Plant (Dzerzhinskiy Rayon): "The process of restructuring has not truly affected shops and sections. Planning is ignoring real possibilities. Many promises have been made by Minstankoprom managers. What is lacking is results."

The workers at the Moscow Radio Plant (Moskvoretskiy Rayon) expressed the following view concerning the situation at the plant: "Restructuring is filtering downwards on a decreasing scale, as though seeping through a funnel. Management is taking the simplest way out. Supervision is needed."

The conclusion is obvious. Reconstruction is being hindered by a passive attitude and unwillingness to work more intensively on the part of a large number of economic managers and party organization secretaries. Presently, according to the raykoms, only one-quarter of those who were unable to withstand the natural additional load brought about by acceleration, whose thinking is sluggish and inert, who steer clear of the new, have been replaced. This process is being dragged out in Brezhnevskiy, Kuntsevskiy, Tushinskiy and many other rayons.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum issued yet another serious warning to managers and to party committees in ministries and departments on the need radically to restructure their activities. Changes here are being made but sluggishly and painfully. Their apparatus are crowded with unskilled and, frequently, unnecessary personnel. A recent study indicated that 25 percent of the personnel of the ministries of grain products, land reclamation and water resources and chemical industry believe that they are operating in neutral gear, generating totally unnecessary paperwork. The party committees in most ministries and departments act as marginal observers in the solution of cadre problems. As a rule, managers remain immune to party committee control.

The secretaries of party committees of ministries and departments must develop a practical reaction to the criticism voiced at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Enough talk about taking decisive steps. It is time to act. Are the party committees themselves not able, for example, to cool down the passion of officials to hold numerous conferences and symposiums (As many as 400,000 people come to Moscow for such purposes every year)? A special decree had to be passed by the gorkom buro to lower this year the amount of people who could rent a hotel room. The party raykoms as well must adopt a more accurate position. An end must be put to the submission of reports by ministry party committees on matters of secondary importance, such as work at the vegetable base and the DND, and preparations for the holiday. We do not need such reports. Their role in restructuring the work style of the apparatus and the updating of its cadres should be assessed on a principle-minded and exigent basis.

The activities of economic cadres must be subjected to a strict analysis. Restructuring in industry, construction, transportation and consumer services depends a great deal on them. The turn from administrative to economic management methods requires responsible and creative management. The situation which has been established now is one which allows everyone to display his capabilities.

We could name many managers who act with initiative, scope and daring. They include Comrades G.Ye. Napolov, director of Rostokinskaya Worsted Finishing Factory, G.L. Krauze, chief of Automotive Combine No 1, V.M. Kurguzov, chief of the Central Telegraph Office, A.S. Sarzhin, T.L. Azarova, N.Ye. Pokorskaya, V.Ye. Kopelev and L.V. Burova, respectively directors of the Moskva Furniture Association, Kosmos and Salyut Clothing Associations, House Building Combine No 1 and the Krasnogvardeyskiy Meat Processing Plant, and others. Creative economic managers who display a modern way of thinking and rely on their collectives can be confident of the support of the gorkom and the party committees.

Nonetheless, many a manager is marking time and creating a halo of irreplaceability around him.

Comrade T.N. Barkanova, director of the Zhenskaya Moda Clothing Association is not fulfilling the promises she gave at the gorkom plenum. The association's plan is being fulfilled by way of amendments. This is due to her inability to develop a good atmosphere in the collective, unwillingness to learn from and tendency to blame others. A "cadre vacuum" has formed around the director's chair. In the last 5-year period there have been nine different deputy directors, and for the past 2 years the position of chief engineer has been vacant. It is unpleasant but necessary to say this about a member of the gorkom.

Today scientific cadres must be assessed from the position of the need to make a decisive turn and face the needs of the national economy. In this area the influx of fresh forces has been particularly hindered. Frequently appointments to scientific positions are formal. Instead of solving the cadre problem, such appointments hinder the promotion of young people. Twenty-five percent of all directors of academic institutes are over 70.

New laws are currently being drafted which will regulate the term of office in holding a leading position in science, based on age. This will help to change the situation.

Formalism and, frequently, lack of principle are displayed in assessing the efficiency of the work of scientific collectives and individual contributions by scientists and specialists. Managers of design bureaus, scientific research institutes, enterprises and associations of the Minpribor and Minavtoprom have essentially frustrated the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree on improving wages of scientific workers and designers. These ministries have reduced the number of workers by less than 1 percent, essentially through retirement, and divided the thus saved "crumbs" evenly.

The results of such faulty management can be seen at the Refrigeration Industry All-Union Scientific Research Institute (Timiryazevskiy Rayon). Comrade V.P. Kharitonov has personally participated, so to say, in creating an intolerable moral and psychological atmosphere in the collective, which has disorganized the institute's work. Bureaucratic administration, lack of openness and ignoring the views of party and public organizations have led to the creation of a conflict situation. A protracted "fight" between the collective and the director has been started, which absorbs the total efforts and time. Meanwhile, the raykom and the USSR Gosagroprom are calmly watching the situation from the sidelines, waiting to see who will do whom in?

Comrades:

Restructuring calls for creating a modern work system with cadres, which will make it possible to replenish the cadre corps systematically with fresh forces, with talented people, and will help them to prove themselves and to develop as acknowledged leaders.

We must once and for all break the nomenclature circle and replace officials with managers of a new type. We must energetically implement Lenin's demand that we "...unite and turn loose all revolutionary and initiative-minded people."

The attitude toward restructuring, the acceleration of socioeconomic development and specific results in their implementation are our decisive criteria in cadre rating.

Moscow has cadres. We must look for them more daringly.

Today a comprehensive long-term approach is needed. We must train cadres purposefully and openly. We must anticipate their promotion. We must set up institutes for understudies and apply a system of practice training and regular exchange of practical experience on the city, rayon and enterprise levels. We must study new and useful developments elsewhere in the country.

In accordance with Lenin's behest, the party committees must promote "thousands and thousands of rank-and-file working people, test them and systematically and steadily, in the hundreds, promote them to higher

positions." For the time being, Moscow is poorly solving this political problem. We must systematically identify among the workers "informal" leaders and help them to gain experience in elective work and assign them to train in higher educational institutions.

This very year a group will be set up at the Moscow Higher Party School consisting of members of party gorkoms, raykoms, party committees and party buros. The 4-year training of such people for practical party work must be organized by the party raykoms. This will give us a real and reliable promotion reserve.

We must apply the ZIL experience. There the workers are systematically being trained at PTU, tekhnikums and the VTUZ plant. A five-step system for upgrading skills, with guaranteed service promotions, is being used. Every year 3,500 people go into training. For more than 10 years the enterprise has been able to meet its needs for leading cadres by drawing on its own reserves.

We must actively pursue a policy of promoting women and initiative-minded nonparty workers and firmly rely on young people today.

In implementing our cadre policy we must comprehensively promote democratic principles. Collective management, consideration of public opinion, and open selection of people for promotion among party and nonparty members are what we need today in order to involve the working people in management.

Perhaps we should consider the way in which this year managers have reported on their work and proved their right to manage collectives under the new conditions.

The cadre services have fallen seriously behind today's tasks. They are poorly influencing the structure of labor collectives. We must revise the practice of staffing personnel services. The USSR Minvuz and the planning authorities must consider the training of specialists in cadre work, for virtually no such training is being offered in the city.

We must significantly enhance the party-political education of the city's leading cadres. This work was severely neglected in the past. A plan has now been formulated for the party-political training of cadres for the 12th 5-year period. Last year enrollment at the Moscow Higher Party School almost doubled; this 5-year period 1,700 managers will be trained. The work standards of the city's Marxism-Leninism University and its branches must be drastically improved.

Let us mention the situation with organizational work since the plenum. The tasks on the implementation of the resolutions of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum between February and May must be discussed at plenums of the party raykoms and meetings of primary party organizations.

The main attention must be focused on a thorough consideration of suggestions and critical remarks and their quick follow-up. In February-March of this year an extensive debate must be organized among labor collectives on the

draft USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association); suggestions on improving the electoral system will be discussed this coming October and November.

Organizational work must be accompanied by extensive propaganda and mass agitation work. We must organize the study of the materials of the Central Committee Plenum in all political and economic training systems.

The city mass information media must extensively describe the course of restructuring and opportunities for the renovation of life in our society. We must accelerate the pace of socialist competition among labor collectives in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

A major project in terms of time and importance has been launched. Today it takes more than simply to draft and pass a good resolution, call for eliminating opposition and engaging in restructuring. Today one must act. Action will lead the people to engage in the type of revolutionary changes the urgency and need for which were mentioned at the Central Committee Plenum. The main thing is to involve all Muscovites in this work. Only specific actions, changes and results can safeguard the faith of the people in the justice of our party cause.

It is precisely real changes in the democratization of the life of labor collectives in the capital, the intensification of its economy and the development of its social sphere that will provide the most convincing proof that the party members in Moscow actively support the line of the party's Central Committee and the resolutions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Restructuring in society will not take place overnight. It is one of the main trends in our work this 5-year period. Through the specific efforts of one and all we must further our cause faster. There still are those who doubt and who wait. There also are opponents of change. Our task is clearly to establish who is who? Who is with whom? Who can do what? Clearly, a stubborn struggle is being waged for the radical renovation of society and a real strengthening of socialism and of its best, its humanistic and collectivistic principles. As in any kind of struggle, clashes of views and counteraction are inevitable. As in any other struggle, particularly needed today are dedication, courage, loyalty to the cause, decisiveness, persistence and purposefulness. All cadres must set such requirements for themselves.

Only the healthy forces thirsting for change will be able to engage in daring and decisive actions, without which restructuring is impossible.

On behalf of the members of the party gorkom buro, on whose instructions this report was submitted today, I call upon the participants in the plenum to engage in the active and businesslike discussion of the results of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. This will enable us to formulate specific actions and every party member in the capital to determine his position in the restructuring of the city party organization.

5003

CSO: 1800/701

MOSCOW GORKOM ON CITY JAN-MAR PLAN FULFILLMENT

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 87 pp 1,2

[Unattributed report: "In the Moscow CPSU Gorkom"]

[Text] At the regular session held on 22 April, the MGK [Moscow City Committee] CPSU Buro and the first secretaries of the party raykoms examined the results of socialist competition of the workers in Moscow's rayons in carrying out the plans and socialist obligations in industry, transportation, construction and city management during the first quarter of 1987.

The workers of Moscow have decided to make 1987, the year of the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the definitive year in carrying out their socialist obligations for the 12th Five-Year Plan. Specific practical work on implementing the programs and basic directions for developing the city's economy worked out last year, must become its distinctive features.

It was noted that the workers of Moscow, in carrying out the socialist obligations accepted for 1987, achieved a certain degree of success in the first quarter in developing the city's economy. All rayons in the capital carried out their task for introducing housing and projects for socio-cultural purposes, including shopping centers. The slogan, "Carry Out the Tasks of the Five-Year Plan with Fewer Workers." is truly being put into effect.*

At the very same time a certain slump and a display of self-satisfaction and well-being can be observed in the work of the working collectives: the rates of increase in production volume and labor productivity are lower than they were last year.

Forty-seven industrial enterprises situated in 22 rayons of Moscow were unable to cope with contracted deliveries. The plan for realizing production, taking contracted obligations into consideration, was fulfilled by only 97.6 percent.

* A report from Mosgorstat [Moscow City Statistical Administration] on the results of carrying out the state plan for the comprehensive economic and social development of the city of Moscow for the first quarter of 1987 was published in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA on 18 April.

Enterprises in Kuntsevskiy, Moskvoretskiy and Oktyabrskiy Rayons did not fulfill the plan for goods production and labor productivity. This made it impossible for the city as a whole to fulfill the obligations accepted for 1987 to ensure growth of production volume in an amount no less than two-fifths of the value stipulated by socialist obligations for the five-year plan. The shortfall amounts to 0.07 percent.

The proportion of production at the highest category of quality stipulated in the socialist obligations will not be achieved. Babushkinskiy, Bauman-skiy, Kuybyshevskiy, Kuntsevskiy, Moskvoretskiy, Pervomayskiy, Perovskiy, Timiryazevskiy and Frunzenskiy Rayons are not carrying out their obligations to increase production quality.

A number of associations and enterprises were found to be unprepared for work under state acceptance conditions; 17 of them did not fulfill the plan for goods production, and 21 failed to meet contracted deliveries.

Production costs for goods output were exceeded in Kuybyshevskiy, Kuntsevskiy, Leningradskiy, Leninskiy, Moskvoretskiy, Oktyabrskiy and Tushinskiy Rayons; and expenditures for construction-installation work in Brezhnevskiy, Gagarinskiy, Zhdanovskiy and Sovetskiy Rayons were excessive. As a result, the city's socialist obligations for above-plan reduction of the level of outlays per ruble of goods production are not being carried out.

Only four rayons in the capital have completely fulfilled their basic indicators for socialist competition.

Rayon party committees and ispolkoms of rayon soviets are not providing sufficient assistance to the working collectives for eliminating bottlenecks in the organization of socialist competition, and for putting into effect the policy of intensification of production.

Shortcomings were also noted in the work of the construction organizations and enterprises of the city's construction industry.

The plan for volume of contract work was not fulfilled by 36 construction organizations in the city, including those in Kievskiy, Leninskiy and Sokol-nicheskii Rayons. Their underfulfilled work volume amounts to 4 million rubles.

In Brezhnevskiy and Sokolnicheskii Rayons and in Zelenograd, the plan for contract work was not fulfilled in terms of technological stages and complexes, using the construction organizations' own resources.

The limits of the overall volume of capital investments intended for construction-installation work were not fully utilized in Babushkinskiy (79 percent used), Kuybyshevskiy (90 percent) and Sovetskiy (96 percent) Rayons.

Planning for putting fixed capital and projects into operation continues to be unrhythmic.

A number of enterprises of Glavmospromstroyaterialov [Moscow Main Administration for the Construction Materials Industry], Glavmosmontazhspetsstroy [Moscow Main Administration for Installation and Special Construction Work], Glavmospromstroy [Moscow Main Administration for Industrial Construction] and Glavmosinzhstroy [Main Administration for Construction of Engineering Installations for the City of Moscow] failed to ensure fulfillment of the plan for goods production. For this reason, there was a goods production shortfall in the amount of 915,000 rubles.

Seven enterprises of the city's construction industry failed to cope with the task for growth of labor productivity, including four enterprises of Glavmospromstroyaterialov.

And, the combine of production enterprises of Mosstroy Trust No 16 of Glavmospromstroy failed to carry out its plan for product sales in terms of its delivery obligations.

Also examined were the results of socialist competition among the collectives of repair and construction organizations of the Moscow city ispolkom.

Good work was recognized at the collectives of repair and construction trusts in Sverdlovskiy and Oktyabrskiy Rayons of Glavmosremont [Moscow Main Repair Administration]; at Mosinzhremont [possibly, Moscow Engineering Facilities Repair]; and at the repair and construction trusts of the housing maintenance production associations in Baumanskiy Rayon and the city of Zelenograd of Glavmoszhilupravleniya [Moscow Main Housing Administration]; and at the construction and repair administration of Gordormekhanizatsiya [Moscow City Trust for Operation of Roads and Mechanization (Public Services Administration of the Moscow Gorispolkom)] Trust No 1 of Glavmosdorupravleniya [Moscow Main Roads Administration].

A number of subunits of Glavmosremont were unable to cope with their planned tasks for the first quarter of this year in terms of the volume of work carried out through their own resources, and did not fulfill plans for major repairs on residential housing. For the city as a whole the ZhSK [Housing Construction Cooperative] did not fulfill the plan for repair of residential housing (99.1 percent).

Results of socialist competition for the best work on public services and amenities in the rayons of Moscow have been tallied for the 4th quarter of 1986 and the 1st quarter of 1987.

First place was awarded to the city of Zelenograd. Second and third places went to Volgogradskiy and Zhdanovskiy Rayons.

Good work was recognized in public services and amenities carried out during this period in Kuybyshevskiy, Moskvorechskiy and Oktyabrskiy Rayons.

At the same time many rayons in the city failed to fulfill the basic conditions for socialist competition. Kalininskiy and Leninskiy Rayons did not ensure fulfillment of six indicators of 14; Frunzenskiy, five; and Zheleznodorozhnyy, Kirovskiy, Kuntsevskiy and Tushinskiy Rayons, four.

Party raykoms and rayon soviet ispolkoms; party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and economic administrators have been given a proposal to thoroughly analyze and eliminate negative phenomena which prevent the working collectives from carrying out socialist obligations that they accepted for 1987.

The necessary organizational and mass political work directed toward extensive development of socialist competition must be carried out in order to properly greet the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Unconditional fulfillment of contracted deliveries, transition of a number of industrial enterprises to operation under conditions of state acceptance and self-financing, and three-shift operating system when using highly-productive equipment must be assured. Efforts must be focused on projects just beginning to operate, and we must strive for rhythmic and well-coordinated work in putting residential housing, projects in the social sphere, and production capacities into operation. Necessary measures must be taken to eliminate shortcomings in public services and amenities on the territory of the city of Moscow, and work must be completed to put courtyards, outdoor lighting, and elements which make up the outward appearance of the city, into proper condition.

The MGK CPSU Buro has examined and approved a program for modernizing the production of Moscow enterprises of the USSR Ministries of the Machine Building Industry and the Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems Industry up to the year 1990.

It was noted that a proposed document worked out by Minstankoprom [Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry] in conjunction with the working collectives of its enterprises, city organizations, party raykoms and rayon ispolkoms of soviets of people's deputies, represents a complex of economic, technical and social measures directed toward accelerated development of a priority branch of the national economy. Such an approach is an example of using political means to solve national economic tasks.

The program envisages annual renovation of 16 percent of the active part of production resources on the average, reducing by the end of the five-year plan the pool of metal-working machinery by 1,600 units, reducing the proportion of manual labor by 20 percent, and reducing the number of workers by not less than 1,730 persons.

A twofold increase is planned in the rate of renovation of manufactured products, and by 1990 production of 80 models of metal-cutting lathes and 38 kinds of instruments is to be assimilated. Six hundred million rubles in capital investments will be directed toward these goals; moreover, almost three-fourths of these assets will go to reconstruction and technical retooling of existing production.

Aside from the measures connected with increasing the technical level of production, the program envisages solving a great many social problems at branch enterprises in Moscow. By the end of the five-year plan it is planned to fully support the norms of the social passport system at the enterprise, and establish proper work and rest conditions for the workers.

Realization of the plans outlined will permit achieving by 1990 a growth rate of up to 153 percent at Moscow enterprises of Minstankoprom, and to achieve the highest quality category, subject to certification, for 91 percent of total production volume.

The MGK CPSU Buro requires that branch departments of the party gorkom, the CPSU RK, and the party committees and bureaus of ministries and departments, enterprises and organizations, study and disseminate widely the aforementioned experience in working out programs for renovating production--programs which provide for the dynamic development of industry and assimilation of new kinds of products; programs which permit conducting an active social policy.

The Moscow City Ispolkom, Moscow City Trade Union Council, and rayon soviets of people's deputies have been ordered to render practical assistance to the industrial enterprises in implementing their plans for reconstruction and technical retooling, devoting special attention to implementing programs for social development of the working collectives.

The course of the preparations of the working collectives and rayons of the capital for celebrating 1 May and Victory Day were also examined at the meeting of the party gorkom buro. Questions of organizing worker demonstrations on Red Square, dressing up the city for the holidays, pre-holiday trade, and ensuring law and order on the streets and squares of the capital during the mass popular celebration were also discussed.

Certain other questions were also discussed at the MGK CPSU Buro meeting.

9006

CSO: 1800/622

MOSCOW GORKOM ON CRIME IN LOCAL MEAT INDUSTRY

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Apr 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Moscow CPSU Gorkom"]

[Text] At its 15 April meeting the Buro of the MGK [Moscow City Committee], CPSU, examined the question of gross violations of state discipline, mismanagement and pilferage of socialist property at the Mosmyasoprom [Moscow Meat Industry] Production Association.

The association (Comrade Pantelyushin, general director), it was noted, has serious shortcomings in its economic activity; state planning and finance discipline is being grossly violated; and the quality of its products is not improving.

The management of the association is not taking the proper measures to guarantee the security of socialist property; and it displays carelessness and indifference toward the struggle with mismanagement, wastefulness, pilferage, and other abuses. Instead of establishing order in production and waging an uncompromising struggle with petty thieves and other plunderers, the supervisors have taken the course of embellishing the actual state of affairs.

Serious shortcomings took place in the selection, assignment and training of cadres. In a number of cases people were assigned to supervisory positions without looking into their business and moral background--people who are incompetent or indifferent workers, who had previously compromised themselves.

General Director Comrade Pantelyushin did not live up to the trust bestowed on him; he tolerates the situation which has come to pass; he does not show sufficient personal initiative, and is not sufficiently demanding with his deputies. Deputy General Directors of the Association, Comrades Sorokin and Garbuzov, abused their official positions: they did not properly supervise the services under them and they violated party ethics in resolving personal problems. Comrade Arias, who until recently had worked as a deputy general director, did not display personal initiative in eliminating serious shortcomings in the economic activity of the Moscow Meat Combine.

The party committee of the Moscow Meat Combine [Comrade Korneyeva, secretary] tolerated serious shortcomings in economic activities and in the cadre work of the administration.

At the party gorkom buro session, the administrators of Mosmyasoprom were extremely uncritical of themselves in evaluating their revealed shortcomings: they attempted to avoid direct discussion of the facts of violations of state discipline, mismanagement, and pilferage of socialist property; and they did not provide a self-critical evaluation of the failures which took place in their work.

The party gorkom buro delivered a severe reprimand to Mosmyasoprom Association Director and CPSU Member Comrade Pantelyushin, and made an entry in his record for gross violations of state and financial discipline, failures in selecting and assigning cadres, and lack of demandingness toward his subordinates. Deputy General Director Comrade Garbuzov was given a reprimand and an entry was made in his record; and Comrade Korneyeva, party committee secretary at the Moscow Meat Combine, was given a reprimand.

It was also noted that the Zhdanovskiy CPSU Rayon Committee [RK] has not done a satisfactory job in party leadership of the collectives; it was lax in monitoring the activity of the party organizations of the Moscow Meat Combine and the Moscow Meat Processing Plant; and it did not take decisive measures to beef up the leadership of the Mosmyasoprom Association in time.

The members of the MGK CPSU Buro stressed that Zhdanovskiy CPSU RK First Secretary Comrade Zhukova did not personally take a principled position in working with the cadres of the Mosmyasoprom Association.

The serious shortcomings in the activities of its subordinate Moscow meat industry enterprises were brought to the attention of the RSFSR State Agro-Industrial Committee [Gosagroprom].

The party gorkom buro considers it impossible to make further use of the present administrators of the association in the posts they now occupy. The buro has taken cognizance of the statement of RSFSR Gosagroprom Deputy Chairman Comrade Konarygin, that the Mosmyasoprom Association will be given assistance in beefing up its management with highly-skilled specialists; in carrying out a reorganization; and in improving its technological processes and the quality of its product output. The republic agro-industrial committee received a recommendation to conduct a thorough inspection of the financial and economic activity of the Mosmyasoprom Association in the second quarter of this year.

The Zhdanovskiy CPSU RK has been directed to examine the question of responsibility to the party of Comrade Arias, formerly deputy general director, and Comrade Sorokin, deputy general director of the Mosmyasoprom Association, after they are rehabilitated.

