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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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22 MAY 1987

USSR REPORT  
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

|                                                                                                      |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Mironenko Reports to Komsomol Congress<br>(V. Mironenko; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 16 Apr 87).....       | 1  |
| LiSSR To Hold Multicandidate Elections for Local Soviets<br>(SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 29 Mar 87).....       | 76 |
| Kazakh Conference Stresses Party Members' Responsibility<br>(KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 24 Feb 87)..... | 79 |

CULTURE

|                                                                                                                        |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Soviet Cinema Must Reflect Restructuring Process<br>(S. Freylikh; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 24 Mar 87).....                  | 90  |
| Scriptwriter Discusses Restructuring in Cinema<br>(Ye. I. Gabrilovich Interview; MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA,<br>3 Apr 87)..... | 96  |
| Soiree Commemorates Movie Director Tarkovskiy<br>(IZVESTIYA, 6 Apr 87).....                                            | 100 |

SOCIAL ISSUES

|                                                                                                    |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Alma-Ata Riots Highlight Flaws in Komsomol Work With Youth<br>(V. Yevseyev; PRAVDA, 9 Feb 87)..... | 101 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

|                                                                                                                     |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Weekly Urges Measures To Improve Protection of Children<br>(Natalya Daryalova; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 4 Feb 87)..... | 106 |
| AzSSR: Stronger Campaign Against Opium, Cannabis Urged<br>(G. Akhundov, N. Babayev; KOMMUNIST, 14 Feb 87).....      | 107 |

/12223

## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### MIRONENKO REPORTS TO KOMSOMOL CONGRESS

PM271825 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Apr 87 pp 2-7

["Report by the Komsomol Central Committee and the Komsomol's Tasks in the Further Intensification of the Communist Education of Youth in the Light of the 27th CPSU Congress Directives. Report by V. Mironenko, First Secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee" at 15 April 1987 session of the 20th Komsomol Congress in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses--passages within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Comrade delegates!

Esteemed guests!

/The 20th Komsomol Congress has convened at a crucial stage of Soviet society's development./

The ideas of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress are penetrating social awareness increasingly deeply, captivating people, reviving their social activeness, and turning into a material force.

The attention of progressive mankind is riveted on the Soviet Union. The cause of October is alive and advancing. The revolutionary transformations occurring in Soviet society are strengthening the positions of socialism and the world communist movement.

The CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum gave a powerful impetus to restructuring. The country has embarked on a new stage. Work that is unprecedentedly innovative and aimed at the in-depth transformation of socialist society has been launched on a broad front.

/Young people are getting involved in restructuring, aware that the fate of restructuring is the fate of the motherland, their own fate./

Speaking at the plenum, M.S. Gorbachev said that "...at crucial times, when resolving the most difficult and most daring tasks, the party has invariably called on the Komsomol, young people, their enthusiasm and devotion to the cause of socialism, their implacability toward stagnation, and their commitment to things progressive. And so today, when we speak of the need for

democratic changes and the expansion of the people's real participation in resolving the tasks of restructuring, the question of the younger generation's stance acquires enormous political importance."

/The 2 years that have passed since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the results of the report and election campaign which has just ended in the Komsomol have confirmed yet again Lenin's idea that young people are the keenest of all to follow the party of innovators./

Young people supported the party's innovative and revolutionary course, the decisive break with obsolete forms, the new thinking, the publicity and democratization. They are in favor of trust in people and youth, of reliance on their eagerness and initiative.

/The Komsomol is in favor of restructuring and acceleration! This is our firm position, and we will not abandon it!//

Now it is a matter of ensuring that this position does not remain just a nice turn of phrase. Let us be frank, things like this have happened in the Komsomol in the past. What we need are not words about restructuring but practical deeds aimed at deepening restructuring in all areas of social life, including the Komsomol. Scope must be given to young people's self-motivated creativity.

We congress delegates bear great responsibility before the party, the people, and the millions of our Komsomol comrades who expect an objective analysis of the state of affairs and bold solutions.

The success of the congress will be guaranteed provided we follow the example of the atmosphere of Leninist truth, businesslike efficiency, and a constructive attitude which reigned in this hall during the 27th CPSU Congress.