Also considered at the session of the MGC CPSU Buro were appeals from communists expelled from the CPSU, and petitions to lift previously-imposed party punishment.

Appeals for restoration of party membership were rejected for former chief engineer of Avtokombinat No 4 of Mosavtolegtrans [Moscow City Soviet Passenger Car Transport Administration], V.A. Zavaruyev, for organizing a collective drinking bout which resulted in the commission of a criminal act; and

for S.P. Kucher, a junior scientific associate at the All Union Scientific Research Institute for Electrification of Agriculture, who also organized a drinking bout, in his own apartment, and served alcoholic beverages the use of which led to the death of one of his associates.

The appeal of S.I. Gamayunov, expelled from the party for taking part in carrying out religious rites, was rejected.

The decisions on expulsion from the CPSU remain in effect for V.G. Levitskiy and V.A. Svinukhov, who committed acts punishable under criminal procedure.

Certain other questions were discussed at the gorkom buro session as well.

9006

CSO: 1800/622

LENINGRAD OBKOM ON VYBORG SOCIOECONOMIC PROGRESS, OTHER ISSUES

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 87 p 1

[LentASS report: "In the CPSU Obkom"]

[Text] At its regular session, the oblast committee buro examined a report from the Vyborg CPSU Gorkom on organizational and political work for mobilizing the workers to properly greet the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

It was noted that the party gorkom failed to take proper advantage of preparations for the jubilee date to increase the role of party, trade union, Komsomol organizations and economic administrators in making socialist competition more effective, and directing it toward solving specific problems facing the working collectives.

The efforts undertaken by the CPSU gorkom will not provide the required growth in effectiveness of social production, their success rate does not meet the demands of restructuring, and primary party organizations are not oriented toward tasks for stepping up ideological activity.

In a number of working collectives, owing to inadequate party pressure, state and planning discipline is poor, and disruptions in contracted deliveries are permitted. Last year the plan for manufacturing the highest quality products was not fulfilled, and several of the most important industrial capacities were not put into operation. Problems of increasing the fertility of cultivated areas, developing feed production and increasing the productivity of the dairy herd are being solved much too slowly. And the rayon failed to fulfill the plan for milk sales to the state.

Certain enterprises and their administrators turned out to be unprepared for working under the new economic conditions, which led to disruption of the planned tasks for the first quarter of this year.

The party committees and buro have been doing a poor job of supervising the activities of the administration and trade union organizations in questions of improving the working and living conditions of the working man.

The executive committees of the Vyborg and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies are not displaying the necessary demandingness toward economic administrators for solving social problems, for implementing environmental

protection measures in a timely manner, nor for the overall condition of construction projects in the cities and communities. Proper attention is not being focused on strengthening law and order, nor on the struggle with pilferage, speculation and other violations of the law.

The buro of the oblast party committee requires that the CPSU Gorkom and the primary party organizations critically analyze the reasons for the shortcomings which have occurred, in the light of the requirements of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum; and that they take exhaustive measures to eliminate by mid-year the lags which occurred in the first quarter and ensure that all enterprises and organizations in the rayon carry out their tasks for 1987 without fail.

It was proposed to increase the role and responsibility of every communist in this matter. Emphasis was placed on the need to focus special attention on making better use of fixed capital on the basis of a two and three-shift operating regime for highly-productive equipment; on increasing the quality and reliability of manufactured products; and on ensuring fundamental improvements in agricultural production, construction and transportation.

The party gorkom and primary party organizations were directed to take more complete and effective advantage of preparations for the celebration of the Great October Socialist Revolution to increase the people's political and social activeness and the effectiveness of socialist competition.

The CPSU Obkom Buro examined the results of the operation of the national economy in the first quarter of this year and spelled out specific tasks for party, soviet and economic organs in fulfilling the planned tasks for 1987. A plan was approved for additional measures to intensify the struggle with drunkenness and alcoholism and to strengthen labor discipline and public order; and measures have been outlined to overcome shortcomings in providing incentives for carrying out socialist obligations.

After discussing the question of the perfunctory and bureaucratic attitude of the administrators of the Vsevolozhsk City Soviet of People's Deputies toward examining complaints from the citizens on housing questions, the party obkom buro relieved Gorispolkom Chairman G.I. Lebedev of his duties. The Vsevolozhsk CPSU Gorkom was directed to look into the personal affairs of Communist G.I. Lebedev, starting with the primary party organizations.

For permitting violations in the accounting and allocation procedure for living space, and for failing to take proper measures to eliminate serious shortcomings in the activities of housing and communal services, a severe reprimand was given to O.I. Kapustin, first deputy ispolkom chairman, Vsevolozhsk City Soviet of People's Deputies.

The Buro of the Oblast CPSU Committee also examined certain other questions on the administration of the region's economic and social development.

EXPANDED GEORGIAN CP CC BURO MEETING FOCUSES ON ECONOMICS

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 27 Jan 87 p 1

[Gruzinform report: "To Overcome Backwardness and Emerge at the Leading Boundaries"]

[Excerpts] The course toward restructuring which since the 27th CPSU Congress has become the determinant one in the life activity of our society today, at the beginning of the second year of the five-year plan, demands of every party, soviet and economic leader a maximal return, an untiring creative search, a precise adherence to executive discipline, and a high degree of competence. The time for thinking about restructuring has passed. The time has come to specifically ask how the transformation is going in all sectors of the republic's national economy and what is their return. These principle positions have become the main theme of the expanded meeting of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro, with participation by directors of ministries, departments and major enterprises, as well as leaders of party and soviet agencies and means of mass information.

Summarizing the achievements realized in the first year of the five-year plan, the meeting participants noted that during this period the role of intensive factors of economic growth had increased in definite degree. Thus, the productivity of social labor increased by 4.4 percent. This accounted for 81 percent of the overall growth in the national income, as compared with 77.7 percent in 1985.

At the same time, the speakers concentrated attention on shortcomings and unsolved problems. The means and capacities for overcoming these shortcomings were defined under efficient and highly principled conditions.

The new approach to economics which restructuring demands has made the adherence to contract responsibilities the decisive factor in its successful development. Quite a few sore points have been accumulated here. But if the on-site managers show the proper persistence, strictly adhere to executive discipline, and seek means of resolving complex questions instead of contenting themselves with the fact that they arise in various instances, there would be no problems in this matter. Thus, last year the "Chiaturmarganets" Production Association, the "Analit-pribor" Scientific-Production Association, the Tbilisi "Agregat" Plant, the Zestafoni "Gruzkabel" Plant, the Poti "Elektroapparat" Plant, and the Rustavi Crane Building Plant achieved 100 percent fulfillment of the plan for realization with consideration for their delivery responsibilities.

At the same time, the lack of efficiency by certain production heads and by a number of party and soviet workers, as well as their aloofness in solving pressing problems lead to undesirable results. How else but through inertness can we explain the lack of fulfillment of delivery agreements at the Tbilisi production associations "Stankostroitel" and "Elektrovozostroitel", the Rustavi production association "Azot" [Nitrogen], and the Batumi Petroleum Processing Plant. In terms of numbers, most of these enterprises fall under the Ministries of Light and Local Industry, as well as the Georgian SSR Gosagroprom.

For some productions, last year became a period of chronic lagging behind in many other indicators as well. This is true in full measure of the enterprises of Minlesdrevprom [Ministry of the Timber and Wood Processing Industry], the Kaspi Cement-Slate Combine, the Gori Cotton Production Association, the Sachkhere Cotton Spinning Factory, and the Zugdidi China Plant. On the whole during the year, 77 industrial enterprises were unable to meet their production program, falling behind in 79.8 million rubles worth of consumer products. Another 115 enterprises who undermined the plans for realization were short 121.6 million rubles worth of products.

It often happens those guilty for the failure cannot be found. The faulty practice of dispersion of responsibility still exists in some places. In connection with this, the following blatant fact was cited: a ship carrying important cargo was not unloaded for several days at the Port commercial seaport. The reasons for this were lack of organization, irresponsibility, administrative barriers, and lack of effective control, including also on the part of the party gorkom. This case once again clearly confirms that success may be achieved only when there is personal responsibility and specific demand for an assigned task.

The turn toward everything that is new and better is still taking place painfully and too slowly. The party committees and ministry and departmental leaders must have a clear grasp of the on-site situation. They must take an aggressive position everywhere and in all matters, actively intruding into all spheres of life and restructuring their activity in a new manner. The discussion about this was most acute in examining the fulfillment of the plan for retail trade turnover and consumer services, and in defining the tasks in this sphere for the current year. It was noted that miscalculations in organizational work are still being felt. This is characteristic for the style of work of the staff in certain sectors, including light industry and trade, where each one acts in its own interests rather than for the sake of the common end result, i.e.--the consumer. This is what has led to the situation whereby the purchasers have underreceived hundreds of millions of rubles worth of products which are in high demand. The result of this is that for every 100 rubles earned by republic residents in Georgia, only half the goods are obtained as compared to the Pre-baltic republics, for example.

Such shortcomings are characteristic also for a number of other sectors, including the building complex. The results of fulfillment of the capital construction plan in the republic for 1986 show that its workers have been unable to ensure stable work in all segments of the building conveyor in the course of the year. The annual plan for operational introduction of fixed capital was

realized by only 86 percent. The tasks on the start-up of social-domestic facilities were also undermined, as a result of which the republic did not receive 125,000 square meters of housing. The task here consists of effectively eliminating the shortcomings and doing everything possible for the unconditional fulfillment of the republic's building program.

The meeting participants gave particular attention to discussing the results of the fight against crime in 1986 and to the tasks of the party, soviet and law enforcement organs in light of the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee resolution entitled "On Further Strengthening Socialist Law and Order and Intensifying the Protection of the Rights and Legal Interests of the Citizens." Specifically, it was noted with alarm that the number of crimes committed by persons who did not work anywhere and who lived off of unearned income had not declined. Yet in some places they either do not grasp the situation which has arisen, or simply do not want to take the necessary action. Both of these alternatives equally contradict the times, which demand high principles and a fighting spirit from leaders of all ranks, and primarily those persons who are in charge. The concept of "aggressiveness" in the struggle against those who gain unearned income today takes on particular significance, since as soon as it eases up even the slightest bit, the "weeds" of society will once again raise their heads.

The administration of the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs was told to achieve in a short period a radical breakthrough in the work, to decisively reject outdated and obsolete methods of action, and to strengthen personal responsibility for the assigned task.

Georgian CP Central Committee First Secretary D. I. Patiashvili summarized the results of the meeting.

CPSU Central Committee official B. A. Malkov participated in the work of the meeting.

12322

CSO: 1830/483

GEORGIAN CP CC BURO ON STATE INSPECTION, RESTRUCTURING

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 15 Jan 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] At the meeting held on 13 January, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro discussed the question of intensifying control over the course of state acceptance of products. A system of measures was approved for increasing the functional effectiveness of the state acceptance on the republic's territory.

It was suggested to the editorial staffs of republic and local newspapers, GeSSR State Radio and Television and GRUZINFORM [Georgian Information Service] that they speak out actively and irreconcilably against any manifestations of bureaucracy and formalism in the administrative organs, that they give an in-depth analysis and expose of the reasons and conditions which give rise to a heartless attitude toward the people and to subordination of the interests of the cause to formality, and that they broadly illustrate the positive experience in the work of the administrative apparatus under conditions of restructuring, the new forms of expansion of democracy, openness, matter-of-factness, and practical participation of the workers in solving the questions of state and social life.

The Ministry of Culture, the GeSSR Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade], Goskino [State Committee for Cinematography], and the unions of writers, journalists, artists, and composers, as well as the republic's theatrical society must do everything possible to encourage the creation of artistic and publicistic works, plays, films, political posters and songs, and means of graphic agitation which would brand with shame the bearers of outdated views and notions, the opponents of restructuring, the bureaucrats, and those who have a indifferent attitude toward the legal demands of the citizens. They must increase the role of the cultural enlightenment institutions in the labor collectives and at the people's place of residence. They must work to instill in the youth a political and social activism, fighting qualities, and an irreconcilability to routine and stagnation.

Having heard the report of the Gagra party gorkom and the ispolkom of the Gagra city Soviet of People's Deputies on the course of the economic experiment on comprehensive services to workers, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee

buro noted the positive results achieved by the Gagra territorial-intersectorial association in the process of the experiment. Interested ministries and departments within the republic were told to give the Gagra gorispolkom effective aid and cooperation in implementing the measures directed at improving the management of the resort services complex.

The question of the shortcomings in the work of the management and party organization of the Georgian republic production association "Vtorchermet" was reviewed. These shortcomings dealt with development of the forms and methods of involving secondary metal resources into the economic turnover, preparations for the change-over to new conditions of economic management, and strengthening of state discipline and order in the subordinate organizations. The Central Committee Buro found the work of the association's management and party organization to be unsatisfactory in this direction. The Tbilisi party gorkom was told to review the question of party responsibility of a number of workers involved in the shortcomings which have been identified. The Central Committee Buro determined that it was inexpedient for A. Kvartskhav to retain his position as director of the "Vtorchermet" Production Association because of his failure to ensure state discipline, his serious shortcomings in the selection and placement of personnel, and his failure to take measures on restructuring the style and methods of management of the association's activity.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro, having reviewed the question of the shortcomings in the uninterrupted supply of petroleum products to the republic's national economy, outlined practical measures for correcting these shortcomings. The party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms were told to establish daily control over the delivery, storage and application of petroleum products, and to give a principle evaluation of cases of their uneconomical and irrational use.

Having discussed the question of fulfillment of the program for construction of housing and social-cultural facilities and machine building established for 1986, as well as the tasks for 1987, the Central Committee Buro judged the work performed in the republic in this direction to be unsatisfactory. It pointed out serious shortcomings in the sphere of construction to the management of construction ministries and departments, as well as to a number of party gorkoms and raykoms. They were ordered to ensure through the personal responsibility of the party the unconditional fulfillment of the program for construction of the facilities indicated for 1987, as well as the submission of facilities which were not introduced in December of 1986 by the first quarter of 1987.

The Georgian CP Central Committee and the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers adopted a joint resolution on the tasks of party organizations on improving the organization of labor wages and ensuring the introduction of new wage rates and salaries for workers in the production sectors of the republic's national economy.

12322

CSO: 1830/483

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

GSSR: CONSTRUCTION MINISTRY WARNED OF PROBLEMS IN JANUARY

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 23 Jan 87 pp 1, 3

[GRUZINFORM report, under the rubric: "In the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee": "Wage Resolute War Against Report Padding and Deception"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has examined cases of report padding and deception in the republic's capital construction. It was noted that correct conclusions have not yet been drawn everywhere from the directives of the party and government concerning the need to resolutely strengthen discipline and order and the impermissibility of deceiving the state. The corrupt practice of distorting and embellishing the true state of affairs, which covers up poor organization of the labor process, lack of principle, inactivity and mismanagement, has not yet been eliminated.

As a checkup carried out by employees of the USSR State Capital Investments Bank showed, certain executives of construction organizations, taking advantage of the connivance of local party, soviet, planning and statistical agencies, embarked on the course of creating the false appearance of prosperity. Thus, one in every three of the housing and social, cultural and consumer-service facilities turned over by the Georgian SSR Ministry of Construction (minister, D. V. Mandzhgaladze) last December was excluded from state plan-fulfillment reports because of inadequate completion of construction work.

In the decree adopted, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee points out that such violations are caused by a low level of state and report discipline in the system of the republic Ministry of Construction, whose collegium does not take an active stand in the campaign to introduce strict order in the organization of construction production. The deputy ministers have lowered their exactingness toward the services and subdivisions under their oversight and have been doing a poor job of performing their functional duties.

Exaggerating the successes that have been achieved, ministry executives have failed to display a self-critical attitude and to make a principled assessment of the results of their work. Response time is too slow in the work of the ministry apparatus, implementation discipline is weak, and the

proper militancy is lacking in the party organizations of the management and production subdivisions.

Economic, monitoring and auditing, record-keeping and reporting and analytical work is by no means at the required level, and financial management is in a state of neglect (deputy minister, R. I. Tateishvili).

Especially large-scale reporting violations and distortions of the true state of affairs have been committed for a number of projects under the oversight of G. G. Kartvelishvili, the republic's first deputy minister of construction: 106 square meters of housing, one school, two kindergartens and two polyclinics have been excluded from reports because of report padding.

As a result of an irresponsible approach to the fulfillment of plans for the commissioning of facilities in the Abkhaz ASSR (overseer--Deputy Minister R. I. Tateishvili), six apartment buildings and a number of social, cultural and consumer-service facilities are being excluded from reports. A similar situation has also developed in Adzhariya, where Deputy Minister T. G. Zhordaniya is responsible for the construction organizations' work, and in Rustavi (overseer--Deputy minister Sh. A. Lomidze).

Flagrant violations of established standards for the acceptance of facilities were committed in the commissioning of a dormitory in Tkvarcheli and an 800-patient polyclinic built by the Gruzugol [Georgian Coal] Association (general director, B. G. Sanikidze) using its own manpower, and a 210-bed medical and sanitary unit built by the Tbilisi Aviation Plant imini Dimitrov (director P. Sh. Tordiya).

The wrongful practice of turning facilities over without completed utility lines still takes place. An extremely intolerable situation has come to exist in the construction of heating facilities in Sukhumi (overseer, Deputy Minister R. I. Tateishvili) and in Zestafonskiy Rayon (overseer, Deputy Minister G. L. Lisitsyn).

Serious violations of reporting requirements and the procedures for accepting facilities for operation have to a considerable extent resulted from a lack of principle on the part of the executives of the republic Chief Administration for Capital Construction (director, B. A. Zatuashvili) and its regional subdivisions. Accountability and exactingness are low on the chief administration's staff, and there is not an atmosphere of intolerance toward violations of state discipline and reporting requirements.

Inadequate control is maintained on the part of the republic State Construction Committee (chairman, G. Z. Mirianashvili) over the quality of construction and installation. This results in numerous cases of violations of construction standards and regulations. To all intents and purposes, architect's oversight is pro forma.

The existing situation in the branch has been affected by the unsatisfactory work of the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry (minister, N. G. Vashadze). The republic office of the USSR Capital Investments Bank (manager,

Z. G. Gendzekhadze) and its technical services (chief engineer, I. O. Bokeriya) fail to exercise the proper oversight, do little to influence the quality of work, and fail to stop the presentation of incomplete facilities to be turned over for operation. A number of local party and soviet agencies take a liberal attitude toward report padding and deception. The results of a checkup disclosed flagrant distortions of report data by gorispolkoms in Tbilisi (chairman, Z. Sh. Meskhishvili), Sukhumi (chairman, K. T. Bigvava), Batumi (chairman, R. Kh. Dolidze), Rustavi (chairman, K. Sh. Bakradze), Tkvarcheli (chairman, N. I. Kharbediya), and Gagra (chairman, D. M. Dogonadze), and by the Gudautskiy Rayispolkom (chairman, S. R. Tarkil).

Yu. I. Kedishvili, deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, has been doing an unsatisfactory job of guiding the work of construction organizations in the republic complex. The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee's Department of Construction and Municipal Services has not been taking effective measures to enhance party influence for the purpose of eliminating existing shortcomings in the organization of the branch's work, strengthening state discipline and eliminating report padding and deception.

Appraising the work of the Georgian SSR Ministry of Construction and its collegium as extremely unsatisfactory, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee noted that D. V. Mandzhgaladze, the republic minister of construction, deserves strict punishment for violations of state reporting requirements. However, considering the correct conclusions he has drawn and his self-critical appraisal, as well as his relatively short term in office, it decided to limit itself to pointing out to him serious errors in his work.

A strict reprimand, to be recorded in his permanent records, was issued to G. G. Kartvelishvili, republic first deputy minister of construction and member of the CPSU, for lax guidance of housing construction and the failure to exercise proper supervision to ensure the readiness of facilities to be opened for occupancy, which resulted in report padding and deception. He was warned that in the event that such a thing recurs, the advisability of his remaining in office would be considered.

B. A. Zatuashvili, director of the Main Administration of Capital Construction and member of the CPSU, received a strict reprimand to be recorded in his permanent records for serious omissions in his work and lax control over the quality of facilities under construction and being put into operation. He was also warned that in the event such violations recur the advisability of his remaining in office would be considered.

A strict reprimand for the lack of oversight over the observance of construction standards and regulations and unsatisfactory architect's oversight was issued to G. Z. Mirianashvili, chairman of the republic State Construction Committee and member of the CPSU. It was recommended that the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers consider strengthening the leadership of Georgia's State Construction Committee.

Because of serious shortcomings in the uninterrupted supply of construction materials to contract organizations, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee warned N. G. Vashadze, republic minister of the construction

materials industry, that in the event that exhaustive measures are not taken to rectify the existing situation during the first six months of this year, he would receive strict party penalties.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee deemed it inadvisable for Yu. I. Kedishvili to remain in the position of deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers. It granted Comrade Yu. I. Kedishvili's request to be relieved of his office in connection with his retirement on pension.

The Georgian Communist Party Central committee pointed out to gorkoms, raykoms, primary party organizations, the Abkhaz ASSR Council of Ministers and the Adzhar ASSR Council of Ministers, the ispolkoms of oblast, city and rayon soviets, and the ministries and departments the need to consider intensification of the campaign for strengthening state discipline and eradicating cases of report padding and deception to be a matter of high priority and one of the main areas in the restructuring of work.

The republic Council of Ministers was instructed to form a special commission to develop proposals for radically improving the financial situation of construction organizations, eliminating shortcomings in the branch's planning, technical development and supplying, and solving the personnel problem.

It was emphasized that a slackening of oversight on the part of appropriate departments of the Central Committee, the republic Council of Ministers, the obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, and local soviet and trade-union organizations with regard to the construction branch and the elimination of report padding and deception has done substantial harm to the republic and deprived it of the possibility of taking part in all-union socialist competition on the basis of last year's results.

Materials concerning cases of deception of the state in the commissioning of facilities under construction have been turned over to the Georgian SSR State Procurator's office for the taking of action prescribed by law.

8756

CSO: 1830/479

TAJIK CP CC NOTES INSUFFICIENT MEASURES TO CURB DISEASE

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 15 May 87 pp 1,2

[TadzhikTA report: "In the Tajik CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The Tajik Communist Party [CPTa] Central Committee has examined the question of serious shortcomings in supporting the sanitary and epidemiological situation among the republic's populace. It was noted that party and soviet organs, ministries and departments of the Tajik SSR, and health authorities have not taken exhaustive measures to improve sanitary conditions in populated places, nor to normalize the epidemiological situation and reduce infectious diseases among the populace. Lost work time due to infectious diseases remains high, which is explained by the extremely unsatisfactory sanitary and sewage situation at a number of populated places, food industry enterprises, public catering and domestic needs enterprises, and water supply sources. The numerous instances of violating environmental protection legislation bear witness to the serious shortcomings in the work of the managers of economic and industrial enterprises and establishments, ministries and departments. In 1986 alone, sanitary inspection authorities levied fines on about 16,000 responsible officials for the above-mentioned violations; administrative commissions examined 752 cases, and 98 were remanded to the investigative authorities.

The state of the drinking water situation for the population of rural areas is especially alarming. Many of the existing water pipelines do not provide service to the water grid in accordance with state standards, and 45 percent of the rural residents take their drinking water from open water reservoirs which are dangerous in an epidemiological respect. Construction of water pipelines in the rural areas is still not being carried out on the required scale, and is held back by the poor material-technical base of the Tadzhikselkhozvodoprovod [Tajik Agricultural Water Pipeline] Production Association. Moreover, existing water intakes are not being operated satisfactorily.

In industrial and civil construction the shameful practice of putting projects into operation without providing purification plants of sufficient capacity continues. The managers of a number of industrial enterprises (Tajik Aluminium, Vakhsh Nitrogen Fertilizer and Yavanskiy Electrochemical Plants, and others) are not taking effective measures for construction of purification plants at an outstripping pace, nor for improving purification and reducing the discharge of harmful materials into the environment.

The Tajik SSR State Agroindustrial Committee is not satisfactorily resolving questions of monitoring and guaranteeing the quality of agricultural and prepared food products.

On the part of the Ministry of Health and its sanitary-epidemiological administration, the authorities have not been demanding enough toward the state sanitary inspectorate for quality and end results. The level of sanitary education among the populace and the dissemination of hygienic information do not come up to modern standards. The party buro is not asserting the proper demandingness toward the communists responsible for the given sector of work, and political educational work has slackened, as has control over the selection and assignment of personnel by the communist-supervisors of the sanitary authorities.

The situation which has come to pass in the republic has led to the outbreak and long duration of a critically high level of infectious diseases among the populace. Soviet and party authorities in the localities have become accustomed to the current state of affairs, and are not asserting the proper demandingness toward economic administrators for timely resolution of questions of developing municipal services and increasing the effectiveness of sanitary control and prevention of epidemiological diseases. Violators of sanitary norms and rules are not being called to account by the party, and procuracy and militia authorities are not taking a strong position on this important problem.

The CPTa Central Committee requires that oblast, city and rayon party committees; ispolkoms of oblast, city and rayon soviets of people's deputies; and managers of ministries, departments, industrial and agricultural enterprises guarantee unconditional fulfillment of measures for fundamentally improving the sanitary and epidemiological condition of the populace, and observance of sanitary norms and rules on the territory of populated places, at enterprises, in pre-school institutions, schools and educational institutions, at health care institutions and at places where the workers vacation.

Failure to take the necessary measures to essentially reorganize the work of carrying out this part of the social program is considered a display of political short-sightedness.

Administrators of the appropriate enterprises and organizations have been ordered to provide in one-month's time an inventory of all sources of water supply and purification installations, and to investigate the air quality in the environment. They are to put into proper condition, in accordance with existing norms, both above and below-ground water supply sources, purification installations, water mains, sewage systems and garbage dumps; and are to construct additional capacities for purification plants, water mains and sewage systems. And they are to define sources of financing and periods for carrying out the work, and designate those responsible for execution.

Effective control is to be established over carrying out the aforementioned measures. The measures outlined are to be carried out with broad participation of the entire populace, the collectives of enterprises and organizations, and the residents of urban neighborhoods and rural populated places.

It was recommended that the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers work out a special-purpose comprehensive Profilaktika Program for the period up to 1995, directed toward resolving questions of reducing the level of illness among the populace and providing for proper sanitary-epidemiological conditions for the cities and rural populated places; the program is to be presented to the CPTa Central Committee for examination by the end of 1987.

Party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and ispolkoms of oblast, city and rayon soviets of people's deputies have been directed to step up their monitoring of the sanitary and epidemiological condition of urban and rural populated places; to increasingly monitor the work of health care, sanitary inspection, municipal facilities, and internal affairs organs; and to demand that they take effective measures to deal with the administrators who are not carrying out the requirements of state sanitary inspection authorities: they are to take special pains to monitor the status and procedure for application of legal sanctions by state sanitary inspection, procuracy and militia authorities toward violators of sanitary norms and rules, and categorically preclude attempts to escape responsibility.

The Tajik SSR State Committee for Television and Radio and editors of republic and local newspapers and magazines have been ordered to tirelessly monitor fulfillment of the measures outlined for supporting the sanitary and epidemiological status of the republic's populace, to give wide publicity to instances of disclosure of violation of the requirements of the state sanitary inspectorate, and to propagandize on a wide scale questions of raising the sanitary culture of the populace.

9006

CSO: 1830/518

MEDIA, PROPAGANDA

TaSSR OBLAST PRESS TIMID IN IMPLEMENTING ATHEIST PROPAGANDA

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 28 Feb 87 p 2

[Article by V. Vorobyev, chief of the propaganda department of the editorial staff of KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, under the rubric "Press Review; Atheist Education": "For criticism...but with caution"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] A year has gone by since a meeting of the republic ideological aktiv which evaluates the state of atheistic and international training. What has changed during that time? Are there any reversals in the ideological sphere, particularly in the work of mass information and propaganda media, to which the aktiv had assigned important tasks?

As you page through the files of the oblast newspapers, you first experience disappointment. Local journalists are keeping atheistic themes in the background, as they did before. It is as if there had been no decision of the April, 1985 Plenary Session of the CPSU Central Committee; as if restructuring is passing by the editorial collectives. There is the same discretion in the way they address very important matters, the same timidity in their development as there was two years ago. It is as if the colleagues are waiting, out of habit, some for direction from above, others for lateral recommendations. Their position of temporizing even shows through the pages of the newspapers.

As you learn how the newspaper LENINABADSKAYA PRAVDA conducts antireligious propaganda, you cannot dismiss a feeling of indecision. You can count on your fingers the articles and correspondence on atheistic themes. Also, the level of professional training and development shown in the articles on these matters falls far short of today's requirements. Take, for instance, the article, "Propagandize Actively and With Conviction," published in the November 13th issue. It is full of the standard phrases and theoretical positions. Take this, for example: "The overwhelming majority of the people of our oblast stands firm on its position of scientific atheism, consciously, without the help of the 'Almighty', and is building communism."

In four columns of closely spaced text, there are almost no facts as such upon which to base any newspaper article. But there is one. At the end there is noted in passing that there are collective prayers conducted at the

"Pendzhikent" Sovkhoz and at the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin in the Pendzhikentskiy Rayon, and in which "communists, teachers, and other activists" took an active part. Who specifically were these people? The article is silent on this point, and we don't understand why.

There have been some instances in the oblast where party members participated in the religious rituals of nikokh [wedding], khatna, dzhanaz [funeral], mavlyud [Mohammed's Birthday rites], mushkilkisho, khatmi kuron, and others. Has participation in them by communists become commonplace because they depend on it being kept secret? Do they think nobody will make their names public? Don't they think they will be seen as two-faced when at work they hold to the letter of the law while in their leisure time they keep the laws of the shariat [the Shari'ah, the Muslim law]? The newspaper lacks courage in this situation.

Another article, "The Attitude is Formed in School," in the November 26th issue tells in buoyant tones of the conduct of atheistic training in educational establishments. It notes shortcomings in passing, as if by the way, with the sentence, "The teaching establishment of the oblast also sees its own shortcomings." That's what it says -- no more, no less. What does one get from such an article? It doesn't interest the teacher, so there will be no public repercussions. Thus, when it is only noted, it is a shot with a blank cartridge.

But the newspaper should put aside the fact that out of 26,000 teachers in the oblast, a mere 124 teach lessons on atheistic themes and it should try to discover the reason for their passiveness, and one can suppose that there could be serious, pointed material published which can lead to solving the problem. Among the educational workers, especially in rural areas, there are many who are subject to religious influence and we have to talk about this, not fading away, and naming address and names. Otherwise the number of believers will not be diminished all by itself, as someone suggests, but on the contrary...

Are there many of us who have thought about from where the self-proclaimed confessors, the bearded mullahs, the instant akhuns are coming? Do others start with a fleeting interest in religion and then unwittingly get carried away and get to the level of the most mystical attitudes and take up a position of advocacy? Such a thing happened, for example, with a worker at the Leninabadskaya Oblast library, Onakhon Dadohodzhayeva. A higher education did not prevent her from becoming a biotuna, a preacher of Islamic dogma and the laws of the shariat. Why did this happen? The oblast newspaper could have answered this question in detail, but in this case also it remained silent.

And in general we must note that the most courageous antireligious piece in six months on the pages of the LENINABADSKAYA PRAVDA was a report from Oblast Party Committee Secretary B. F. Rakhimova, heard at the oblast party committee plenary session, where they discussed the matter of organizing educational work in the housing areas of the oblast center. In it all the features and facts were identified by name. By the way, there was no mention there of the unsatisfactory work of the oblast's newspapers in atheist education.

If we turn our attention to the KULYABSKAYA PRAVDA issue of December 9th, with the article "Quivering [tryasicha]," its author, having asked for some stylistic license, can be congratulated for this specific success. The article addresses how far these pseudo-mullahs and their adherents are able to go without fear of reprisal. In the Navkoron kishlak of the Voseyskiy Rayon a self-taught minister thinking himself a Messiah, Abdurakhim Kuvatov, having appeared on election day at the polling place at School Nr. 30, had ripped down a placard containing the biography of the candidate for deputy and trampled it in front of everyone.

How did we allow the very possibility of such things? Why is it that there are people found among the number of ideological workers who are ready to excuse these illegal actions by adventurers from religion with references to the constitutional right to freedom of religion and their own idleness? One cannot ignore the behavior in this incident of the School Director Khudoynazar Egamberdiyev. He shamefacedly picked up the damaged placard from the ground and hid it in a cabinet in his office.

A spirit of conciliation or indifference is absolutely unacceptable when the matter concerns religions propaganda connected with such bitter attacks on the state and public order. Nobody has relieved the Communists of their obligation to conduct the war of ideas with religion, with the vestiges of religion. Until now Lenin's demand to "not fall into the abstract, the verbal, the empty 'revolutionarism' of the anarchist, nor phillistinism and opportunism...of the liberal intellectual who is afraid of the fight with religion...[don't] reconcile yourself with faith in God..." has not lost its urgency.

Thus, the material presented indisputably is brave, and such publicity is necessary and not only in the oblast press. But among the people it is wisely noted that one swallow does not a summer make. On the whole for the observed period on the pages of KULYABSKAYA PRAVDA there were very few articles of this type. We encounter attempts to cloud the issue, such as an article that was published without any apparent motivation in September entitled "Anticommunist Essence of Religion." In it the author unmasks the reactionary essence of Catholic clericalism. The content of the article itself causes no doubts as to the strength of its arguments. But that's another matter. Was it efficient to present the basis of this theme in precious newspaper space? As we know, the percentage of European population in the oblast is comparatively low, and there are no people who embrace Catholicism. Matters are different when it comes to Islam. The religious situation which is worsening here is not one of the best. It is not uncommon for vestiges to poke up above the legal rules, as religious extremists announce themselves all the louder. For some reason the newspaper avoids these themes. And could the reader possibly not be interested in knowing, for example, why the mausoleum for Said Amir Kamadoni in Kulyaba, which was declared an architectural monument, has become a center of attraction for pilgrims?

Activated and ceremonial pseudo-priesthood -- is this not a reproach to our good will and sense of conciliation? And this is started at times with the young. A religious charlatan appears in the kishlak, and they have seen it, but paid it no heed, and after him comes another, and he was accepted, and

then a third and all the more they wring their hands. Today the overall number of self-taught mullahs in the republic almost reaches four figures. And tomorrow? Nothing is seen of the needed rebuffs to them, or of offense taken against them.

Furthermore, even today, at a sharp turning point, we have occasion to hear supporting slogans, attempts to attach a worldly, targeted explanation to religious rituals. Somebody states that the newspapers which are published in the Russian language are said to be better in abstaining from propagandistic actions which debunk Islam. Unfortunately, this idea is completely different in journalists' collectives. I doubt whether one may consider this point of view to be justified if only because the tasks of the workers in the ideological sphere are not subject to arbitrary points on the overall republic and especially on the national level.

"Not everyone understood that to work in the new way means to resolutely reject the old habits and methods." This was said at the January, 1987 Plenary Session of the CPSU Central Committee. In the situation which is growing everywhere of a healthy morale and moral atmosphere, it was noted at the Plenary Session, publicity, truth in evaluating phenomena and happenings and rejection of shortcomings are becoming more and more actively operating principles of life. We should apply these principles more fully to editorial collectives.

A system approach to illuminating atheistic matters is characteristic for the newspaper KURGAN-TYUBINSKAYA PRAVDA. Articles with antireligious themes appear on its pages from month to month. Some that come to mind are "Life on One's Knees," "In the Struggle for Man there is no Room for Compromise," and "Against the Religious Opiate." In these is full disclosure of cases of growth of religious phenomena, and those guilty are identified by name. This, certainly, is the service of a creative collective.

However, it is not without reason that I am reminded of this case. One of the authors came to us in the editorial shop. Reading an article which was ready for publication, he stopped at the word "antireligious". He was so surprised, he was baffled.

"What is this word? How can this be done? We will offend the believers."

If this had been said by someone other than a candidate of philosophical sciences who specializes in atheistic education, I would probably have already forgotten this rejoinder. But I recalled it once again in looking over KURGAN-TYUBINSKAYA PRAVDA. One feels in the newspaper's articles on atheistic themes a kind of excessive discretion, so to speak, a criticism with caution. Well, sure, we couldn't say this if we were someplace on the Arabian Peninsula...

Isn't this why outside the field of view of the editors there were cases of violations of public order by the residents of the "Turkmenistan" Sovkhoz of the Vakhshskiy Rayon on the grounds of religious fanaticism? Although this took place in the oblast center, literally just a hundred meters from the building housing the editorial offices, the newspaper ignored the incident.

The city was full of contradicting rumors, but the readers were informed about what had taken place only after two and one-half months had passed. And this was only about the punishment of the guilty ones. Similar "communiques" and "confidentiality" is nothing other than that obsolete style of work.

The overall shortcoming in the oblast press is the absence of material for propagandizing the foremost experiences of atheistic work. The news in this direction as presented by lecturers, propagandists, agitators, and organs of public self-government are not seen. It is important to remember that it is essential to support the new sprouts which CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev ordered at the meeting at the Central Committee with the leadership of the mass information and propaganda media.

In the struggle with religious extremism, we are not making complete use of the intellectual potential of the republic's scientists, of the specialists in scientific atheism. And in conditions of an inexplicable shortage of books and brochures about Islam, competent, scientific articles on this theme by venerable authors could provide invaluable help. Solving these problems to some extent depends also on party committees, and on their desire and ability to help their press organs.

9016

CSO: 1830/463

RESTRUCTURING BLOCKED BY ADHERENCE TO OUTMODED PRINCIPLES

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 5 Apr 87 p 2

[Article by Professor N. Manaseryan under the rubric "Restructuring: Theory and Practice": "Political Economics and the Demands of Dialectics"]

[Text] A few days ago I visited an old friend, a highly-qualified millwright. I was interested in how state acceptance of production was going at his organization. He said that it is going well, and that they have finally started to separate the "high quality from the low quality." Now they will value good work. However, he then started to complain.

"But in many cases substandard goods are produced and it's not the worker's fault."

"Who is the guilty party in such cases?"

"It turns out that the machinery and tools are old. And you can not always produce a new, high-quality product on old machinery."

This conversation caused me to reflect on a very difficult problem -- reconstruction and renewal not only of production gear in our economy, but also the scientific apparatus of the subject I deal with, specifically, political economics.

In fact, recently there has been criticism of the matter of activating social science, and improving the quality of instruction. However, today's -- actually yesterday's -- obsolete, worn out categories and understandings which rule in social science, including political economics, do not explain all the newer and newer phenomena in economic life.

Science and practice always are found, and will continue to be found, at some distance from one another. It is true that the distance occasionally shortens. But it never can disappear completely. This is quite natural, since science, including social science, being a form of public consciousness, can not completely coincide with its content -- in this case with public life.

Moreover, public consciousness can at any time be found at a significant distance from the real public life. This pertains particularly to times of rapid change.

Unfortunately, we must recognize, that in the last decade the distance between economic life and political economics not only has not decreased, but to some extent has lengthened. Economic life and economic attitudes are developing and becoming more complex; new quantitative and qualitative phenomena, new problems demanding new solutions are popping up. At the same time political economics continues to remain in the sphere of the aging, and I might add the oversimplified, theory.

Renewal and effectiveness of social science, as it is not shown to be a contradiction, depends on how satisfactorily we use the oldest and the always young weapons of Marxist teaching, the dialectic method. To what extent are the basic laws of dialectics considered and expressed, particularly the laws of unity and conflict of opposites, in today's college courses in political economics? We can say directly that they are not satisfactorily expressed.

Political economics until today has expressed socialism as a society without conflict, an ideal model, which was brought to us from the epoch of revolutionary enthusiasm. Any active programs of political economics, teaching handbooks, and popular science literature look at the economic laws of the socialist method of production as an ideal harmonious system, free from disagreements and conflicts. If now and then there is talk of disagreements, they are looked at as accidental, insubstantial, having an ephemeral character. They are the so-called negative phenomena which are not supposed to trouble socialism. They are explained either as vestiges of the past or as a result of external activity. "There has arisen a way of socialist production attitudes which has caught us by surprise, and dialectic interaction with the production forces has not been completely evaluated. The social structure of society was expressed schematically, as free of disagreement and the dynamism of multi-faceted interests of its various layers and groups." This was how the situation was characterized at the January, 1987 Plenary Session of the CPSU Central Committee. This first of all pertains to political economics. Actually today's political economic socialism, especially in the way that it is presented to students, is a complicated and immovable code of economic laws. It is actually a description of some general features of this method of production and its distinguishing features in comparison with capitalism. In this way such science looks more to the past than to the present, let alone the future. But instead of critically analyzing the inner workings of economic processes in their conflicting development, it is satisfied with a superficial description of the advantages of a planned economy, which is often a wishful thinking about what really is.

Let's take, for example, the position, true in principle, about the peaceful, constructive character of the action of economic laws under socialism. In the economics literature this situation quite often is interpreted in such an absolute way, that in socialist economics it would seem to be possible and necessary to predict, to plan everyone and everything, all sides and processes of economic life.

It is hardly necessary to state that such claims of "absolute reality" have little in common with dialectics. And nevertheless in practice such an approach has served and continues to serve as the theoretical basis for "universal and all-encompassing" regulation of economic life in all of its parts and details from the side of the managing organs and authorities of various ranks. It is understandable how little place there was left and is left for such an approach for any independent and creative initiative from economic organizations. We can also add that there is even less "space" left over for formulating active public positions by teachers of political economics and their students.

Society cannot exist and develop without disagreements and struggle between the old and the new, between the positive and the negative. As Hegel says, "The existence of disagreement is the criterion of reality, and its absence is the criterion of error." The dialectic method, if it is used in business, demands that we express "keen attention" to everyday care of the studies and resolutions of the constantly arising disagreements and it totally does not satisfy itself with that which has been done.

We are all witnesses to the degree of difficulty that the restructuring of our public life is encountering, the restructuring begun at the 27th CPSU Congress. Some people look on the restructuring as a new slogan which soon will be forgotten. But some people consciously interfere with the new.

For a good example, there are all sorts of hindrances which arise along the way to introducing the by-contract relationship in agriculture. According to official statistical data, in the republic's agriculture only 21.6 percent of the enterprises have entered into contracts (while according to some official data, the figure is twice that); in actuality the contract is consistently used only at individual farms. What is the reason for such a phenomenon?

One of the reasons is that some agricultural production workers, especially from the ranks of management, consciously or unconsciously distort the substance and meaning of the contract system, thinking that the contract, and in particular the family and individual contract, is a step away from the principles of socialism. That type of socialist thinking is associated with the forms of organization of labor which were adopted back in the 1930's and the rewards thereof. Today, especially after the 27th CPSU Congress, it is not difficult to overcome these theoretical errors. It is much more complicated to root out their social and economic reasons and to look here at the interests of individual groups of society than it is to overcome them.

Analysis of facts has shown that the authors and apologists of the old thinking are disturbed primarily by the loss of "purity" of the foundations of socialism, and primarily by the threat to the safety of their positions in society and their personal interests. Usually the enemies of the contract express just that, that their place in society either is cheapened or becomes surplus in the contract system. That is why it is in their interests to preserve in all ways today's general purpose system of labor organization.

This is the very system under whose conditions wage-leveling of rewards and the tendency for non-labor (illegal) acquisition of the public product correspond one with another in complete agreement.

This is just one example, but it attests to the strong conflict between the fundamental interests for development of socialism and the narrow, mercenary tendencies of individual groups of society. Correcting such a conflict demands no little strengthening from our society. The problem will not be resolved all by itself, miraculously, or even by administrative measures.

Political economics and sociology are required to deeply analyze the path of development of the distinctive laws of society, considering the following conditions.

First, economic laws cannot operate with their own conflicts. It follows, disagreements must appear and be studied in the sphere of action of every economic law. Furthermore, economic laws act only in the process of constant appearance and resolution of economic disagreements. The latter is the dialectic mechanism for the existence and development of economic laws.

And second, the political economist has a concrete task -- from general scholastic consideration of the laws and interests to come to express and study concrete carriers of these interests, their quantitative and qualitative evaluation. But only in such a case can we talk about managing society's interests and processes.

9016

CSO: 1830/449

BOOK ON EARLY PERIOD OF TRANSCAUCASUS REVIEWED

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 14 Feb 87 p 3

[Review by Doctor of History Vakhtang Adamiya, professor at Abkhaz State University imini A. M. Gorkiy, of the book, "Kommunisticheskaya partiya--organizator kulturnoy revolyutsii v Zakavkazye (1921-1927 gg.)" [The Communist Party as the Organizer of the Cultural Revolution in the Transcaucasus, 1921-1937], by Candidate of Historical Sciences Boris Kvaratskheliya, Tbilisi State University, 1986, number of copies and pages not given; under the rubric "On the Bookshelf": "Sources of the Great Path"]

[Text] This book is about the sources of the glorious path traversed by the peoples of the Transcaucasus during the years of the Soviet regime. At a sharp turning point in history, Lenin's party boldly and decisively assumed responsibility for the destinies of those who had begun building a new life. In the year of the 70th anniversary of Great October, the results of heroic work are evident in all spheres of activity--the economic, the social and the cultural. But the first steps were extremely difficult. After all, it was necessary not only to destroy the old but to build and establish a new socialist culture in people's minds.

To transform the inner world of man who had lived for centuries in the power of spiritual darkness and superstition and in a religious stupor--that is the task, noble in the highest sense, that the party set at the dawn of the new era, the era of socialism.

In the monograph "Kommunisticheskaya partiya--organizator kulturnoy revolyutsii v Zakavkazye (1921-1937 gg.)," which was published last year in Russian by Tbilisi State University, Candidate of Historical Sciences Boris Kvaratskheliya studies the work of the Transcaucasus's party organizations to implement Lenin's plan for cultural revolution, and he shows the process of the development of a culture of the peoples of that region that was socialist in content and national in form.

In severe conditions, communists undertook to build socialism in a Transcaucasus that the bourgeois governments of the Musavat and Dashnaktzutium parties and the Mensheviks had turned into an arena of fratricidal war. At the same time that the tasks of socioeconomic development were being accomplished, the problems of creating a material basis for socialist culture were being

solved. The monograph traces every step of the difficult path taken by the communists in following the Leninist party's orders. The documents presented attest to the selfless assistance of Soviet Russia, which provided comprehensive support to the peoples of the Transcaucasus.