/Active participation in the implementation of the party congress decisions and in the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development--this is how the Komsomol perceives its main task./

/The place of the Komsomol and each Komsomol organization is in the vanguard of young people, in the most difficult and most responsible sectors of restructuring. I think that you will agree, comrades, that this is the only fitting place for the Komsomol!//

## I. The Komsomol at the Crucial Stage of Soviet Society's Development

Comrades!

/This year will see the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution./ "Our revolution is the most outstanding event of the 20th century, which announced the start of a new era in mankind's life. Time has revealed in depth its abiding importance and highlighted the gigantic

opportunities offered by the socialist social development." ("To the Soviet People." Appeal by the CPSU Central Committee. PRAVDA 14 March 1987.) The first socialist state has traveled a long path through these years.

Our country has consigned forever to the past the poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, and social and national oppression which remain the lot of millions of young people in today's world. Socialism has given young people the opportunity to obtain education and to choose their work according to their leanings and abilities, it has given them a confident life worthy of man.

Socialism has given young people something that capitalism is incapable of giving them--a goal, a meaning of life. It has inspired them with the great idea of struggle for freedom and equality, for social justice and social progress, against oppression, exploitation, and lack of national rights.

/Young people are vitally interested in ensuring that socialist principles are strengthened in our life, that the people's socialist self-management develops./

#### a) The Lessons of the Period Under Review

Comrade delegates! You have information on the Komsomol's activity during the past 5 years. The Komsomol Central Committee deems it necessary that the report should dwell on the most important lessons of the period under review, on the unresolved problems.

The past years, especially the period since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, have offered us unusually plentiful food for understanding what Soviet young people are today.

/The revolutionary transformations in society's life have offered new opportunities for the best qualities of the younger generation to be displayed./

The majority of Komsomol members, young men and women, have interpreted restructuring as a call to action. Many Komsomol members and tens of thousands of Komsomol and youth collectives have greeted the 20th Komsomol Congress, and are preparing to greet the 70th anniversary of Great October, with good results in study and labor.

/It is to them, the millions of young people who bear with dignity the title of Komsomol member and honorably perform their civic duty, that the Komsomol owes its good name and its prestige./

During the last 5 years there was not a single major national economic or social task that was resolved without the participation of young people and the Komsomol: the construction of the Baykal-amur Main Railroad and of long-distance gas pipelines, the opening up of regions in the North, Siberia, and the Far East, the revival of Russia's Non-charnozern Zone.

As a result of the work done to attract young people to the most important sectors of the national economy and the stabilization of labor collectives, the number of Komsomol members increased by 15.4 percent in the coal industry, by 23.6 percent in the power industry, by 11.8 percent in transport, and by 17.9 percent in the services sphere. There are 911,000 more Komsomol members in rural areas.

More than 400 temporary young people's creative collectives were formed for the first time, in line with the 19th Komsomol Congress decisions, and they are resolving specific scientific and technological tasks. A legal base has been created for developing a public-state system for scientific and technological creative work by young people.

Economically weak kolkhozes and sovkhozes have become a zone for particular attention by the Komsomol. Young people's collectives have been assigned one-fifth of all reclaimed fields.

The Komsomol is participating more actively in the development of capital construction. The procedure governing the social drafting of young people has been legislatively determined, the transition to the detachment form of volunteer assignment has been completed, and the preliminary training of volunteers has been organized. The number of all-union Komsomol shock labor construction projects has been reduced, and priority has been given to the most important regions and projects. Komsomol Central Committee staffs have been set up at all construction projects.

Young people's housing complexes are developing apace. Such complexes are now under construction in 156 cities.

Integrated Komsomol and young people's shifts and intersector integrated teams are working in the most important sections of the country's transportation system under conditions of intensive technology.

A whole range of legislative acts and party and government resolutions aimed at improving the conditions of young men's and women's labor, study, daily life, and leisure have been adopted on the Komsomol Central Committee's initiative.