The Soviet regime's first years accomplished striking successes in the economy, and therefore, a solid foundation was created for cultural construction and the acquaintance of people with spiritual values. Following the example of the RSFSR, the Transcaucasus's party organizations launched wide-scale work to eliminate illiteracy among the population and were able to cope with that problem in a relatively short time. Lenin's message found a way to everyone's heart. And this was a tremendous victory for the Communist Party.

An analysis of its activities in organizing cultural and enlightenment work should be counted among the tasks that the monograph successfully accomplishes. The author illuminates such matters as work among women, atheistic propaganda, and the work of clubs, libraries and other cultural centers. A special chapter in the book is devoted to the party's guiding role in the establishment of a socialist system of higher and secondary education, the development of science, and the formation of cadres of the national intelligentsia in the republic. As a result of the party organizations' consistent and purposeful activity, despite great difficulties (a shortage of personnel and physical facilities, the resistance of nationalistic elements, etc.), this task was carried out.

In those same years scientific research institutes and branches of the USSR Academy of Sciences were established that have played a tremendous role in the development of the economies of the Transcaucasus republics and the training of local scientific personnel.

The complex path of the formation and development of socialist artistic culture is traced on the basis of concrete facts. As the author stresses, starting as early as the mid 1930s, a whole pleiad of talented writers developed who created works of lofty ideological content that have become part of the treasury of Soviet belles lettres.

The Transcaucasus's party organizations undertook extensive work on the establishment and further development of socialist art, the founding of theaters, and the training of national theatrical personnel. Effective measures were directed toward creating a new repertoire that included works of Soviet revolutionary drama. Thanks to this, theatrical art achieved substantial successes and became an important means for the communist upbringing of the working people.

One reads with great interest the section that shows the development of cinema, music and the fine arts in the Transcaucasus republics.

The monograph offers cogent criticism of the falsification of facts by bourgeois authors, who distort in every way possible the history of the building of socialism in our country and in the Transcaucasus, in particular.

The author of the monograph examines the cultural revolution in that region from the standpoint of party history, and he comprehensively illuminates the multifaceted work of the CPSU and the Communist Parties of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia in the area of cultural construction, stressing the guiding and directing force of the Leninist party, which worked indefatigably to strengthen the bonds of friendship among the peoples of the Transcaucasus and to develop internationalism.

At the same time, in our view this unquestionably valuable and useful study should have also shown the role of the party organizations of the Transcaucasus republics' autonomous formations in accomplishing the cultural revolution's complex tasks. It would have been desirable to have given a more thorough analysis of the literature that exists on the subject. We believe that it would be a good idea for the author to continue work on the problem, expanding its chronological framework.

8756

CSO: 1830/523

WESTERN VIEWS ON CENTRAL ASIAN NATIONALISM CRITICIZED

Frunze KOMMUNIST KIRGIZSTANA in Russian No 2, Feb 87 (signed to press 29 Jan 87) pp 86-91

[Article by G. Volter, senior instructor, Kirghiz State Institute of Art imeni B. Beyshenaliyeva: "Beneath the Flag of Nationalism and Reaction"]

[Text] The preaching of nationalism, which is viewed as the principal "destabilizing factor" of national relations in our country, is occupying an increasingly greater place in the activities of Western centers for Soviet studies and propaganda organizations. Advancement of the ideas of nationalism to the center of subversive activity is one of the manifestations of the growing struggle in the world between bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism--these implacably hostile catchwords, in V. I. Lenin's characterization, corresponding to the two great class-oriented camps and expressing two policies and, moreover, two philosophies in the nationalities question ("Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 24, p 123).

It was not that long ago that the ideologists of capitalism were slighting all things national, persuading us that the concepts "nation," "national state" and "national sovereignty" had lost their meaning. They appealed to us to annihilate national boundaries, and to create a "world cosmopolitan community." This variant of the expansionist policy of modern capitalism made absorption of the USSR, annihilation of real socialism and replacement of internationalism by cosmopolitanism one of its main tasks. However, later on new theories on an "unprecedented outbreak of nationalism," which had supposedly enveloped the countries and continents of the world, began to appear in the "think tanks" of imperialist countries. All conflicts of modern history--the collisions in Northern Ireland, the Arab-Israeli war, the national liberation movement of African peoples, the anti-imperialist struggle of Latin American states, the Iran-Iraq conflict, the racial turmoil in the USA--are interpreted exclusively in the spirit of national contradictions, which are declared to be no more than and no less than a motive force of development. The Soviet Union, a unique multinational state, is also deliberately included within the orbit of these contradictions.

This conception is essentially an attempt to cloak, beneath the cover of nationalism, the class and socioeconomic roots of national oppression in the world of capital, to distort the true interaction between the class-based and

the national, between the national and the international. The advent and feverish spread of the new myth simultaneously signifies that the bankrupt attempt to combine anticommunism with cosmopolitanism and national nihilism has been replaced by a new form of struggle against real socialism and all progressive forces. Now the emphasis is on nationalism, which is supposedly replacing internationalism, "absorbing socialism and all other social movements."

At the same time, persistent introduction of the thesis of an "explosion" of nationalism in the USSR into anti-Soviet practice is persuasive evidence of the bankruptcy of numerous theories, conceptions and ideas that have long existed in the arsenal of the ideologists of anticommunism. Bourgeois theorists are themselves compelled to admit this fact. "The rationalism of Western politics and political science" writes G. Zimon, professor at the Koln Institute of East European Studies, "created a situation where its representatives were deluded all too often, and preferred successful political results over objective knowledge of the realities."

The eloquent self-exposure of this expert in Eastern studies, who had personally explored mountains of paper with the purpose of arriving at "successful political results," and who was now correcting his brothers in anti-Sovietism, is supplemented by recommendations of another "specialist"--A. Kappeler. He advises researchers specializing on the Soviet Union to focus on finding approaches to studying nationalism, which supposedly "has recently entrenched itself in the USSR between modernism and the national movement." The notions of bourgeois political scientists that nationalism and "regionalism" are supposedly general human phenomena is the starting point for justifying the new anti-Soviet myth. These phenomena supposedly afflict all social systems with identical force, but they are especially prevalent in developing countries experiencing a time of "modernization" and formation of national states. The ideologists of modern imperialism are trying to portray the entire diversity of the modern liberation movement and the sum total of political, social class, religious and other contradictions associated with it as national contradictions, reducing them to ethnic and psychological factors, to nationalism defined as an irrational and instinctive phenomenon that is by essence incomprehensible.

Thus we have before us one more attempt at "refuting" Marxism, undertaken once again by our class enemies. Elevating nationalism to the principal and sole cause of the global conflicts of modern times, "Marxologists" of the anticommunist camp are striving to substitute the class and economic nature of the conflicts of the modern world by a nationalistic nature, and they are laboring to demonstrate that nationalism and not the class struggle is the motive force of social development. According to them, it has taken the upper hand conclusively over proletarian internationalism. And if this is so, then, as Zimon declares, the Marxist conclusion that nationalism is a factor of bourgeois ideology will have to be reexamined in light of the data of history.

It is on the basis of this distorted methodological message that bourgeois ideology is seeking new approaches to anti-Soviet subversive activity directed at revealing "the potential for conflict" in national relations in the USSR. However, Sovietologists wishing to support the new theory of "rising

nationalism" in our country were forced to contradict the ideological principles they supported previously. They had to reveal the true status of Soviet society, and recognize the successes and accomplishments of the peoples in their national development, so that they could then distort all of this with the purpose of promoting the new ideological conception.

The "arguments" are presented in expanded form in the anti-Soviet works of G. Zimon, who is said to be one of the inspirers of the conception of "modernization" and nationalism, and in the works of other authors from Western centers for Soviet studies. The thesis that the USSR, a "developing country," has not escaped "the many-sided process of modernization"--a process defined as involving industrialization, formation of economic regions and isolation of nation states--is promoted as the general methodological premise. Because of this process, the Soviet Union has supposedly fallen "into the mainstream of the world nationalistic flow," one that is irreversible and devastating.

The author selected one of the sophisms widely utilized by our ideological adversaries as a means of supporting this thesis he knows to be untrue. It involves applying analogies incorrectly and making illegitimate parallels between bourgeois and socialist society. Zimon asserts that the USSR's economic structure contains both industrially developed (European) and "developing" (Central Asian) republics, between which enmity and nationalism should dominate as between "historically strong and weak nations." An attempt to mechanically carry the patterns of anticommunist relations, consolidated in the modern world between imperialism and developing countries, over to socialist society can be seen from this example even with the unaided eye.

Having included the Soviet Union in the orbit of the "world process of modernization and nationalism," Zimon and his followers then put forth the essentially absurd assertion that nationalism is "ascending" in the USSR, justifying it by the actual successes that our society has enjoyed in socioeconomic, political and cultural areas. According to the upside-down logic of Sovietologists, these accomplishments ("modernization processes") are in fact the cause of the mythical "explosion of nationalism." Industrialization, urbanization and the educational explosion, Zimon asserts, have resulted in growth of national self-consciousness among many Islamic peoples. B. Levitskiy, a Sovietologist of some notoriety who is forever slandering the CPSU's nationalities policy, leans in this direction as well. He recognizes that the educational level of representatives of non-Russian nationalities has risen immeasurably. But as with Zimon, who confirms that the number of students representing the indigenous population is growing in Central Asia, he makes this admission for one reason only: to show that the measures of the Communist Party and our state aimed at raising the culture of all Soviet people inevitably bring on nationalism and nationalistic division of the society.

The theorists of anticommunism needed these premises to confirm the fabricated thesis that national pride and national self-consciousness are becoming a "destructive political factor" in the USSR as they develop, a factor which will destabilize Soviet society to the advantage of imperialist forces.

Also characteristic are the notions of bourgeois Sovietologists that there is some unavoidable relationship between the flourishing of nations under socialism and the "ascension of nationalism," which supposedly has its basis in the Marxist teaching on the nationalities question. Thus if we accept the "theory" forwarded by the West German sovietologist D. Pospilevski, then we would have to agree that the source of the mythical "national discord" in the USSR lies in Marxism-Leninism, which "preaches the traditional criteria of patriotism through loyalty to proletarian internationalism and the yearning for social equality, justice and freedom...." Zimon also tries to substantiate the fatal unavoidability of nationalism in the USSR in approximately the same spirit. "The Bolsheviks," he declares hypocritically, "did very much to arouse nationalistic forces, setting the stage for liberation from the 'prison of the peoples' and for the right of self-determination. But following the revolution they found themselves in the role of a wizard who imprudently let the genie out its bottle and couldn't get it back in."

Establishment of national boundaries in Central Asia, which was of historical significance to the destiny of its peoples, and as Zimon recognizes, "was directed at establishing equality between peoples" and at "internationalization of Soviet society," was also "blamed" on the CPSU, which supposedly created a source of nationalism there, springing forth from the soil of equal economic, sociopolitical and spiritual development of these peoples.

Following this logic to its conclusion, we should have excluded the task of socialist solution of the nationalities question from the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism in order to avoid an "explosion of nationalism." But this is not the logic of Marxism, of the Communist Party, of the working class, which made it their goal to effectively liberate laborers from class and national oppression for the first time in history. This is the logic of a hypocrite who argues in his propagandistic preachings for "preserving the imperishable values of the culture" of non-Russian peoples, while in fact basing his relationship to the fraternal peoples of the USSR on the malevolent principle that "the worse things are, the better" and "when things are good, that's very bad."

It stands to reason that from these positions reactionary ideology cannot make any kind of objective assessment of the role of Lenin's nationalities policy, which made it possible to raise peoples that were backward in the past to the heights of modern civilization by uniting them by the knots of classical and international solidarity. Western Sovietologists cannot understand (and perhaps they do not wish to) that self-consciousness, the feeling of national pride and respect for the culture, language and progressive traditions and customs of all peoples are growing under socialist conditions not in the direction of isolation and nationalism, but rather toward increasing international unity, mutual cooperation and convergence of all of the country's nations and nationalities.

Nonetheless this question does require the most persistent attention. After all, if a national element separates out of an international system, it carries the potential for transforming into a nationalistic element. In such

a case the national element isolates itself and buds away from the international element, and then it hypertrophies to improbable dimensions, transforming into a nationalistic element. But this is precisely what satisfies the interests of theorists from Western centers for Soviet studies, who lay their hopes on certain politically inexperienced Soviet people, addressing their "theoretical" arguments to them in "objective," "concern-filled" but actually totally false propagandistic packaging capable of turning the minds of unstable elements of the Soviet people despite their falsehood. This is why we require high alertness in relation to the intrigues of uninvited foreign "benefactors," combined not in words but in deed with persistent efforts to indoctrinate the laborers in the spirit of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

"Special sensitivity and circumspection in all things having to do with nationalities policy and all that affects the interests of every nation and nationality, and the nationalistic feelings of people," it was said at the 27th CPSU Congress, "is a tradition of our party originating with Lenin, as is that of principled struggle against manifestations of national narrow-mindedness and conceit, and against nationalism and chauvinism, no matter what garb in which they attire themselves. We communists must steadfastly follow Lenin's wise commandments, apply them creatively to new conditions, and be maximally attentive and principled in national relations in order to further strengthen the fraternal friendship of all peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

Many deceptive and unscrupulous sophisms are used to camouflage lies and slander soundly laced with the venom of nationalism and intended to poison the consciousness of Soviet people. One of them entails fabricating an arbitrary system of logic and then filling it with "facts" for the purposes of substantiating another myth. Thus our foes from Western ideological centers first invented the thesis of "modernization" and "a national elite"--imaginary sources of a no less imaginary "explosion of nationalism in the USSR," and then they introduced facts from socialist reality as their "arguments"--the rise of the educational level and culture of Soviet people, increase in the number of students from the indigenous population, growth of national intelligentsia and so on, providing these facts a distorted interpretation.

Statements of Sovietologists suggesting that because the number of students from the indigenous population of Central Asia is growing, nationalism is growing as well, can serve as an example of gross distortion of Soviet reality with the purpose of advancing a nationalistic myth hostile to us. This is nothing more than Middle-Age casuistry having the purpose of extracting a propaganda advantage.

But there can be no doubt that the Soviet intelligentsia, which has its roots deep within our people, and which therefore knows their aspirations and needs, will recognize the false tactics of imperialist ideologists for what they are. Representatives of the intelligentsia know that it has been possible to ensure free, equal national development for all peoples, including the peoples of Central Asia, in the complex conditions of socialist construction only by following the path of internationalism, class solidarity and brotherly mutual assistance.

The intelligentsia and all laborers of Central Asia rightfully value the great international feat of the Russian peoples owing to which nations resurrected to a new life were able to achieve socialism bypassing an entire stage of social development, to create national statehood in a short time, and to develop their own culture, language and so on. Agitators from the anticommunist camp will not be able to incite national enmity between peoples or undermine the internationalistic consciousness of the Soviet people, no matter what myths, "conceptions" and "theories" they make up. What V. I. Lenin wrote concerning attempts to disperse the workers' movement along national lines was deeply prophetic: "Recognizing and valuing their internationalism, the proletariat will never accept this absurdity of subtle nationalism" (Poln. sobr. soch., Vol 24, pp 176-177).

It is not difficult to note that the anti-Soviet concoction we have before us contains a deliberate attempt to associate nations, national self-consciousness and nationalism into a single whole as historically significant phenomena that unavoidably emanate from one another. In the perverse logic of bourgeois Sovietologists, the formula of this dependence is ultimately primitive: Nations undergoing so-called "modernization" are experiencing a "boom" of national self-consciousness, which supposedly makes nationalism inevitable. This is a most typical sophism, an attempt to knowingly derive a false conclusion from apparently valid premises artfully "tied in" with Soviet reality.

This is also concurrently an attempt to carry the ulcers of modern capitalist society, which is being torn apart by national contradictions and acute racial conflicts, over to the socialist world. As with the rest of the world, the multinational Soviet Union will supposedly be unable to avoid the "explosion of nationalistic emotions," because nationalism generates some kind of "unbridled drives of human nature."

The only thing you can call this conclusion is absurd. It is arrived at by consciously ignoring the fundamental differences between bourgeois and socialist society, differences which stem from differences in social and national relations. Under socialism, which has attained real economic, social and political equality, free development of national culture, domination of a single Marxist-Leninist ideology and national factors acquire an entirely different nature. The sense of national self-consciousness that arises in the course of comprehensive development is filled with socialist content, and it is combined with internationalistic feelings, with faithfulness of the peoples to the ideals of socialism and communism. Factors such as the feeling of national pride, patriotism and honor have great significance to solving the problems facing the country concerned with fundamental reconstruction of Soviet society.

The fruitlessness of the efforts of anticommunist ideologists to poison the consciousness of Soviet people by the venom of nationalism has been demonstrated by the entire experience of socialist construction, by successful resolution of the nationalities question and by expansion and consolidation of the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR. "The Victory of October put an end to national oppression and inequality of nations and nationalities

forever," states the new edition of the CPSU Program. "Voluntary unification of free equal nations into a single multinational state--the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics--played an enormous role. Rapid economic, social and cultural progress of former national districts has been ensured in the course of socialist construction. National discord has faded into the past, while fraternal friendship and close cooperation and mutual assistance between all peoples of the USSR have become the rule of life." At the same time, as was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, "...our accomplishments must not create the impression that national processes are not experiencing any problems. Contradictions are inherent to all development, and they are inescapable in this sphere as well. The main thing is to keep sight of their continually arising aspects and facets, to seek and simultaneously provide truthful answers to the questions which life poses." The congress also went on to point out problems requiring careful attention. Included among them is the need for decisively fighting all manifestations of chauvinistic and nationalistic ideology, all manifestations of nationalistic separatism.

In this connection party and all ideological organs have the task of indoctrinating the laborers in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and instilling a proud feeling of membership to the great unified Country of the Soviets. The whole people's support of the nationalities policy of the CPSU, which has brought great benefit to every socialist nation and nationality, is a real prerequisite and dependable guarantee of this.

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CSO: 1830/493

UZBEK HISTORIANS CRITICIZE INACCURACIES, 'PLAGIARISM'

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 14 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences M. Nazarov, honored Uzbek SSR scientist, and Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Akramov, under the rubric "Implement the Decisions of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee's Third Plenum!": "Problems in Historical Scholarship"]

[Text] An analysis of the scholarly works of the republic's historians shows that many of them contain general and abstract opinions and are overloaded with factual material and figures. For many years the practice was followed of using other people's views and propositions, examples and ideas without citing previous research, which resulted in duplication and plagiarism.

Works have begun to appear that are of poor ideological and political quality and are meager in their content. Thus, in the book "Basmachestvo. Sotsialnopoliticheskaya sushchnost" [The Basmachi Movement: Its Sociopolitical Essence], edited by Doctor of Historical Sciences B. Lukin, the authors deviate from the subject of investigation, fail to disclose the leading role of the Central Asian republics' Communist organizations in eliminating the Basmachis, and do not show the importance of this struggle in strengthening friendship among our country's peoples.

K. Khasanov's brochure "Poslantsy Lenina" [Lenin's Envoys] reports: "V. V. Kuybyshev took an active part in implementing Lenin's 20 May 1920 decree drafting 30,000 citizens of non-Russian nationality from Turkestan, Siberia and other outlying regions of Russia into the Soviet Army." This assertion contains two mistakes: in the first place, it was not a decree [dekret] but a decree [postanovleniye] of the Council of Labor and Defense; and in the second place, the decree contained no figure of "30,000."

In the work "Ocherki istorii Kommunisticheskoy partii Uzbekistan" [Essays on the History of the Uzbek Communist Party], published in 1974, it is written that in 1932 804,300,000 tons of cotton was procured. Imprecise figures also exist in B. Sidykov's book "Agrarnaya politika partii i razvitiye sovkhoznogo proizvodstva v Uzbekistana" [The Party's Agrarian Policy and the Development of Sovkhoz Production in Uzbekistan], published in 1986. Unfortunately, one can cite many similar examples.

History Demands a Serious Attitude.

A number of books about revolutionary events in Khiva and Bukhara are lacking in a Marxist approach to the illumination of these events. These people's revolutions were carried out with the fraternal help of Russia's working class in peasant regions. This experience is unique in the history of mankind, but it has not been studied in depth and not conveyed to our contemporaries.

In our view, the role of the Young Khivans and the Young Bukharans requires further elucidation.

In the preparation and carrying out of the revolutions in Khiva and Bukhara, a great role was played by the Council for International Propaganda and Actions in the East (Sovinterprop). However, the history of this council has not been studied yet, either.

The Jadidist movement has been treated in historical, philosophical and legal writing. However, serious differences exist in the appraisal of it. Some scholars believe that Jadidism was a progressive movement, others that it was reactionary and mystical, and still others that it was counterrevolutionary.

There is still no major scholarly work disclosing the significance of the establishment and activities of the Communist organizations of the peoples of the Soviet East and the national organizations of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), particularly the Musburo [possibly Muslim Buro] of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) in Turkestan. Study of the history of the national organizations of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) is of particularly great importance today for the world's developing countries and for disclosing the role of internal political forces of the antiimperialist revolutions.

In our view, the state of the treatment of the specific features of party construction in the Soviet regime's first years is not good, either. The assertion that the leftist Socialist Revolutionaries joined with Bolshevik organizations must be deemed erroneous. This is a falsification of the history of the party of Turkestan. The leftist Social Revolutionaries took an active part in the anti-Soviet uprising in January 1919, opposing the policy of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) and the Soviet regime in Turkestan, and turned out to be in the counterrevolutionary camp.

All is not well in treatment of the CPSU's nationality policy, friendship and cooperation among peoples, and the fraternal help given by Russia's working class to the peoples of Uzbekistan in building socialism.

The republic's historical scholarship has still not yet sufficiently treated such an important problem as the internationalization of the republic's economic, social and political life, has not disclosed the significance of the USSR's unified national economic complex in the development of Uzbekistan's economy, and has not managed to show why the economic, scientific, technical and cultural potential created with the fraternal assistance of the Russian and other peoples is not being adequately utilized in the interests of building up the USSR's economic and spiritual potential.

Such important problems as the study of proven advanced methods and the use of scientific and technical advances, cost accounting and new forms of labor organization in agriculture have not yet been solved. Yet in the 1950s and 1960s advanced-methods schools (of V. Tyupko, M. Umurzakov and others) received extensive development in the republic, and model experimental farms, comprehensive-mechanization, cost-accounting brigades, and new forms of labor organization were in operation in which thousands of brigade leaders and farm machinery workers received training. Their role was subsequently either belittled or consigned to oblivion. This experience is of practical value today for the implementation of restructuring in the agroindustrial complex. The CPSU Central Committee's January Plenum emphasized that outmoded methods have been preserved for decades in the practice of economic operation and management and, conversely, certain effective economic forms have been unjustifiably rejected.

For years social scientists have tolerated negative tendencies that have occurred in the republic's life and have failed to disclose the causes of their appearance. Works lack an analysis of objective reality and contradictions; this is expressed in an exaggeration of successes and an indifferent attitude toward shortcomings. Let us take as an example the problem of developing new lands. Dozens of dissertations have been defended on this topic, and a number of monographs and brochures and many articles have been written about it. But these works do not disclose the objective and subjective causes of shortcomings in the development of new lands and the existence of unfinished production. For example, in I. Khamrayev and I. Khalikov's monograph "Orosheniye i osvoyeniye Karshinskoy stepi" [Irrigation and the Development of the Karshi Steppe], there is not a word about unfinished work and its consequences.

Following the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee's 16th Plenum, the great scale of report padding in cotton procurement became known. Despite this, some scholars continue to use old figures in their works. For example, the paper by S. K. Ziyadullayev, member of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, "The Development of the Uzbek SSR's Productive Forces Over 60 Years," which was published in the book "Under the Banner of Leninist Internationalism" in 1985, stresses that in 1982 more than 6 million tons of raw cotton was procured in the republic.

Historians and social scientists are greatly in arrears to the people in the treatment of traditions and customs. We still do not have a sound scholarly work that cogently elucidates which traditions, customs and rituals are negative, and which are progressive, internationalist, all-national (all-union), national, born of the world working class and the distinctiveness of each people's culture, and meet the requirements of improving socialism.

There are a good many instances in the republic of the preservation of such negative phenomena as the holding of sumptuous weddings, the payment of bride-money and giving of dowries, and the revival of religiousness. The struggle against them is a struggle for strengthening the internationalist features of the socialist way of life.

There is another important problem--the preparation and publication of the memoirs of old Bolsheviks who took an active part in the struggle against the Basmachis, in implementing Lenin's plan for building socialism and in accomplishing the historic victory over fascism and Japanese militarism. Their living word would help bring up the present generation in the spirit of revolutionary, fighting and labor traditions.

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CSO: 1830/523

MOVING ARTISTS OUT OF MOSCOW PARK SPARKS PROTESTS

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 May 87 p 6

[Letters from readers under the rubric "Readers' Opinions": "A Memory? No, A Hope"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] IZVESTIYA (No 354, 1986) published the article "A Memory with Hope." The subject was the fate of the independent artists' exhibit-sale which appeared spontaneously several years ago on the outskirts of Moscow at the Bittsa Forest Park. The avenue where artists exhibited their works on summer days recently became a place where thousands gathered and informally familiarized themselves with art. Bittsa became a phenomenon of cultural life. However, without studying public opinion, the rayon authorities decided to ban the artists' exhibit in the avenue and temporarily move it to the Bittsa equestrian sports complex, citing the danger of nonlabor incomes and the possibiity that those who visited would damage the decorative plantings.

In the responses which came to the editorial office, the readers expressed their attitude toward this problem.

Dear Comrades! I read the essay "A Memory with Hope" with agitation. I was on a business trip to Moscow and visited this independent exhibit-sale on 29 and 30 November 1986. I had hoped to go again and plunge myself into the very unique atmosphere of free creativity and the touching and trustful attitude of strangers toward one another. That, in my opinion, was the main thing in Bittsa; not so much an exhibit of pictures as a demonstration of the undying people's spirit, our attraction to what is beautiful! There were probably phoneys in Bittsa too. But there were only a few of them, and we are not talking about them. Looking at the pictures hanging on cords or standing right in the snow and at the creators of all these vivid works shifting from one foot to the other and clearly freezing, I couldn't help thinking: "Why aren't normal, humane conditions for sale organized for these people so that they could at least drink a cup of hot tea together?" And now I find out that this fine thing was abolished, and with the help of those people who are obligated by their position to protect the interests of the people, people like the chairman of the Sevastopol Rayispolkom M.I. Ponomarev. It becomes offensive and sad when a person finds out about those "people's" deputies! No, we cannot ignore it. We must help and not allow the exhibit-sale to die under the open sky. Is it really difficult to find 9-10 hectares within the

limits of Moscow for large gatherings of people? I am certain that the artists themselves will put the land allocated to them in order and hundreds of Muscovites will help them, and even we, guests in the capital, would not remain on the sidelines. There should be many exhibit-sales in Moscow!

B. Litvinov, deputy of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, Chelyabinsk

I went to the artists' exhibit almost every Saturday and every Sunday and I developed the opinion that the park was really dying, but not from the Avenue of Artists. But because the forest had virtually no caretaker, no visible caretaker. Trees are breaking, campfires are being made and shishkebabs are cooking on them, bird feeders are being destroyed, work to clear the forest of fallen and dead trees is going slowly, and enterprises located next to it are freely discharging waste into the ponds. But those who wrote the complaint for some reason are silent when they see people with enormous bouquets of lungwort or primroses, and, moreover, they themselves pick bouquets with their grandchildren. Near me a group of such grey-haired comrades sat and watched silently at the disgraceful sight of a pair of 14-15 year-olds trying to kill a duck and ducklings with stones. I had to intervene for the defenseless birds. I am convinced that familiarity with art is precisely what makes people care about all living things.

V. Komarov, veteran of the war and labor, Moscow

Our small Katya waited for free days with great impatience so that she could bicycle with her father to the "toy market" the next time. It is difficult to describe the child's delight at seeing all the different "baby rabbits" and "piglets." The child accumulated a whole collection of these amusing little wild animals at a ruble or a ruble and a half apiece.

Yes, we see Levitskiy and Vrubel, Bryullov and Semiradskiy in museums. The paintings of the great masters are a powerful, deep river. But Bittsa is a small spring. The example of others awakens one to find an artistic "bent" in oneself. So, at odd moments my wife and I discovered the secret of preparing a ceramic paste and decided to try to "cook" our own toy wild animals.

Now the artists have been moved to the equestrian sports complex. At least, thank goodness, they were not moved to a pig farm. The article in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA which appeared a week ago and in colorful terms told the story of the portrait of a certain young person in a negligee was obviously intended for those who do not know anything. A single instance was given as a direct result of "neglect." There is every reason to suppose that such cases were specially sought. But the desires of thousands of Muscovites, instead of being studied, were tossed into the wastebasket.

S. Reshetnikov, department editor of the journal VOYENNNYYE ZNANIYA

I am 14 years old and a 7th grader from Saratov. I did not get to go to Bittsa. But my mama, who was on a business trip, ended up in Bittsa accidentally on 20 October. What she saw astounded her and there was no end to the stories. Besides that, she brought me two miniatures (for 15 rubles apiece, which, it seems, is very reasonable for the income of an average

family, including ours). Since then these two little pictures have become an integral part of our home and you could say a symbol of it. I am studying music. I do not have the opportunity to learn to draw even a little, and I so want to! After our "discovery," all our good acquaintances and friends and Mama's coworkers burned with a desire to visit Bittsa. And I wanted to most of all. Then came the articles in the best-known newspapers which approved of Bittsa. We decided to get a large picture, one that our two-room apartment would allow. More than once we discussed where and how to hang it, what colors would be especially pleasing, and who liked what subject more.

I came from the Conservatory on 20 December and after hearing about the "destruction" of Bittsa from Mama, I simply burst out sobbing. As everyone said, art and nature were joined there into living harmony. I cannot imagine the predominance of glass and concrete--all my hopes have been crushed. And those 70 rubles which I so carefully saved up for the picture are also not needed anymore. I ask the editorial office to excuse me in advance if my words seem harsh. It is not because Mama did not do a good job of raising me but because I cannot restrain myself. I read the article several times and got the impression that many "heroes" of this article who see a solution to any situation in prohibitions are simply, forgive me, ignorant and uncultured. After all, Bittsa belongs to Moscow, to the country! In my opinion, Bittsa (or rather the closing of it) is a clear example of what our people and our country are now fighting against, and fighting so earnestly. We are for Bittsa continuing!

Evelina Mordkovich, Saratov

I am an amateur artist. Ye. Zhbanov's article "A Memory with Hope" cites statements from the opponents of the Bittsa artists: they say that independent artists can spoil the taste of visitors and pictures must not be sold without the artistic council?! But let these comrades go around to our dry goods stores and test this measure--isn't our taste being spoiled by bags, shoes, clothing, toys, and souvenirs? But in fact each model was passed by an artistic council. And take art salons where expensive pictures by artists with names and titles are exhibited for sale. Do all of them improve our taste?

Something else I can't understand. The sale of any product--potatoes, onions, apples, meat is allowed at bazaars. All that is considered a product of human labor. Then how can it be said that a painting, a wood carving, or an engraving are "nonlabor income"? After all, sometimes as you set aside your artistic work your hands and feet are trembling, you are so tired. So how can our work be so cynically linked with "nonlabor income"?!

Larisa Fedorchenko, Kiev

How much easier it is to ban something--and no worries. Is that perhaps the position of the Moscow Gorispolkom? After all, Bittsa is the litmus paper of the changes occurring in our society. And it is sad that this paper had such a negative response in Moscow itself.

It seems wise to me to organize an exhibit-sale of amateur artists on the working principle of the "bird market." And let young and old, without any privileges, wage the struggle to uphold taste. The Moscow organization of the Artists Union must take advantage of this opportunity rather than limit its activity to putting up all kinds of barriers. We have a request for you: inform readers of the progress in solving this question.

M. Levin, Moscow

I have never been in Bittsa; I only heard from comrades in the studio that you could sell your pictures there if anyone liked them. Generally I believe that if they're going to drive artists out of Bittsa, then give artists the opportunity to gather somewhere else--in Sokolniki, Izmaylovo, on the banks of the Moscow River.

A. Vlasenko, master, village of Bykovo, Moscow Oblast

Not one self-respecting city in the world, be it Paris or Prague, London or Warsaw, does without a square or street where artists exhibit their paintings, small plastic arts, jewelry articles, and the like, dealing directly with the viewer and the buyer. This always gives the city indescribable warmth. Warsaw, for example, without the smallest hesitation, offered artists the most valuable part of the city--Staro Mesto Square, which is the national pride of the Poles. It is there that there are open-air exhibits, antique shops, and, of course, an infinite multitude of cafes and pizzerias... Why don't we in Moscow do something similar?

Galina Osetsimskaya, Moscow

These letters--we chose only the most characteristic ones--came to the editorial office at the end of last year. Alas, they lay on the editorial desk without moving and with seemingly silent reproach awaited an answer: well, all right, the newspaper spoke, but still what will happen with this new phenomenon of social life? What will happen with this unexpected splash of an artistic element of native creativity? After all, didn't the amateur masters share their own work, rather than the work of others, at exhibit-sales? But how many of them can be kept living from hand to mouth at the equestrian sports complex?

The letters awaited a concrete response from the Sevastopol Rayispolkom in Moscow. But people there did not wish to even answer the editorial office about the publication: as is obvious, the "Bittsa" artists exhibit, which could become an ornament to the rayon's cultural life and its prestigious sites, was not to their taste. Well, there is no arguing about taste, as they say. We are not making a reproach--it is too late to reproach, and, moreover, absurd. Common sense took over: we would have our "Montmartre" in the capital. Intelligent people were found--and a decision was found which was acceptable both to the talented ones and to their supporters.

The Moscow Soviet took the matter into their own hands.

I met with the secretary of the Moscow Soviet Ispolkom Yu.A. Prokofyev. Yuriy Anatolyevich said in brief:

"The 'Bittsa' artists have been assigned, with their consent, a permanent space--the picturesque island on the Izmaylovo Ponds among historical buildings of Peter's times. It is a kind of landscape-architectural museum, a place which involuntarily awakens the imagination. In addition, it is not far from the Izmaylovo Park metro station. It is true that some work still has to be done to fix things up (we are hoping for help from citizen volunteers); and a number of what are, frankly, rather difficult organizational and legal questions have to be resolved; perhaps we will use the experience of the Baltic Region... But the main thing has been accomplished--on Saturday and on Victory Day amateur paintings and drawings, wood carvings, engravings, and toys will have their May opening day in the open air in Izmaylovo. At 0900 hours, please come out...

It only remains for us to accept the invitation and on behalf of thousands of concerned readers thank the Moscow Soviet for the good deed. An answer in deed has always been the best of answers.

Ye. Zhbanov

12424

CSO: 1800/590

CONFLICTS BETWEEN GOSKINO, REPUBLIC STUDIOS INCREASING

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 87 p 3

[Article by Algimantas Brazaytis, chairman of Lithuanian SSR Goskino: "The Golden Mean: The Problems of the Cinematographer Again"]

[Text] The creative spark given by the 5th Congress of the USSR Cinematographers Union is not dying down. At the recent plenum of our Union controversy was not merely hot but boiling. This should be a cause for joy since not only truth but real art is born in controversy. But here is what constrains me from unreserved applause...

We look for those to blame for our losses and we easily find them among the bureaucrats and among the so-called "motion picture generals." But we have replaced the one and the other and, the next thing you know, the new ones are already trying on the mantle of untouchables. Because if the circumstances in which people formerly worked are not changed and if we do not shift from talk to real reorganization of the structure of management and the principles of planning, financing, and labor payment, the desired results will not occur.

My notes are the notes of an interested person. After giving many years to cinematography and now chairman of the republic's Goskino, I must take into account both bookkeeping and art. On the one hand is creativity, the depth of searching, respect for the individual artist, and so on. On the other is the plan, estimates, the length of the film, and the profit from rentals. That, you know, is like water and fire--impossible to unite, but you cannot do without the one or the other.

The stone we always stumble against and the stumbling block of good plans and ideas is the lack of democratic planning, self-management, and self-responsibility. For it is possible to make a bad movie and be among the leading writers--the evaluations are made higher up; it is important to have good relations with the leadership and it is possible to live in peace. And after all, it is easier to adapt oneself to the tasks of the leaders than to film a real movie. And it is safer.

How can this situation be surmounted (or overcome)--that is the subject of discussion now. Ideas of the complete independence of studios and their departments from film production are being advanced. It is proposed to switch

the cinema to self-financing and self-support [samookupayemost]. All this produces new worries. Let us say, self-support in small national cinematography is now impossible: few films are produced at republic studios and it is more complicated to balance artistic and commercial interests there. How can that be? How in light of that can the commercialization of motion pictures be avoided? That is precisely what has engendered mass anticulture and antiart in the West. Is there a guarantee that we will not repeat this experience? Assertions that we are not the West and therefore the "anti's" supposedly will not get through do not reassure me personally: guarantees in words without precise reckoning have let us down hundreds of times.

In art there is the concept of the greatest harmony--the golden mean. For movie producers the essence of it is that a film must be strictly controlled in terms of the number of episodes filmed, length, and number of words and pauses. That is, there should be nothing superfluous and nothing secondary which detracts from the main idea. This golden mean must also be defined in the management of our cinema.

Voices are heard saying that our old film cart moves slowly, but when we try to make changes--it is to our own detriment. They say, for example, that the "gospriemka" [state acceptance] system was introduced, and the intention is good, but industry is in an uproar. And it is in an uproar right now, and for some reason while in this uproar does not care to think about the bright tomorrow. Once at a conference I had to listen to comrades from local areas complaining: goats are grazing in the movie theaters, the studios are run down, the cadres are weak and the only hope is that Moscow will save us. Moscow will allocate everything, plan everything, build everything, provide everything.

We are used to observing that our art is multinational. And we give it a big plus for that. But does this really allow the republic to avoid concern for the development of all types of national art, including motion pictures? Central organs cannot and are simply not able to protect every movie theater so that goats do not wander in! I suppose that failures just struck USSR Goskino because we transferred to them all those things that should not have been transferred.

They say the national aspects in a film depend on the personality of the artist and not on the place it was filmed. In principle that is so but national uniqueness of art, including motion pictures, is determined by the various forms and levels of social consciousness and social relations. The artist is nourished by an enormous set of factors. No one can convince me that V. Zhalakyavichyus could film "No One Wanted to Die" outside Lithuania, or E. Ishmukhamedov could make "Farewell, the Green of Summer" outside Uzbekistan. Even though both of them rised an enormous layer of problems common to all mankind.

Today any employee of the republic's motion picture committee and studio can find the way from home to USSR Goskino and USSR Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcastng] blindfolded. We drive and fly to Moscow in order to try to solve almost everything. In 1986 alone there were 230 such trips from Vilnius to the capital!

Inasmuch as motion pictures are both an art and production, ways must be sought to include it organically in the system of the economy and the culture of each republic and raise local soviets' accountability for using motion pictures in the population's spiritual life. And the opportunities of the soviets are great, that I can confirm, based on the experience of Soviet Lithuania. In the last five-year plan period, seven movie theaters were built and four reconstructed. A new motion picture studio was built. The Lithuanian SSR Cinematographers Union and Goskino celebrated house-warming parties. A great deal of financial aid was received from the republic government and local organs of power to obtain motion picture equipment, furniture, and motor transport, to introduce automatic control systems in film rental, and the like. An extensive program of sociocultural construction was also formulated for the 12th Five-Year Plan period where motion pictures, as the most widespread of the arts, are given an appropriate role.

But now tell me--could the republic get all this from Goskino?

Most likely the deplorable situation at some national studios and in the motion picture system took shape not because there was too little centralization but because local party and soviet leadership avoided responsibility for the condition of the material-technical base of cinema and of culture on the whole. There is no denying that this is a convenient posture. I think that some republics are prepared to unconditionally hand over the planning and management of all cinematography to USSR Goskino out of a desire to play it safe and avoid responsibility.

In my opinion only redistribution of rights among USSR Goskino, the USSR Cinematographers Union, and local organs of state and public management of cinematography can insure the success of restructuring.

I understand how untimely this proposal is--local motion picture committees are now being severely and fairly criticized--suffice it to recall publications in IZESTIYA and other newspapers. Republic motion picture committees have too long played the role of agents under the thumb of USSR Goskino and local administrators of culture who claim to have the last word in art. Not as an excuse but for the sake of truth I will say that our right to vote was consultative, no more. There are already the standard examples of conflicts of Latvian cinematographers with USSR Goskino and of the Leningrad Documentary Film Studio with RSFSR Goskino. I could continue this list using our Lithuanian experience. Because of the subjective position of one or two Goskino editors the audience, even in Lithuania, has not seen the original versions of such films as "The Chronicle of One Day" (V. Zhalakyavichyus), "Feelings" (A. Grikyavichyus), and "June Is the Beginning of Summer" (R. Vabalas).

We can be reproached that we have not defended these and other films vigorously enough. But if administrators, even the most charming and democratic administrators, are to unanimously decide the fates of films now and in the future rather than collective organs and the artistic councils of studios, then there is no guarantee that intentional or unintentional mistakes will not be repeated.

The system for managing the cinema in a Union republic should be structured as a cost-accounting mechanism combining creativity and rental business. Rental especially needs to be democratized and local repertoire councils and audience councils must obtain the right to decide when and at what time to show the particular film.

The innumerable restrictions on film rental must be lifted. A new system of prices for tickets must be determined which takes into account the quality of the films and the conditions for showing them. Local organs to arrange movie showings must deal freely with film resources. It is a paradox that half a year after a picture comes out television can show it for free throughout the country, but the director of a motion picture network does not have the right to show that same film in the kolkhoz club after a meeting, even for 100,000 rubles!

With satisfaction I read in one of the recent decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the development of higher education that VUZes must use films in the educational process. And I thought: Is it possible that an end has finally come to the procedure where you have to get the consent of the ministry, GKNT [State Committee for Science and Technology], and Goskino just to shoot a 10-minute made-to-order film? Is it possible that the bureaucratic millstones which have pulverized initiative and independence for so many years have been stopped? Is it possible that, completely naturally, every film--artistic, documentary, or educational--will from now on be created, accepted, and paid for in the republic?...

A strange and unique situation has come about in documentary pictures. As a rule these films have a republic audience. But there are works which undoubtedly deserve a broad Union audience. Why not eliminate the annual all-Union auction and select documentary and perhaps artistic films for the national screen? And give these works incentive with economic benefits and prestige. After all, this is the lever which is capable of really reducing administrative abuse, opening up the range of creative competition, and strengthening the economy. And such restructuring requires no additional capital. All it requires is a sensible redistribution of the present cinema budget. This can save on not only capital but also scarce movie film.

In brief, it turns out that to carry out restructuring it is necessary to simply return to normal, repeatedly proven relations of trust and granting of independence. The draft Law on the State Enterprise now under discussion is in letter and spirit in complete keeping with the hopes of cinematographers. Hopes, I repeat, for independence, self-management, and complete trust in the collective.

12424

CSO: 1800/590

ROLE OF SCHOOLS IN DISCOURAGING ROCK MUSIC DISCUSSED

Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Apr 87 p 4

[Article by M. Molchanov, graduate student at the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, under the rubric "Art and Us": "An Hour in Class with a Tape Recorder"]

[Text] Boys, girls, a tape recorder. A familiar situation. A discotheque or a party among a circle of friends, a birthday. They play rock music to "jump around a bit" or listen and revive themselves with good spirits, and sometimes to drown their misfortunes in the roar of loudspeakers. They argue about favorite or disliked groups, while "heavy metalists," "breakdancers," and "new wavers" clash. They take notes and copy what they can get, without particularly thinking about the words, the inscriptions on the jackets, or the ideological baggage of the particular group.

However, this time the tape recorder was on the table in the school office. The topic of the meeting, planned as a debate with the older secondary students at a school in Kiev, proposed identifying rock music's place in the contemporary ideological struggle.

The debate did not come off, it is true. Maybe it was because the school environment prevented the rock fans from revealing themselves or maybe it was the inability to wage an argument, one of the shortcomings of our instruction. But most of all we are inclined to think that it happened because they listen to rock music but they know very little about it. In general the fellow at the table put on the cassette tape and we listened and discussed it. Mostly we heard "heavy metal" rock. At times this trend is called the music of 16-year-olds: thunderous percussion rolls, the roar of basses, and the wail of the solo guitar or synthesizer... The affection for all musical types of "heavy" rock is obvious at the older school age, especially among boys. It is precisely for this reason that bourgeois radio centers, attempting to use the interests of young people for their own purposes, lavishly alternate lies and slander against our system with "rock-dessert."

Naturally, even strictly entertaining rock music cannot remain on the sidelines of ideological battles. The title words of J. Lennon's popular song "Give Peace a Chance" are inscribed on a banner over the entrance to the UN building. And the record jackets of the "Kiss" group are covered with

swastikas. Such are the ideological stripes of rock and roll. The power of sound can mobilize youthful forces for necessary and important work. But it can also suppress them and fetter them, and what is even worse, direct them to the chasm of cruelty and violence and senseless aggression and torpor.

Intentionally or not, most Anglo-American representatives of "heavy rock" have proven to be in the camp of reaction. So it goes when personal convictions are reduced mainly to "making money." Sadism as a method of self-assertion, shamelessness instead of love, superstition instead of dreams--such distortion of the ideals of youth has become a kind of narrow specialization of commercial rock and roll. And if "Kiss" quotes Himmler and Goebbels from the stage and American neo-Nazis sing songs by the group "AC/DC" in their mobs, the question arises involuntarily: is the musical form itself being turned inside out under the influence of such content?

The kids started thinking when this subject came up. After the ironic retort: "So we listen to a group which is often cursed in our country," came the statement, "Yes, but in general they're not so popular, even in the West." Someone tried to allude to the "musical authority" of Seva Novgorodtsev. But this retort hung in the air after a short story about the life story of the renegade who became quite skilled at propaganda hostile to us concealed in news about rock music. It seems that while tuning in the radio station where this "music commentator" declaimed, they did not really think about the bait he was throwing out to young people. Familiarity with Western record companies' latest commodities suddenly opened up to them a mass of questions about the ideological polarization of "youth" music. Praise for the "high professionalism" of the rascals with guitars was replaced by perplexity: "So we can't even listen to them?"

What can you answer to that? The unequivocal "can't," which for a long time was the main "indoctrination" formula in relation to Western pop music has not been overcome everywhere even now and has not proven to be right. After all, prohibition merely kindles interest. I would like to say to the kids: figure it out for yourselves--can you stamp your feet and clap your hands when a foreign voice in the English language frightens you with nightmares figures of the world beyond the grave ("Iron Maiden," "Exodus," and other groups) or, let us say, makes an appeal "to kill Russians by the dozens, the hundreds, and the thousands" (the "Man of War" group). Think, is the concept of "good music" applicable to the group "Metallic," whose leader placed the "creative" accents in the following way: "... drinking and girls, drugs and money, the main one is money!--that's what we're interested in"? And do not forget that "noisy" groups do not so much differ from one another in the instruments or the arrangement as in the worldview of the creative work; this cannot be shrugged off out of ignorance of the language.

By the way, when many teachers attack the dance and music tastes of young people only because they themselves prefer waltzes, breakdancing, or Pete Seeger and Peter Townsend, this is also essentially being blinded by the external aspect of the affair and showing an unwillingness to get to the heart of it.

And there is one other aspect of our conversation. To the question addressed to the "heavy metallists"--what is the secret of the mastery of the fairly ordinary group you have just heard, they answered: "Just three people create this metal." But then, let's remember the recording equipment and studio engineers' skills. "It's not a studio group." Fine, what about the quality of the musical instruments and the amplifiers and sound transformers. Where is the art here? Nothing was said about innovative composition or the intellectual impact, or even the speed of the guitarist's fingers. Because there was nothing to say.

For the sake of fairness it must be noted that the kids included two or three really interesting numbers in their "program," including the ballad "Stairway to Heaven" by the group "Led Zeppelin," one of the rock standards of the last decade. But things that were dull and ideologically alien to us still predominated. Why? Comrade adults, let's make up our minds to explain this "why" with common efforts. It seems to me personally that we have been too little concerned with aesthetic indoctrination of the young generation. And if we are concerned, then we do not always know how to go about it.

The teacher who invited me to meet with her 10th graders admitted that she avoided arguing with them about music because she felt herself to be helpless and incapable of convincing them of anything because she was so poorly informed. And this was a person who was striving for mutual understanding with the students and tried to insure that they left the walls of the school ideologically staunch people. But where is this information supposed to come from if even those who are studying rock groups specially must extract information on them in fragments from various journals, primarily foreign ones. The teacher cannot find information on rock music in our libraries; it is not there. And the specialists who could carry on a conversation with the kids can be counted on one hand, even in the republic's capital. But after all the radios from which the music flows and the Seva Novgorodtsev's declaim are in Poltava and in Simferopol, and in the numerous villages of Ivanovka and Kalinovka. There radio and television must above all have their say. But foreign television variety programs are distinguished by devotion to those groups and performers who have already begun to be forgotten in their homeland. The impression is formed that the goal of such a selection is to divert the audience (listener) from foreign light music as a phenomenon. But in this way the young music lover is urged to seek programs on BBC and "Voice of America." Just recently we began to propagandize Soviet rock music appearing in the international arena. Up to this point Ukrainian television has essentially not had any fullfledged weekly television music program for young people. It is difficult to understand the timid appearance of certain subjects in the programs of the "Gart" and "Comrade" youth studios, which are for older secondary students.

Let us see, in addition, whether there are many opportunities for older students to informally interact with their peers and for leisure and spiritual growth in the unity of all three aspects. Are there many discotheques where they can not only "jump around a bit" and knock about but also listen (just listen) to interesting music after receiving an art specialist's skilled commentary on this music. But where are our militant students of art who are ready to argue? Who is working to train them? Where are those music clubs,

cafes, parlors, call them what you like, where one could have a heart-to-heart talk, hear, see, and find out something necessary and interesting? So that those who want to drink their cup of coffee do not breathe down someone's neck, and so they do not have to look for entertainment "in a shack"?

The kids raised many of these questions during our class hour. And if we really want to mold the worldview guideposts of young people, they must be resolved.

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CSO: 1800/590

ABKHAZIAN WRITER INTERVIEWED ON SURVIVAL OF TRADITIONS

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 4, Apr 87 (signed to press 24 Feb 87) pp 5-7

[Interview with Georgiy Guliya, Abkhazian writer, conducted by staff correspondent Adrian Rozanov, under rubric "Practice: Experience, Problems": "An Apatskha Is Not So Simple..."; time and place of interview not given; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] In Abkhaziya people say: "A real man is concerned with everything." This saying comes to mind when you talk with Georgiy Guliya--a railway transportation engineer, painter, writer, journalist and public figure. His trilogy "Druzya iz Sakena" [Friends From Saken] and his collection "Kashtanovyy dom" [The Chestnut House] told about the good changes that took place in the mountain villages of Abkhaziya in the '40s and '50s. Turning to the history of his native region, G. Guliya wrote the novella "Cherniye gosti" [Black Guests] and the novel "Vodovorot" [Whirlpool]. The range of his interests is extremely wide, and the protagonists in a number of his novels live and act in ancient countries--Egypt, Greece, Rome. However, no matter what region of the earth G. Guliya is telling about, he usually cites facts pertaining to that country's connections with his native Black Sea coast--with the village of Kolkhida and the fortress port of Dioskuriya (which stood, evidently, near the current Abkhazian village of Skurchi). In his writing the author affirms the spiritual kinship of honest and good people on our planet. In a conversation with the magazine's correspondent Adrian Rozanov, Georgiy Guliya reflected about the place in the life of present-day Abkhaziya that is occupied by ancient folk traditions, customs and rituals. The interview begins with the writer's question.

[Text] [Guliya] Do you know what an apatskha is?

[Rozanov] From your books I know that it's the dwelling of an Abkhazian peasant.

[Giliya] It's a hut. Its walls are made of brush and its roof of reeds. In the middle is a hearth, above which is an opening where the smoke escapes. Around the hearth are low little tables and benches. A pathetic structure, isn't it? But Abkhazian huts stood for a long time, and our ancestors lived in them for 100 years or longer. Abkhaziya has always been famous for

longevity. I decided I wanted to build an apatskha in the yard of my home. I invited an old carpenter Khasan and explained that I needed a simple apatska such as the poorest Abkhazians lived in.

"Which will stand for 200 years?"

"Why 200?"

"The poor people built theirs to last only 200."

"So, 200."

"Then write: 11 logs, six and a half meters each--we'll make the beams from them. Write: 109 laths a bit thicker and longer. For that you need chestnut trees, which grow on the mountain beyond the village of Arasadzykh."

"That's 80 kilometers away!"

"That's where the poor people got theirs. Write further: Will the roof be made of yesyr reeds? You get yesyr reeds only in the Mokva. Stone for the hearth comes from Saken or Dzhegrda."

"Khasan," I interrupted him, "I don't need a palace but a hut!"

"That's the way the poor people built theirs."

A good custom doesn't grow old, because it concentrates in itself the age-old experience of the people. The meaning of human life lies in work. There is no joy in working for the sake of easy gain and ephemeral pleasure. Only labor in which you invest your heart and a high degree of skill is worthy of respect. It presupposes responsibility to your children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. So, even the apatskha is by no means as simple as it might seem at first glance. In the same way, a proverb or saying incorporates the results of lengthy reflections.

[Question] In your novella "Dobryy gorod" [The Good City] the young Abkhazian man says that in his native Saken there are so many tales that there are not enough days to hear them all, more legends than drops of water in springs, and more legends than stones on the seashore. In your opinion, which work of Abkhazian folk literature incorporates the people's spiritual experience most fully?

[Answer] From the time I was a boy I can recall the folk epics about the Nart Sasrykva and his 99 brothers. The inhabitants of northern Kolkhida, the ancestors of the present-day Abkhazians, called themselves Narts. The Nartian tales--they have now been collected in a large book--embodied the important aspects of the people's life. For centuries foreign conquerers tried repeatedly to force the Abkhazians off their native land, and in the 19th century several attempts were made to move them forcibly to the territory of Turkey. And when the reciter of the Nartian tales told how the hero Sasrykva yearned for his homeland, how he would repeat, "I want only to go to Apsny," his words found an ardent response in the hearts of the listeners seated

around the hearth in a poor apatskha , or around a shepherd's fire in the mountains. The tales about the Narts instilled in people a confidence in the triumph of justice.

[Question] Were the heroes of the Nartian legends considered to be beings of a higher order, some kind of deities?

[Answer] No. Our tales portray their heroes as living human beings to whom nothing human is alien. Of course, the hero experienced tremendous joy and immeasurable sorrow. But the grandeur of the hero brothers was combined with ordinary human weaknesses. Thus, Sasrykva once grew conceited and started to imagine that he was stronger than anyone on earth. The wise Satanya-Guasha, his mother, didn't like boasting. And in accordance with her will, Sasrykva soon suffered a defeat and learned that his strength could be overcome and that it was dangerous to fall into arrogance. The lesson was not in vain--Sasrykva became smarter and kinder.

The lives of the famous heroes are full of vicissitudes. Sasrykva is pursued by the envy of his brothers; he loses his sons; and his favorite wife dies. Finally he himself parts with life. Born from a stone and forged in boiling iron, he nonetheless perishes like a simple mortal.

In telling about the heroes, the folk tales and legends reminded people about the moral ideal to which they should strive, of honesty, justice, the ability to overcome weaknesses, and the constant readiness to repulse their enemies.

[Question] In our times books, movies, television, the newspapers and magazines would seem to have eclipsed the modest tellers of the Nartian legends, but many Abkhazians say that there is a terrible shortage of these tellers.

[Answer] I have seen many great rivers--the Volga, the Nile and the Rhine. But nowhere have I been able to forget the cool spring alongside the little house of my old friend, the Abkhazian peasant Tandel Zhanaa. You bend down to it and take a couple of swallows, and it's as though 50 years have fallen from your shoulders. The past, present and future of mankind are a single process, a single organism in which everything is interconnected. At one time we undertook too zealously to destroy the old, thinking that in that way we were clearing the path for the new. But genuine culture takes centuries to develop, and it cannot be built on an barren spot. Now we sometimes do not know where to escape from "cultural consumer goods" passed off as modern, fashionable art. Crashing, spiritually empty music, tasteless dances and mindless television reviews pollute our spiritual environment the same way some industrial enterprises that have been built without concern and worry for tomorrow pollute the natural environment. We must do everything we can to protect the sources of the people's wisdom, the treasury of folk customs and traditions.

[Question] But in Abkhaziya, as in other regions, folk customs based on superstitions and belief in otherworldly forces have been preserved. What should be done about them?

[Answer] Take what is useful and throw out what is unacceptable and harmful. Do you know, for example, about the Abkhazian custom of reconciliation? A beautiful custom! I have taken part in that rite more than once. I can see it right now: Starting at dawn, men, women and children congregate at the foot of the Dydrypsh Mountain. In a grove at the foot of the mountain meat and polenta are cooked in kettles. The purpose of the gathering is to reconcile two neighbors who have been separated by a quarrel for many years. The ceremony begins with one of the oldest and most esteemed mountain people publicly telling about the reason for the quarrel. Butba's cow quit giving milk. Thinking it over, the esteemed Butba came to the conclusion that his cow had been given the evil eye by a neighbor named Bazba. Some tiresome gossip told him that she herself had seen how the neighbor gave the cow a bad look. From that enmity developed between the two families, which has had a bad effect on the life of the whole village, since the whole village consists of relatives of Butba and relatives of Bazba. And although the cow has long since been giving milk again (praise to the district veterinarian!), and although esteemed Butba and Bazba have long realized that the reason for their quarrel was absurd and unworthy of mountain people, their pride has prevented them from making up.

"Let them come forward!" shout the participants in the gathering. "Let everyone see them!"

Butba and Bazba come forth from the crowd and bow to everyone. Then they each tear a leaf off the tree and throw the leaves over a hurdle, thereby showing that the quarrel was silly and their offenses are now gone forever. Before the sacred Dydrypsh Mountain, the recent enemies swear that they will be candid and honest before their fellow villagers, shake each other's hands, embrace and kiss. And then a big feast begins.

You may say that the fact that the Dydrypsh Mountain is capable of punishing someone who violates an oath plays a role in the ceremony. That's true. However, I think that ancient notions concerning the existence of some sort of mystical forces take a secondary place here to something more important: the worldly folk wisdom of the custom, which helps protect society from petty discord. It seems to me that there is nothing bad in the fact that Dydrypsh Mountain remains a symbol of reconciliations. It's like the New Year's fir tree, which is a legacy from the ancient custom of worshiping trees. You understand, it's one thing when a speaker from a podium or a broadcaster on a television screen says correct words about the need to live in harmony. It's something else entirely when you yourself take part in the establishment of amicable relations between people. Such a form of human intercourse creates a joyous mood that lasts more than any month--years later people will remember how they reconciled Butba and Bazba, and that it is easier for the whole community together to do good.

[Question] I recall your novel "Sulla," in which the ancient Roman commander takes on a campaign a soothsayer who can predict the outcome of a battle from the entrails of a sheep. But that was 2,000 years ago! Yet I myself have seen how people on the Abkhazian coast of the Black Sea, in the Sukhumi region, briskly buying photocopies of horoscopes and various types of

divinations, which were being obligingly offered by some sort of shady individuals.

[Answer] I think that these "goods" are mainly bought not by local residents but by people visiting the health resort--that should be kept in mind. Now, as in the past, illness and mutilation have "stirred up" faith in the miraculous.

Granted, belief in the evil power coexists with television sets and space flights. In other countries magicians and wizards are invited to soccer games so that they can help (for a high honorarium!) one team or another gain a victory. That happened even at the last world championship in Mexico.

In our country, too, there are a good many people who seek to solve the most complex problems in the simplest ways--to cure themselves of severe illnesses with the help of a psychic who supposedly possesses a powerful "biofield", or to make someone love them with the help of magic. These hopes have their psychological and social causes, but to blame good folk traditions for this is naive. Incidentally, even in those popular beliefs in which there is a strong mystical element, one can also find common sense and worldly experience. Remember the Abkhazian "Song of Wounding." It was performed by the bed of a wounded soldier and by the bed of someone who was sick. Old people told me: "That song is as sweet as honey. When people hear it you can cut out any bullet that has lodged in the body with a knife, and the person won't hurt at all." I have met people to whom that song was sung, and it really did relieve their suffering. Mysticism? Nothing of the sort. The selection of words and the rhythms have a soothing effect. Today similar methods are used by psychotherapy; and personal experience says the same thing: a patient frequently feels relief from a mere conversation with a sensitive and knowing doctor.

[Question] In learning about Abkhazian legends, popular beliefs and folk customs, I marveled at something: How did the Abkhazians, with their stable set of pagan ideas, become Christians?

[Answer] Christianity came to Abkhaziya in the first centuries, A.D. This is reflected in folk tales. Let me recall the parable of Simon Kananita, who, according to legend, was the first to appear in the land of the ancient Abkhazians to preach the new faith. For three whole days Simon told the tribal leaders of northern Kolkhida the story of the New Testament Christ and his teaching, which was triumphantly marching throughout the world, smiting unbelievers and casting down idols. Therefore, he said, the Abkhazians needed to promptly adopt Christianity and turn to the true faith. "Let's think it over!" said the mountain people's leaders, and they withdrew for a conference. That's what the legend says. Then they summoned Simon and answered him: "You say: here's your lord from the cradle to your dying breath. You say: here's your lord even beyond the grave. But can a person born of woman rule a person even beyond the grave? No! That's what we Abkhazians say. You promise us eternal slavery. Reflecting on your words, we have decided: in order to keep the poisonous seed of your words from putting out shoots on our land, to put you to death!"

[Question] Nonetheless, the Abkhazian people adopted Christianity.

[Answer] A study of the Abkhazians' history shows that they, while formally adopting Christianity, to all intents and purposes remained pagans--with their popular beliefs, ceremonies and rituals, even with their own names. The mountain people had their own name for my grandfather Iosif--Urys. My father, Dmitriy Guliya, had the "blood" name of Gach. My father took on his shoulders the extremely difficult job of public education--he drew up the Abkhazian alphabet and laid the foundations of our people's written literature; he collected and recorded folk songs, tales and legends and tried to preserve the customs that are the soul of Abkhaziya. At the same time, my father was in the civil service and was a teacher. He was the one who was given the job of translating the Gospels into the Abkhazian language. As you see, the contradictions that determined a great deal in the life of the whole people manifested themselves distinctly in the life of one of its sons, as well. Father approached the New Testament books in a strictly scholarly fashion, as a literary monument. He studied ancient Greek and Arabic languages in order to compare the Bible with the Talmud and the Koran. Father performed his work extremely conscientiously, but the Gospels still did not become popular among the Abkhazians.

[Question] From every indication, customs associated with extremely important events in human life have preserved a special national coloring in Abkhaziya.

[Answer] I can envision an Abkhazian wedding. Its ceremonies made it possible to disclose, with merry inventiveness, every conceivable talent--at dancing, horseriding, dressing the carcass of a bull, preparing polenta. A whole firework show of competitions! No special invitation was required to attend a wedding--the whole village considered it its duty to help the young couple and share in their joy. Nonetheless, weddings cost, as they say, a pretty penny, and many poor people were forced to postpone them: they didn't have the money. Granted, in that case it was possible to stage an abduction of the bride--it spared people a costly ceremony.

[Question] In the city of Ochamchira I came across a street that was completely dammed up with a crowd and cars. It was explained to me that Abkhazians were burying an esteemed elderly woman. Her relatives had come from all over the republic. A folk custom! Such respect for a person is extremely touching, I thought. But isn't a sense of measure lost here?

[Answer] An Abkhazian funeral is a serious business. The coffin is set up in the yard of the home under an awning, and long rows of benches are placed around it for the guests. For several days countless numbers of people come. After mourning the deceased, the men gather in groups and hold conversations on the most diverse topics. Business meetings are held. Even trick riding shows are put on in memory of the deceased. All this is supposed to show that life goes on. I think that such a custom has its splendid aspects, but it also has its bad ones. Unfortunately, in our times there are people for whom a funeral is an occasion to shirk work. However, genuine grief should not serve as a camouflage for loafers, and there are ways of reminding them about conscience.

[Question] In short, every folk custom should be regarded, as they say, intelligently, critically.

[Answer] Most customs express the soul of the people and its lofty morality. A custom concentrates the rules of the community, of honor, decency and worthy conduct. However, I would like to conclude our conversation, as custom dictates, with a cheerful parable.

For some time my good friend Granddaddy Rufet had changed. It may have been connected with his years, although they were not all that many--some nine decades or so. One time he invited friends to dinner. They asked him: "What time is dinner?" In former times, when the single clock of "Pavel Bure" served a third of the population of Abkhaziya, it was easy to answer that question: "When the sun sets over the top of the poplar." But nowadays you give an hour. And Granddaddy said: "At three sharp." His friends turned up around four. The next time he invited guests for supper. He asked: "When are you coming?" He was told: "In the evening." And he said: "Evening is a loose notion. At what time?" "At seven." But instead of seven we sat down to the table at nine. In the spring guests showed up at our place again. A tape recorder was playing, and the table was set under a nut tree. Suddenly Granddaddy stood up at the head of the table and called the guests--and there were hardly any of them to speak of, not even a third of them yet! Granddaddy ordered: "Everyone sit down!" The relatives looked at one another, and everyone thought to himself: "Damned sclerosis!" But Granddaddy, just imagine, announced: "We invited people for dinner at 4:00 p.m. precisely, and it's already 4:07. I ask everyone who is here to sit down." Someone said: "That's not according to custom. We ought to wait." Granddaddy got downright fierce: "How long do you order us to wait? An hour? An hour and a half? I declare a new custom: show up on time!" Grandmother tried to object: "In our mountains people have always waited for their guests." But Granddaddy stood his ground: "Maybe in yours. But in ours this is how it will be: You accept an invitation, then kindly be on time. We must value time. Both our own and the other person's!"

So, let us always make an adjustment for the times and take their requirements into account. Only then can we develop the fine old traditions and free ourselves from the harmful and obsolete ones.

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CSO: 1830/532

OGONEK EXAMINES POLISH EXAMPLE OF PUBLIC OPINION STUDY

Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 10, Mar 87 (signed to press 3 Mar 87) pp 26-27

[Article by Vladimir Kovalev, special correspondent of OGONEK: "Sociology: The Polish Variant. On the Utility of Discussion and the Experience of the Study of Public Opinion"]

[Text] Through the snow storm, under the computer rhythm of the wheel sets, the fast "Polonaise" whirled along. In one compartment, next to the author of these lines, there turned out to be a bearded physicist, who for the fourth year has been working with colleagues from the socialist countries in Dubna, and a lean resident of Warsaw, an expert on questions of planning from the CEMA apparatus in Moscow. Over evening tea a discussion developed, which passed smoothly from the weather anomalies of the present winter and the forecasts of the weather forecasters to a discussion of the political and economic situation in our countries and about what to expect in the future. An argument dragged on. After midnight, without suspecting it, the three of us, taking into account the changes that are taking place, already composed our "social forecast" of what is desirable and necessary, as it seemed to us, for the further movement forward. And hardly anyone of the interlocutors was ashamed of his own naivete--in some aspects it crept in all too openly--in those forecasts.

"The forecasts give hope," I called to mind the words of the well-known writer on the train. "If they are convincing"--I wanted to add on my own and try to understand a little. Of course, both lack of faith and reckless faith are equally alien to reason. A reasonable prognosis to spite the soothsayer and odious promises is what distinguishes the philosophy of the new optimism that is springing up today.

The manifestation of this philosophy--a sign of the times--I tried to find in Poland, a country where a number of years ago a splash of social euphoria took place, which was deprived, if one may say so, of economic props. The assertions about an earthly paradise carried away many, but disillusionment came to all equally quickly. The momentary, without scientific pretension for the years ahead with regard to the "human factor", turned into intellectual ferment, stresses, pessimism. . . . If the forces of regress already showed themselves openly, the vanguard of the nation--the Polish United Workers' Party--sees its urgent task in the most rapid overcoming of the negative trends. At the end of the past year, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United

Workers' Party gave special attention to the structural transformations and promulgated the draft of the reforms called upon to bring order in the shaken economy. A conscientious approach to business, interest and responsibility--here are the points of departure of the campaign for renewal.

Without honesty and openness, any renewal gets bogged down; for this reason the party is developing forms of dialogue with every member of society. Present is the willingness to cooperate with all social groups and strata making their contribution to the formation of public opinion. What is it in the Polish People's Republic today? What is the essence of the methods of its study and is it subjected to study at all? Are people in the country satisfied with their own sociologists and how do the scholars themselves assess themselves? To investigate this complex of questions was difficult, as well as interesting.

My Work in My Collective

The working man in Poland is respected. For a quarter of a century, a whole scientific research institute has been interested in his material well-being and spiritual comfort, and in recent years has literally protected it. Not a day passes that the problems of production and the place of man in it are not openly and extensively discussed on radio, television, and in the press. Various subjects are touched upon: From questions of full and rational employment, the qualifications of cadres, the policy of their selection, and labor incomes to the role of microcomputers in the sphere of employment--the search, with their help, for work places, and the extra charge of wages. The aspect of the perfection of a single system of individual and collective labor--with the questions of self-management, the activity of the trade unions, demography, family, youth, and other components of social policy--have suddenly become one of the passionately discussed aspects.

Antoni Raykevich, professor and doctor of economics, introduced me to a circle of people engaged in passionate discussion, that is people defending their opinion. At one time he occupied the post of minister of labor, then he left the administrative chair and took up pure science. Today Raykevich is in charge of an important link in the mechanism of the regulation of the economy --the Institute of Labor and Social Research. This is along his line of work--how do we work? How much do we earn? Who receives through blood and sweat, and to whom--manna from heaven? To this kind of research, people submit with extreme reluctance; you see, many answers pertain to what is secret. At the same time, had it not been for the details, a part of the social attitudes turns out to be for the family with seals. . . .

"I will give you interesting data: In Poland there are more than 1,000 highly-paid factories, large and small," the director of the institute began the conversation. In construction and industry, more than one and half million people receive rather good wages--quite a few for our country. Public discussions about money in this milieu were never considered a subject unworthy of pronouncement for a broad verdict. Today the discussion of price indexes has become common, and people's own wages and the prestigiousness of the post being occupied are hardly dominating. Why?

Investigating, we ascertained: There is salt in the bonus payments. In many enterprises, the system of their extra charges has not been revised for decades and has spread in such a way that the bonus rates began to exceed wage rates by several times, not to speak of payment for the value of the product actually produced. Understand what is happening! Working pell-mell, a man expects twice a month, not wages, but. . . rewards for what has not been done. The economist will call this the direct road to inflation, the sociologist will point out the sharp dissatisfaction in the case of the elimination of this system of fictitious payment, which is advantageous to many, but disadvantageous for the economy."

"There is, apparently, no bottleneck situation. Abolish obvious stupidity, explain innovation. . . ."

"For a long time, alas, innovations frightened us. Sharp corners were smoothed over, it was believed that you do not ask workers anything about labor, that you only need to pay it. Today we have found ourselves face to face with a problem whose solution is not simple. Do you see, it is necessary to painlessly remove additional monetary incentives from where there is no real use to society behind them, the very use which is important to the worker from another factory, to a mother with a child, the pensioner, the school child. . . ."

"You said 'painlessly'. That is?"

"Not through the weighing of the order of the administration about this and that, but a discussion in the collective. I am in general against any rigid model which has not been tested by practice and is subject to mandatory introduction. As for myself, I can only propose sketches, if you will, outlines. . . . How well in the world of fashion, where the fantasy of the modeller is guided by the wishes of the customer, is it not so? Now you will hardly induce by force a suit to be worn which is not sewn according to the figure."

Discussions, arguments. . . . From the philosophical point of view, they are the path to finding the truth. The sociologist acknowledges the variance so necessary in the development of objective public opinion. But where is the watershed which introduces clarity, who is to resume the discussions and arguments and when? Drop the work for the sake of a nebulous truth? How many examples do we find in Poland alone!

"The period of this 'infantile disorder', fortunately, is behind us," Raykevich acknowledged. "The enemies of socialism hardly profited by it. The hour is not far when we will learn to search for what unites us in the presence of all our differences from one another. And to judge not only about the brigade at the plant, but about each one of its members personally; not about the family as 'the cell of society', but about the husband, the wife, and the children, who make up the family. Here you have the 'human factor' in the conditions of socialism, and, true, the Polish social variant can draw a great deal from the experience of the operation of the labor collectives in the USSR."

"Labor is a moral category," I wrote in my notebook the last words of the professor, who was torn away from the conversation by an abrupt phone call. After having excused himself, he went over a plan for a trip to Plotsk, to the petrochemical combine, with someone in Russian. The Institute of Labor in Warsaw

and the Moscow Scientific Research Institute of Labor have jointly developed a sociological program for the study of labor collectives in analogous factories in Poland and the USSR. In our country the Novopolotsk Chemical Combine in Belorussia was selected. With respect to the urgent problems of the day, a study has already been developed whose result must become the collective monograph "The Role of the Human Factor in the Increase of Labor Productivity."

Is it of interest to you how such sociological research and analogous research is carried out? In the Polish People's Republic it has been going on for almost three decades. . . .

"Fill In the Questionnaire, Please. . . ."

The last time I came, there was a vacant plot of land in this place. Now a supermodern Polish Roman-Catholic Church built of glass and concrete has appeared and directed the steeples of its spires towards the heavens. To the ringing of its bells, I am walking along the street searching for a cafeteria--somewhere here was the Sweetshop pani Barbary with the most delicious pastries made of light dough. And here it is, in the corner a television is flickering, some middle-age men are gathered around the screen. What are they watching? There is a direct transmission about the economic reforms.

There are no people who are indifferent, in the reforms lies the future of the country. They are the constructive proposal of the party to its people, which had grown tired of differences and on the whole understood: The making of claims against the doctor alone does not save from illness. The changes in economic policy are devoid of a stern directive character. In essence, a broad discussion is taking place, from which already now it is clear: On the personal attitude of everyone in his post depends what life will be like in 3, 5, and 20 years.

In terms of style, the discussion of the economists and scholars behind "the round table" may seem down to earth. No moralization, no ready-made prescriptions of conduct. Anyone who has the desire with their opinion, regardless of age, is invited to participate in the television program. At any moment, one can dial a number, call the studio, raise a question, or dispute this or that thesis.

From the general gradually the particular is singled out, many are interested in the details of plant and factory self-management, the development of the independence of the food complex on the new principles. . . . The transmission goes on for a long time, the leader does not cut the discussion short and does not hurry anyone. On the basis of the remarks of the visitors of the cafeteria, I become convinced: They are in agreement, as if their opinion sounded from the screen in conclusion. You will remain satisfied if you find authoritative (in the concrete case--television) confirmation of your own order of thoughts.

"Understand, in recent years irreversible processes have taken place in the consciousness of our people, they refuse to accept much on faith!" I remember the passionate rejoinder of the bearded physicist, one of my fellow-travellers.

True, to serve reason is much more pleasant, especially if one finds himself in constant development and aspires to harmony. The possessor of an integral reasonable system repudiates the shallow replacement of some values with others, and in their overestimation perceives only the elementary laws of the dialectic. Which again without independent thinking will never be correctly understood, and man falls into dependence on one or another social mechanism or model.

"The Soviet and world progressive fantasy of the 1920's, as it were, foresaw the vice that will grip foolish man. Yuriy Olesha, Bernhard Kellerman, Aleksey Tolstoy. . . . It is sufficient merely to extend their "mechanized" systems to the bureaucratic social ones. . . , Professor Albin Kanya, the director of the Center for the Study of Public Opinion of Polish Radio and Television Broadcasting, introduced me to the essence of the matter. Through his literary introduction the professor convinced me of the necessity to learn to avert and to slow down the avalanche processes, not only in the economic system, but also in the humanistic milieu.

"We have been studying Polish society intensively and consistently beginning in 1958," my interlocutor continued. "Taking into account the accumulated experience, an analogous government Center at the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic was created 4 years ago."

"For the time being, your management interests us more, professor. People watch two television programs, listen to three radio programs from Warsaw, write you letters, and already according to them. . . ."

"Precisely not, you are mistaken. Not from a single one of our directors or people in charge will you hear the words: From your letters we can judge how you regard these or those problems."

The director is convinced--his conviction is based on the results of many years of research--letters of appraisal to radio and television have lost the significance which they had in the not so remote past. Man is so loaded down physically, morally, and intellectually to such a degree that his attempts to set forth an objective opinion on a piece of paper almost always suffer a fiasco. In spite of everything, a superficial, subjective approach prevails."

One can, you see, once and for all hurt the person who nevertheless wants to express himself in writing."

"We do not prohibit writing, good God, no, moreover, we are constantly waiting for letters from our correspondents! We simply have some other traditions of work. A group of letters will become a point of countdown, a signal, on the basis of which the sociologist, if he considers it important, will begin his work. On the basis of the results, scientific deductions and generalizations will be made.

Every week we receive questionnaires with replies to our questions from a thousand people from all over Poland. The Group "1,000" is selected in such a way that it represents in miniature a model of society, more correctly, that

that part of it which listens to the radio and watches television. The composition of the group is constantly changing, and our activists are engaged in the distribution of the questionnaire--in the provinces 500 people and in the capital 100 people, as a rule, students of the last courses of the faculties of sociology.

"What has so massive an investigation of the audience given and with what has it helped?"

"To raise the level of the programs qualitatively and the confidence in them, to diversify with respect to form. The surveys helped us to become oriented in the attitudes of the various categories of society. Expanding the range of questions in the questionnaires literally taking into account the personal qualities of the people surveyed--for example, concerning the motivation of one act or another--we are glad that recently, during the assessment of the broadcasts, a coincidence of "supply" and "demand" is present. This was the case, for example, with the new information program "Teleexpress".

"How to get a person interested in answering the questions of a questionnaire --one of which I saw, this is much more difficult than to guess in a totalizer?"

"Those who have expressed agreement, during the period of "work for us" are freed from the subscription payment and even themselves receive a certain sum of money."

"Does it prove possible to avoid mistakes and failures?"

"First of all, if we did not make mistakes, there would be nothing to learn. The very same people from the Group "1,000" point them out to us. Secondly, through such "feedback", we have attained that 98 percent of the population listen to and watch the first programs of radio and television for a minimum of 2 hours a day. Only some 5 to 7 years ago, we could not even dream about such a figure. . . .

No doubts arose in my mind about the humanistic character of the service directed by Albin Kanya. I dare say, skeptics will be found who are prepared to object, they say: "No 'Americas', to entirely usual methods of sociological services that are accepted in many civilized countries." The methodology of filling out questionnaires, I agree, may have analogies. However, on the example of Poland's radio and television (a similar system among the socialist countries is operating in Hungary), we are beginning to talk about the necessity of the acceptance, in our new conditions on a state-wide scale, systems of support for real public opinion. As I had to convince myself, in the Polish People's Republic it is formed in a far from simple manner: Clerical dogmas which took place previously, non-scientific assumptions of a voluntaristic turn of mind which had established themselves in the consciousness, moreover, residues of the antisocialist underground operating from the "black run", an ether choked up with "promptings" and "advice". . . . The situation significantly influences the will of patriotically-inclined citizens.

And nevertheless, the choice of the main mass of the population has been made. Civic responsibility in broad circles is much stronger than the appeals of the

Western "radio voices" or the same "opposition" within the country. In the publications of the Center, in the quarterly and weekly publications published by it, this new opinion of the people is defended, without the once popular statistical mediation, the calculation of the "average arithmetical" and empirical comparison with the same "average. . ." of some remote year. In the results that are being published, a place is found for the opinion of the single-solitary person, who, according to his opinion, responds for example, to the question: "Attitude toward the limited sale of wine and vodka products." (Anonymity is maintained.)

When the People Makes the Choice

The popular weekly KULTURA, on the eve of the opening of the party plenum on reforms of the economy, published an extensive interview with the director of the government center for the study of public opinion, Professor Stanislav Kvyatkovskiy. In the interview they also talked about the so-called all-Polish polls practiced by the center with groups of 1,500 people each, representing all strata of the population. . . . Doctor Kvyatkovskiy, as the associates of the center explained, from morning till night takes part in commissions of the government on the elaboration of ways of realizing the reforms. Yezhi Yarmolkovich, academic secretary of the center and candidate of science, agreed to receive me and talk to me.

"I read about the abilities of your director to develop, in the course of a few days after the conclusion or on the eve of an important event, a prognosis concerning precisely what society thinks about this event."

"If he could do this shutting himself off in his office by himself, he would be given the diploma of a prophet. In general, our center is not large: Approximately 80 scientists--sociologists, mathematicians, statisticians, pedagogues, and economists--in the capital, and several hundred persons working with the questionnaires throughout the country. There is coordination of research in every province [voevodstvo]."

"The public opinion survey services, such as the Gallup Institute in the United States and the MORI Service in England and similar centers, are widely used in the developed countries. . . ."

"But there the individual and his opinion are admitted as integrated into a system of individualistic, disconnected relations being controlled by the monopolies. The individual opinion in the West will never become the guidance for action of the ruling apparatus. The leadership, perhaps, is interested in public opinion, but not for the purpose of checking its actions in accordance with it, but to skillfully maneuver between the peaks of public dissatisfaction. Not long before his death, the founder of the center for survey research in the United States, G. Gallup, acknowledged the practical helplessness of his service, which is extremely popular, but only serves for the verification of facts, a kind of "statistical administration" with expanded possibilities."

"And what subjects of research that not only verify, but also form public opinion, have been selected for the 4 years that have passed since the establishment of the center?"

"The most diverse, we have conducted about 70 of them," the academic secretary states. "Here, for example, the opinions on the course and the decisions of the 10th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, we elucidated during the summer of the past year, and a little earlier--the position of people with respect to various forms of social pathology, such as heavy drinking, drug addiction, crime. . . . An individual investigation during the spring of the past year was "Youth About Itself and About Its Future."

On the eve of the elections to the people's councils (1984) and to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic (1985), we were asked to elucidate the activeness of the voters being proposed, what percent of them will go to the polls to vote? You see, if you remember, Western radio choked with prophecies to the effect that people would be driven to the [election] districts by force. Parallel to us, the center of Albin Kanya put together a prognosis, and the independent results, theirs and ours, coincided with the real ones, with a permissible error of one and a half (!) percent. Since that time, there has been no let-up of orders, and since all data are published, it is possible to verify their correctness. One might as well talk about public confidence in us, which is not possible without high qualifications of the staff members of the center."

. . . The difficult and important undertaking, which has now announced its presence in a full voice, an extremely necessary attribute of a people's democracy--a support on public opinion without attempts of being arranged under an invented scheme of social development, established itself in far from hot-house conditions. To the aktiv of the Polish sociologists, I will boldly put down one important quality of theirs, the value of which history has yet to determine and render to the country's service. Respecting, as one should, the foreign views, they taught many, very many Poles to respect the opinions of others. Positive social trends smooth over recent divisions, "settling" according to corners, the violent opposition of some social groups to others.

And here tranquillity is written into the social lexicon among the constants of the social policy of the party. In his time, General Wojciech Jaruzelski called for 90 days of tranquillity, even 2-3 years ago this word could not be applied to Polish society. But now it defines the integral public mood and directly influences public opinion on all questions.

Today one cannot doubt its objectivity! When the chief center for public opinion research, at the end of the past year asked an additional question in the questionnaires: "What is most of all necessary for Poland and for Poles?" nearly all answers sounded identical: "Tranquillity." This answer was encountered two to three times more often than about better supply of the market, the improvement of living conditions, and the increase of wages.

It was precisely tranquillity, and not apathy, which made it possible to take the first step in the necessary direction. Critically reinterpreted history--here is the distinctive impulse for general progress. Behind the trial lies a complicated and difficult period in the history of a socialist state. Hence no cloudless years ahead. . . . The more important in the conditions of today is the thought about the applied significance of the forecasts. Now they do not give out advances in Poland, they do not pour out a shower of promises,

and positive statements. Any prognosis, when it appears, reflects public opinion, repeatedly adjusted by sociological science. It does not matter that outwardly the prognoses are slightly dryish, without window-dressing and fanfare. If a person perceives absolute objectivity in any of them, it precisely also gives hope. The movement forward will be secured.

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CSO: 1830/457

SOCIAL ISSUES

PROCURACY OFFICIAL DECRIES RISE IN MOONSHINE PRODUCTION

Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 21 Mar 87 p 3

[Interview with USSR Deputy Procurator Viktor Vasilyevich Naydenov by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondent A. Petrov: "The Moonshiner Throws Down The Gauntlet"; date and place not specified; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Having come to the "rescue" of alcohol fans during times difficult for them, the moonshiner has, in essence, thrown down a challenge to our society, which has set itself the task of using all means to cure itself of that greatest of social ailments called drunkenness. This means that an uncompromising struggle against the moonshiner must also be waged through the joint efforts of society and its administrative organs. In a conversation with our correspondent, USSR Deputy Procurator V. Naydenov discussed problems which are emerging in this connection.

[Question] Viktor Vasilyevich, how serious a danger is presented to us by the greater activity of moonshiners today?

[Answer] A very serious one. Last year, the number of moonshine-related crimes recorded in the country was 2.5-fold that in 1985. At the same time, about 2 million liters of moonshine and more than 77,000 sets of equipment for producing moonshine were confiscated. And this is only the tip of the iceberg; according to estimates by our specialists, the true scale of this phenomenon is much larger.

[Question] Which regions of our country have turned out to be worst in this connection?

[Answer] First of all, the RSFSR and the Ukraine, and also the Belorussian SSR, the Kirghiz SSR, Lithuania and Kazakhstan. Moreover, it is not only rural areas, but also the cities, which account for 4 out of 10 detected moonshining cases today.

The growth in the number of "home distilleries" is facilitating the spread of everyday drunkenness with its very dangerous and serious consequences. Moonshine turns people into drunkards more quickly and results in frequent

cases of poisoning because it contains high concentrations of extremely dangerous fusel oils and spirits and because of the presence of metal oxides from the equipment as well as of all sorts of poisonous substances which are added "for strength".

The manufacture of moonshine is helping to preserve the alcoholic habits of the population, it is detrimental to the production processes, and massive amounts of valuable food products, such as sugar and sugar beets, fruits and grains, vegetables and grapes are being turned into moonshine. According to the data of the USSR Central Statistical Administration, 11 percent more sugar was sold in the country during 1986 than during 1985. There is no doubt that this increase is connected, to a definite degree, with an increase in the production of moonshine. Thus, sugar sales grew by 100,000 tons in the Kirghiz SSR last year and, at the same time, we saw a doubling in the number of criminal cases brought against moonshiners. Finally, there is one more negative consequence: there has been an increase in the theft of raw materials used for alcohol production -- of the same sugar, beets, and grain.

[Question] What is it, then, that encourages people to break the law; who is he, today's moonshiner?

[Answer] The encouragements are varied. Some people are unable to overcome the obsolete custom of marking any event with an inevitable drinking-bout and open a "distillery" to supply themselves and their relatives with liquor for all of life's occasions. Others have seen in moonshine a means for quick and easy enrichment. Here is a specific example. An elevator operator named Zakusilo at Hospital # 6 in Kiev, during 5 years in business as a moonshiner, succeeded in opening 6 personal accounts in the city's savings banks, containing a total sum of 8000 rubles. She was given a 3-year suspended sentence, her property was confiscated, and she was sent to work at a national economic construction project.

Recently, we have also begun to detect negative trends such as a gradual reduction in the age of the group of the people who are involved in the manufacture and sale of moonshine and an increase in the ratio of people having higher and secondary special education. In a word, the "scent of the bait" has begun to attract the most socially active, adult groups of the population to this occupation, and the ratio of males among them is rapidly growing.

Of course, one moonshiner is different from another. For example, in the rural areas, production of alcohol is frequently stimulated by an inattentive attitude toward the needs of elderly inhabitants. It is difficult for many of them themselves to plow their vegetable gardens, to work their private garden plots, to get firewood and hay ready, to repair their homes. And if the collective and state farms refuse them help, they are forced to ask it from equipment operators, moonlighting workers, and all sorts of "skilled hands". The bill for their services, as a rule, is paid with either moonshine or mash. Precisely this explains the circumstance that, in Vladimir, Tula and a number of other oblasts, people of advanced years comprise more than half of all the moonshiners that have been caught. Incidentally, I want to recall that the word sale is understood to mean not only actually selling moonshine, but also

paying for any kinds of services with it, and this means that this activity is also a criminally punishable act.

So, by improving the everyday services provided to rural residents, it is possible to considerably reduce the manufacture of moonshine in rural areas.

[Question] However, under conditions of consistent reduction in state production and sale of alcoholic beverages, the demand for moonshine will be preserved until the time comes when we have achieved a basic turning point in public consciousness...]

[Answer] Yes, the problem of moonshine cannot be viewed in isolation from the general problem of drunkenness. And the struggle against this is, first of all, a process of educating and reeducating people. Drunkenness can be conquered only by attacking it simultaneously on all fronts. The most important direction is the organization of meaningful, sober and healthy leisure time activities.

In my view, the experience of the city of Azov in Rostov Oblast in fighting against drunkenness or, better said, in fighting for a worthwhile, healthy way of life deserves to be publicized. They have established a center for anti-alcohol propaganda there and, under it, a club called "Trezvost" (Sobriety), which enjoys popularity within the city. Meetings over a cup of tea with interesting people, debates, and excursions are being organized there and members of the club are taking their vacations jointly. During recent years, there has been a considerable increase in special interest clubs, hobbyist societies, and amateur artistic groups in the city. Workers of trade and public catering enterprises have found a common language with workers of cultural and educational institutions. Evening get-togethers "For People Over Thirty" have become a tradition in 3 rooms of the Fort Cafe. The Vechernyeye Cafe is holding matinees for children and evening parties for young people. Many alcohol-free cafes and milk bars have appeared in the city. In Azov, as a result, the number of crimes committed while under the influence of alcohol has been cut in half and absenteeism from work has been reduced by a third during the 5-year plan.

Unfortunately there are still not many such bright examples. Local organs are still not giving necessary, specific attention everywhere to taking a complex approach to the problem of strengthening sobriety. Anti-alcohol propaganda, particularly among juveniles, to a large extent bears a formal character. Too little educational work is being carried out on the basis of place of residence. Precinct inspectors are also slow in restructuring their work, and indeed they need to be especially active as drunkenness is increasingly moving into the sphere of everyday life and, for the present, it has its stronghold.

[Question] Yes, and moonshining has an everyday character. Work to eliminate it also includes, as a component part, legal measures designed to exert an influence on violators of anti-alcohol laws. How effective are they being applied today?

[Answer] The considerable increase in the number of moonshining cases that have been detected testifies to the fact that law enforcement organs have

increased their activities in this area. But now, it seems to me, it is more important to increase the attention being given to mistakes and omissions in this work, of which there are still many.

Persons called to account under the criminal code are rarely charged with producing moonshine for the purpose of selling it or with its sale, even when this, in fact, occurs, and, indeed, more severe punishment is prescribed for these actions. This happens because investigative organs and the courts far from always determine the true purpose of producing this stupefying potion. Thus, last year in Lithuania, 947 persons were charged with producing and possessing moonshine, but only a handful were charged with its sale. At the same time, 1,641 persons were administratively punished for having obtained moonshine. With such data, law enforcement organs could and should have identified the sellers, but this was not done.

Frequently, people held responsible for the production of moonshine are of pension age, while the organizers of "the business", those who in fact have forced an elderly mother, father, or wife to engage in an illegal trade, remain, with no justification, on the sidelines and are not being convicted of committing a crime. There are cases when elderly people or women with minor children, in order to protect their relatives -- the real moonshiners, accept the blame themselves, on the assumption that they will receive a less severe sentence. Internal affairs organs and the procuracy do not always do an outstanding job of clarifying such circumstances, and this leads to guilty persons avoiding punishment.

I have already talked about the definite connection that exists between the increased sale of sugar and the increase in the production of moonshine. But, as a rule, the tie between these phenomena is not being studied in local areas. Thus, law enforcement organs in Nikolayev Oblast reached an erroneous conclusion concerning an improvement in the situation with regard to moonshining on the basis that, last year, they uncovered half as many cases of moonshining as in 1985. At the same time, it was not taken into consideration that sugar sales via the trade network simultaneously increased by 6500 tons. As the Ukrainian SSR Procuracy determined, the favorable statistics for the oblast were explained not at all by a reduction in the manufacture of moonshine, but by a drop in the level of activity of law enforcement organs in the fight against this evil.

And, we will be frank, we are doing even a worse job in the struggle to prevent moonshining. We note that, in this same Kirghiz SSR, of 467 criminal cases examined by the courts, individual determinations that the reasons and conditions facilitating the commission of the crimes had been eliminated were carried out only in 139 cases, although the law requires this in every case. Moreover, militia workers who discover equipment for making moonshine or homemade alcoholic beverages are often failing to clarify the sources of the products and materials used for its production, and at the same time are not fulfilling the requirements of the law with regard to eliminating the reasons and conditions which contribute to moonshining. A serious reproach in this regard should also be addressed to the procuracy, which frequently fails to pay attention to these failings.

It must also be stated that law enforcement organs, in their struggle against moonshiners, are still placing insufficient reliance on labor collectives, comrades' courts and social organizations and are not making every such case the subject of public discussion. Assizes for the purpose of hearing cases involving moonshiners are also not too frequent.

In a word, the level of work cannot be considered satisfactory. The workers of law enforcement organs must become deeply aware of this and must basically restructure their activities.

And I should repeat once again that it is impossible to defeat the moonshiners by repressive methods alone. As long as he senses the secret support of those around him, as long as local authorities look through their fingers at his activities and consider them a misdemeanor and not a crime, no significant results will be achieved in eliminating this evil. Only having mobilized society, the labor collectives, and the entire population for this struggle, having united their efforts, and having created an atmosphere of intolerance for the moonshiner, can we count on full success.

13032

CSO: 1830/488

SCIENTISTS DEFEND SHOCK TREATMENT FOR ALCOHOL, DRUGS

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Apr 87 p 3

[Report by Ye. Isakova under the rubric: "In Our Scientific Laboratories": "A Way Out of the Narcotics Trap?"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] A sensational report was published in the first issue of the magazine ANGLIYA: "Scottish surgeon Meg Patterson has proposed a new method of treatment, which makes it possible for drug addicts to rapidly get out of their dangerous habit." This method is based on application of a weak electric current to the brain. The editors asked the All-Union Scientific Research Center on the Medical and Biological Problems of Preventing Drunkenness and Alcoholism, USSR Ministry of Health, to comment on this news. It turned out that the method described in the English magazine was not only known to our scientists, they also hold patent rights to it.

Four wires with electrodes attached extend from the panel of a rather small fixed instrument: one is fastened to my forehead, two others behind my ears, and the last on the back of my head. Candidate of Medical Sciences N. Terebilina, an associate at the biochemistry laboratory, switches on the current, and I feel a light pressure at the places on my head where the electrodes are fastened...

Natalya Nikolayevna's patients--people who suffer from alcoholism--feel the very same sensations. She, like Meg Patterson, has also begun her own work on treating drug addicts. And the initial results have been promising. However, it was decided to change the direction somewhat, and to focus our efforts on solving a problem which is more critical for our country--the problem of alcoholism. Incidentally, in principle, the development of alcoholism and drug addiction have a great deal in common.

A session of electrical treatment of the brain lasts from 60-90 minutes. In the quiet atmosphere of the physiotherapy office, the patient experiences no discomfort whatsoever. Many patients not only relax and calm down, they even go to sleep. Two or three such treatments are required to overcome the withdrawal symptoms which develop among those suffering from alcoholism as the result of an abrupt cessation of alcohol consumption after a prolonged period of intoxication. After this, the treatment is taken up by psychiatrists. But 70 percent of the patients already feel a reduced craving for alcohol after the electrical therapy.

Ordinarily patients suffering withdrawal symptoms seek relief in the form of small doses of alcohol, which in the final analysis leaves them feeling worse. It's hard to get along here without medical assistance. The traditional method of treatment in this case is administering psychotropic preparations--which, alas, may also become habit-forming. But now it has become possible at the very first and very hardest stage, to treat those suffering from alcoholism and drug addiction by stimulating the body's natural processes. This treatment was preceded by research, as a result of which it became possible to discover the role of certain systems in the brain in the formation of dependence on alcohol, and that of the mechanism which gives rise to withdrawal symptoms.

It was found that a healthy person, in order to sustain a normal emotional state and to relieve stress, manufactures morphine-like substances--encephalics and endorphines. A shortage of these compounds is observed among alcoholics and drug addicts, which leads to aggressiveness, irritability, general bad feelings, and an insurmountable urge to drink. But how does one find a way out of this trap?

Physicians have long known that application of weak electrical impulses reduces pain, and has a calming effect. Special devices developed by Doctor of Medical Sciences E. Kastrubin have been used in obstetrics for many years. This work was begun at the All-Union Institute of Obstetrics and Gynecology. Parallel research was going on at the Institute of Surgery imeni A.V. Vishnevskiy of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and at the Department of Surgery imeni Burdenko at the First MOLMI [Moscow Order of Lenin and Order of Labor Red Banner Medical Institute imeni I.M. Sechenov], which at first glance also had nothing in common with the problems of treating alcoholism. The principles of electroanesthetics were studied under the supervision of Academician M. Kuzin of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences.

When pain or stress occur, a signal is received in the cerebrum. In response to this signal, the body begins to manufacture the very same morphine-like substances, whose operating principles resemble narcotic preparations. They are connected with receptors in the brain and bring about a state of calm and a dulling of the painful sensation. It turned out that when electrical pressure is applied to the central nervous system, the concentration of these substances increases, which also has a pain-relieving and calming effect.

"On the basis of experiences of native and foreign scientists," relates Doctor of Medical Sciences B. Shloznikov, "we created an optimal method of pain relief by electrically stimulating the cerebrum with a current, that has no side-effects whatsoever. When preparing a patient for an operation, and both during and thereafter, were were able to eliminate preparations of the narcotic type from the standard pain-relief procedure. We replaced them with rhythmical electrical impulses, administered at a certain frequency through externally-placed electrodes on the cerebrum. Thus, an 'instrument' was found which permits actively influencing the endogenous system, making use of the morphine-like substances which it manufactures, not only to eliminate pain but also to treat alcoholism and drug addiction."

The body gets used to a narcotic and demands it in increasing amounts. To pull a person out of this vicious circle, a 'narcotic' of his own manufacture comes to the rescue; moreover, one which is not harmful and which does not cause euphoria. In the treatment process, the demand for a given narcotic will be reduced, and a person can return to a normal life. Psychiatrists specializing in narcotics are already helping him to do so. In other words, electrical stimulation not only relieves a person's withdrawal symptoms, it restores the loss of equilibrium in the brain's opioid system--and that represents the initial stage in the treatment of those suffering from chronic alcoholism.

The instrument which is today being used for pain relief and treatment of alcoholism was developed by G. Nazarov, an engineer, six years ago. Its clinical testing is now being completed, and serial production will commence at enterprises of the Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry in a year. But the faster the better: after all, not only are anesthesiologists awaiting it and its portable variant, but also physicians specializing in narcotics, and their patients.

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CSO: 1830/515

SOCIAL ISSUES

KAZAKH OFFICIALS EXAMINE RUSSIAN, KAZAKH LANGUAGE EDUCATION

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 87 p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee and the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] On Improving the Study of the Kazakh Language in the Republic

The Great October Socialist Revolution, whose 70th anniversary will be celebrated this year by all progressive mankind, opened the way for overall flourishing of culture, science and education of all peoples of our country and ensured the development of all the national languages, including the Kazakh language. The concern for the national languages of USSR peoples was reflected in the new edition of the CPSU Program adopted by the 27th Party Congress, which pointed out that continued provision would be made for the free development and equal use by all USSR citizens of their native languages.

During the years of Soviet rule, the Leninist principle of bilingualism has become established in the republic, and the Kazakh language has become an effective tool in learning and assimilating culture. There are 2,490 schools in the republic where instruction is conducted in the mother tongue of the native nationality.

Nevertheless, in recent years there has been a notable tendency toward declining prestige of the Kazakh language, especially among persons of native nationality. Many of them, primarily among the urban population, are losing the command of their native language. Kazakh language instruction in the schools is performed on an inadequate level.

The Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences, KaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the KaSSR Ministry of Education have not developed the latest methodologies of intensive instruction in the Kazakh language. Work on developing self-instruction manuals, phrase-books and Kazakh language dictionaries has not been organized in a satisfactory manner. No unified program has been developed for Kazakh language study for persons of non-native nationality who express a desire to study the language in the schools, vocational technical schools, and higher and secondary specialized educational institutions.

The Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee and the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers have resolved that:

For purposes of further affirming the Leninist principle of bilingualism as the norm of life in the national republic and for the purpose of aiding those persons who wish to study and master the Kazakh language, including those of native nationality:

--The KaSSR Ministry of Education and KaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education is to implement a set of measures on improving the system of educating the Kazakh population in their native language throughout all segments of the system, and especially in urban areas;

--the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs are to conduct organizational-political work among the population on clarifying the expediency of knowing the Kazakh language and on expanding the volume of its social functions in the life of the republic;

--provisions must be made everywhere for simultaneous translation from Kazakh to Russian during the implementation of socio-political and mass-cultural measures at the rayon, city, oblast, and republic levels;

--recommendations must be made to leaders of party and soviet organs, ministries, departments and social organizations that they organize courses and groups within their apparatus for those wishing to study the Kazakh language on a strictly voluntary basis;

--to ensure the educational process in the study groups and courses, instructors and specialists in the Kazakh language and literature should be enlisted from the system of the KaSSR Ministry of Education, the KaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the KaSSR Academy of Sciences, and the artist's unions and organizations.

The KaSSR Ministry of Education and Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education must develop on-going evening courses based at the universities and pedagogical institutes for those wishing to pursue the in-depth study of the Kazakh language.

The Ministry of Consumer Services, working in conjunction with the KaSSR Ministry of Education, must take measures for organizing paid courses on the study of the Kazakh language for the population.

For purposes of creating a complete system, it should be considered expedient, effective 1 September 1987, to introduce in the republic's preschool institutions and in the first through eighth grades the study of the Kazakh language on a totally voluntary basis. The Kazakh language should also be included in the schedule of classes offered at VUZes and secondary specialized educational institutions, with study groups being formed by interested students on a purely voluntary basis.

[It was suggested that the] republic's Academy of Sciences, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the KaSSR State Committee on Vocational-Technical Education, and the KaSSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade implement the following measures:

--compile and publish in 1987 a Kazakh-Russian dictionary, an abridged Kazakh-Russian and Russian-Kazakh dictionary, a Kazakh-Russian pocket dictionary, a Russian-Kazakh Dictionary of Common Phraseology, a self-instruction manual on the Kazakh language, Kazakh-Russian and Russian-Kazakh phrase books, textbooks on "Lessons in the Kazakh Language," "Do You Know the Kazakh Language?" and other materials for students of the Kazakh language;

--compile and publish in 1987-1988 on the basis of a competition textbooks and study aids on the Kazakh language and literature, the history of the Kazakh SSR, as well as scientific-methodological materials for Kazakh language instructors;

--practice conducting republic, oblast, city and rayon Olympic competitions in the Kazakh language;

--create Kazakh language departments in the general educational schools and equip them with technical means of instruction, educational-visual aids, instructional and methodological literature, and implement measures for the effective application of these means in the educational-instructional process.

Effective May of 1987, the KaSSR State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting, working in conjunction with the KaSSR Ministry of Education and Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, must organize regular series of educational broadcasts for students of the Kazakh language. The KaSSR Ministry of Culture must provide for the output of sets of records and tapes on Kazakh language instruction and conversational speech.

The Gosplan [State Planning Committee] and the KaSSR Ministry of Education and Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education must organize in established order in the republic's pedagogical institutes the training of cadres with a specialty in "Kazakh language and literature in the Russian school", as well as courses for advanced training of Kazakh language instructors at higher and secondary specialized educational institutions to be offered at universities and pedagogical institutes.

On Improving the Study of the Russian Language in the Republic

The Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee and the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers noted that the student youth and adult population of the republic are eagerly studying the Russian language, which has been voluntarily adopted by the Soviet people as the means of inter-national communication. A mastery of Russian expands access to the achievements of our country's as well as world culture, science and technology. The Russian language promotes the internationalization of state and social life, the continued strengthening of friendship of peoples, and the socio-political unity of society.

Nevertheless, many graduates of general educational and vocational schools and secondary specialized educational institutions, especially in the rural areas, have a poor mastery of the Russian language. The conditions for its in-depth study and instruction have not yet been created everywhere. The level of training of instructors in Russian language and literature for national schools still remains low, and the demand for them is not fully met. Often, persons are assigned to these roles at random. There must be better control over the content and quality of instruction.

Work must be improved on teaching the Russian language to adults for whom Russian is not the mother tongue. There are no courses, study groups or other organized forms of instruction in the Russian language, and conditions have not been created for its independent study. The publication of the necessary textbooks, dictionaries, reference books, self-instruction manuals, and phrase books has not been organized, and there are few methodological and other aids for the intensive study of the Russian language.

The resolution previously adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, dated 26 May 1983 and entitled "On Supplementary Measures for Improving the Study of the Russian Language in General Education Schools and Other Educational Institutions of the Union Republics", as well as the resolution of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers on this question have not been fulfilled in full volume in the republic. The leading experience which has been accumulated in Russian language instruction is not becoming the property of all instructors and other interested persons.

The indicated shortcomings are a result of underestimating the political significance of total realization of the Leninist principle of bilingualism as the norm in the life of the national republics.

The Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee and the KaSSR Council of Ministers have resolved that:

The party obkoms, oblispolkoms, ministries and departments, the Kazsovprom [Kazakh Council of Trade Unions] and the Kazakhstan Komsomol Central Committee, for purposes of more fully bringing to life the Leninist principle of bilingualism and further strengthening the role of the Russian language as the means of international communication, take measures toward maximally encompassing instruction of all persons who do not speak or are not fluent in the Russian language. Courses and study groups should be organized everywhere for this purpose, and participation must be voluntary. Attention must be focused on the effective implementation of this work particularly in rural areas having predominantly native population.

There must be constant concern and attention to satisfying the needs of the student youth and the adult population in mastering the Russian language--the language of friendship and brotherhood of peoples, and a mighty means of continued development and strengthening of the material and spiritual potential of the Soviet people.

The public education agencies, party organizations and pedagogical collectives of the national schools must perform various kinds of extracurricular and outside class work on student assimilation of the Russian language. They must practice conducting rayon, city, oblast, and republic Olympic competitions, Russian language days, readers' conferences, the organization of literary-artistic associations for school children, and the publication of Russian language tabloid newspapers.

We must strive to see that the fluent mastery of the Russian language becomes the norm for young people graduating from the secondary educational institution, as well as the civic duty of every young person.

The KaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and Ministry of Education must wherever necessary at universities, pedagogical institutes and secondary specialized educational institutions develop year-long evening courses for Russian language study.

Before 1 May 1987, the KaSSR Ministry of Education must develop a program and textbooks for Russian language instruction in courses and study groups, as well as for independent study.

The republic's Academy of Sciences, Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, Ministry of Education, the Kazakh SSR State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education, and the Kazakh SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade must:

- compile and publish in 1987-1989 dictionaries, manuals, the texts entitled "Self-Instruction in the Russian Language", "Handbook on Improving Your Knowledge of the Russian Language," "Do You Know Russian?", "The Language of Friendship and Brotherhood", "A Concise Handbook on Russian Grammar", and terminological and other bilingual dictionaries;

- publish a special selection of fiction, socio-political, science fiction, and instructional literature for persons who have a weak mastery of the Russian language, providing such publications with explanations, dictionaries, accentuation and other helpful tools geared toward the non-Russian reader.

The Kazakh SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, Ministry of Education, and Academy of Sciences, and the KaSSR State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education must:

- starting in 1987, develop and introduce new programs of Russian language instruction in the preschool institutions, general educational schools and other educational institutions using the national language for training and instruction for the purpose of using intensive methods of mastering the [Russian] language;

- take measures to organize Russian language departments in all educational institutions giving instruction in a non-Russian language, equip these departments with technical means and instructional visual aids, and ensure the effective application of these means in the instructional process.

The KaSSR Gosplan, with the participation of interested ministries and departments, must ensure the satisfaction of demands of the national schools for instructors in Russian language and literature. Also, it must study the possibilities of creating an Institute on Russian Language and Literature within the republic's system of higher education.

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CSO: 1830/514

TaSSR: HEALTH OFFICIAL ON TOXIC SUBSTANCE ABUSE

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 3 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Professor M. Gulyamov* under the rubric: "Health Services":
"Toxicomania--A Dangerous Habit"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Toxicomania can be caused by pathological, habitual use of remedies or medicinal substances. The difference between narcotics addition and toxic substance abuse is chiefly a legal one. International and Soviet law provide penalties for the illegal production, trade and use of narcotic substances, as well as mandatory and, when necessary, forced treatment of persons suffering from drug addiction. These statutes do not extend to those among whom a state of illness arose in connection with the use of substances or medicinal remedies not related to narcotics.

Toxicomania is encountered predominantly among children and adolescents whose psychic development was retarded as a result of trauma to the skull or neural infection. Essentially it consists of young people taking various kinds of medicinal preparations--chiefly those with a soporific effect, or inhaling products of petroleum distillation, for their stupefying effect. At the same time the desire to repeat the dose arises quite rapidly; thus, symptoms of dependency are formed.

Toxicomania is not widespread in our republic, but in order to preclude the spread of this evil, we must take decisive measures even now. For the time being, however, a number of circumstances are having a detrimental effect on the struggle with toxicomania. Primarily because of a lack of information on this question among supervisors at vocational-technical schools, among parents, and even among some pediatricians, earlier detection of persons suffering from toxicomania is hampered. Additionally, certain teachers and parents, fearing adverse publicity, are concealing instances of toxic substance abuse of which they are aware. Also detrimental to the rendering of qualified medical assistance to children and adolescents among whom signs of toxicomania are observed is the fact that neither the capital nor other cities in the republic have specialized juvenile-adolescent

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departments. Thus, in the struggle with this disease a vicious circle has formed which can be broken only through the joint efforts of the local soviets and health-care, educational, vocational-technical education and internal affairs authorities.

Those who are afraid to apply for medical help, believing that this might have unpleasant consequences for their relatives or pupils, must be made aware of the corresponding order of the USSR Ministry of Health of 1987. There it is stated precisely: it is forbidden to provide information on persons suffering from toxicomania who go to a narcological dispensary in a timely manner and follow the doctor's prescription exactly; this information may not be given to the place of work or training, even upon official inquiry.

As already stated, among medicinal preparations, toxicomania is most often caused by soporific drugs and tranquilizers. They are prescribed for illnesses characterized by anxiety, fear and emotional stress. In such cases the clinical appearance of severe intoxication is characterized by reddening of the upper part of the torso and mucous membranes; dilated pupils; unintelligible, faltering speech; and an unsteady gait. Also characteristic are senseless hilarity and excitement, and unstable moods.

Protracted use of soporifics leads to persistent changes in the patient's psychic make-up. This is manifested as a less-critical attitude toward one's situation, carelessness and absent-mindedness, and loss of memory. One's range of interests becomes extremely narrow, and one's capacity for work declines.

Research conducted at the psychiatric clinic of the Tajik Medical Institute also provides a rather complete conception of toxicomania connected with the use of various products of petroleum distillation. Severe poisoning with such substances outwardly resembles intoxication: the eyes gleam, the pupils are dilated, pulse is speeded up, and one loses coordination in motion. The nature of the poisoning, of course, depends on the nature of the substance used; but in general it consists of loss of perception of one's surroundings, which become strange, and hallucinations appear.

Systematic use of various volatile compounds in the course of two or three months leads to development of psychic changes, lack of restraint, irritability, pugnaciousness, callousness, and forgetfulness. Among certain patients, periodically arising states of anxiety and fear have been observed. Among toxic substance abusers who use products of petroleum distillation, inflammation of the mucous lining of the nasopharynx, air passages and lungs is frequently observed, which becomes a lingering ailment in connection with the body's reduced resistance, and does not respond well to treatment. Such adolescents can develop toxic myocarditis and hepatitis, and they frequently fall ill to various infectious diseases.

The most characteristic sign of toxicomania is the development of the so-called abstinence syndrome following sudden withdrawal of the toxicomaniac substance. In illnesses brought about by soporific substances the abstinence syndrome, while developing as a rule from 18-24 hours after deprivation of the soporific, reaches peak intensity within two or three days. At the same

time, anxiety and fear of a coming catastrophe are accompanied by increasing lack of sleep, fluctuation of arterial pressure, and pain in the joints. Among patients who use large doses of soporifics, at the peak of abstinence one may observe convulsive fits and derangement with loss of consciousness.

In instances in which a toxic substance abuser goes to a doctor on his own initiative--unfortunately we do not yet see this very often--diagnosis is not particularly difficult. But if the patient conceals the facts, diagnosis requires complex laboratory study, besides special knowledge in this sphere.

Here's a characteristic example: 12-year-old Dushanbe school pupil Sh., on the advice of an older child inhaled the fumes of some kind of substance. After that his head began to spin and he could not stand on his feet. The next day that very same kid once again suggested sniffing the solution. The child tried to refuse, but seeing the scornful smirks on the faces of the surrounding juveniles, gave in. Soon the habit became strong, and in a few days, following a regular dose, severe poisoning set in. The child was hospitalized in the psychoneurological department and was saved only due to timely treatment.

Unfortunately, the use of volatile substances does not always end so favorably. Their prolonged use can lead to irreversible changes in one's psychic make-up. The experience of another Dushanbe schoolchild, 11-year-old A., who also became partial to this dangerous habit under peer pressure, is a graphic example. Even after application of energetic treatment, he was discharged with the diagnosis: organic damage of the central nervous system, brought about by toxicomania.

Among toxic substance abusers one also encounters adolescents who break the law in order to acquire those substances. For example, 17-year-old V., who tried to rob a chemical supply house, was brought to criminal prosecution.

One of the most important tasks in the complex of measures for struggling with toxicomania is the energetic and timely identification of children and adolescents who are using substances harmful to their health. Practical experience has shown that it is impossible to solve all these problems through the efforts of psychiatrist-narcotics specialists and officials at the juvenile inspectorate alone. These questions must be under the unflagging supervision of the health institutions in the overall plan of medical measures for restoring the health of children and adolescents. Pedagogical collectives and local soviets are also summoned to display the proper interest and concern in the struggle with this evil.

But for the time being, it is distressing that even in the republic capital, the ispolkom of the city soviet and its health care department continue to stand aloof from the important question of protecting the health of children and adolescents. Here, under various pretexts, the solution of the question of organizing a specialized department for children and adolescents suffering from toxicomania at the facilities of one of the departments of City Hospital No 1, is being dragged out. Meanwhile this dangerous evil is spreading...

REGIONAL ISSUES

MOSCOW RAYON OFFICIALS HOST OPEN PHONE LINE

[Editorial Report] Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 7 June 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,000-word report by A. Moguchiy entitled "A Direct Conversation, in Which Everyone Could Participate." Krasnogvardeyskiy Raykom secretaries, the chairman and deputy chairman of the ispolkom, the chairman of the rayon people's control committee and secretaries of the rayon YCL answered telephone calls from rayon residents.

This "direct line" enabled any resident of the rayon to call any of the above officials directly in order to resolve any problems, or to have questions answered.

According to the report, each official answering the phones that night was responsible for a given area of expertise. The public was informed of this in advance, and thus was able to direct their inquiries to the appropriate individual. Each telephone conversation will be recorded onto a special "control" card which will contain a gist of the conversation, and any explanations or promises that were made in response to the call.

Further "direct lines" of this nature are planned.

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