/Many Komsomol organizations consolidated their prestige during this time, and quite a few useful deeds stand to their credit./

Unfortunately, this did not halt the buildup of negative trends. The preCongress discussion also brought to light serious problems in youth education and the Komsomol's work. Profound contradictions developed between the organization's democratic nature and bureaucratic methods of leadership, between young people's eagerness for everything that is new and forms of work that had ossified over the decades.

/Formalism became deep-rooted in many Komsomol organizations./

The most important task of stepping up the Komsomol's influence on the broad masses of young people was often taken to mean building up the organization's numerical strength at any cost. Between the late forties and the mid-eighties the Komsomol twice doubled the strength of its ranks.

Attempts were made to maintain the growth rates come what may. Control targets were set for recruitment, with their inevitable consequence--a decline in demandingness toward new entrants. Komsomol committees failed to ensure the necessary work with new recruits. Internal union discipline slackened.

Each year more than 1 million Komsomol members left their organizations without being taken off the rolls. The process of looking for them wasted time on ineffective office work and endless correspondence between Komsomol committees.

The task set by the 19th Komsomol Congress--to break the trend of covering up shortcomings in work by figures showing a growth of the ranks--was not fully accomplished during the period under review.

/Many of the Komsomol's problems were directly attributable to the style of work of leading Komsomol organs and primarily the Komsomol Central Committee./

The Komsomol has grown and developed. Its tasks and its internal and external ties have become more complex. Over a 25-year period the number of primary Komsomol organizations has risen by 140,000, the number of Komsomol organizations enjoying the rights of primary organizations has trebled, and there has been a considerable increase in the number of Komsomol groups.

The leadership of such an organization of young people became increasingly difficult. The impossibility of covering from the center the entire multifaceted Komsomol life became obvious. But even so, the emphasis was placed, like before, on the further centralization of leadership.

Instead of the development of initiative and self-motivation, uniformity took hold in the Komsomol's life. Organizations started resembling each other like twins: Identical plans, identical measures, identical meeting agendas, and even identical shortcomings.

Things which, according to the intentions of desk-bound inventors, should have brought Komsomol committees closer to grassroot components and actual people in fact drew them further and further away.

Forcing the pace, a desire to succeed in everything, "initiative mania" and eagerness for quick victory reports, inability to finalize work that had been started, and demands for new rights while not making proper use of rights already granted were infelicitously combined with officiousness, red tape, and conference mania.

In many places rank and file Komsomol members and primary Komsomol organizations were in fact excluded from decisionmaking and the distribution and utilization of the Komsomol's monetary funds.

The apparatus of Komsomol committees frequently supplanted elected organs, while these organs' members considered their duties honorary rather than real. Conferences, meetings, and Komsomol committee bureau plenums and sessions gradually turned into well rehearsed shows.

Mechanisms reflecting democratic norms of internal Komsomol life like criticism and self-criticism, publicity, monitoring from below, and collectiveness and collegiality in leadership became atrophied or disappeared completely.

/Democratic centralism acquired more and more features of "bureaucratic centralism."/

The statutory right to elect and be elected was in fact restricted to formal demands vis-a-vis the composition of cadres and the aktiv. In these circumstances "leaders" who appeared suitable on paper were literally forced on Komsomol members.

This is why some Komsomol officials and aktiv members felt that they had been appointed rather than elected, displayed arrogance, and ignored the opinion of rank and file Komsomol members. Through their lack of principledness they discredited themselves and tarnished the reputation of genuine Komsomol officials, who are indubitably in the majority. Let us be blunt, nothing caused greater damage to the Komsomol's prestige than the degeneration of some Komsomol cadres.

For these reasons, more than 3,000 Komsomol officials were dismissed from their office in the past 5 years. Unfortunately, some Central Committee members were guilty of misdemeanors for which they were expelled from it. A Central Committee secretary, a number of officials from the "Sputnik" International Youth Tourism Bureau and the Komsomol Central Committee Administration of Affairs, the first secretaries of the Mary Turkmen Komsomol Obkom and the Bukhara Uzbek Komsomol Obkom, and several others were removed from office either for shortcomings in their work or for having compromised themselves. The first secretary of the Uralsk Kazakh Komsomol Obkom was deprived of his delegate's mandate to the 16th Kazakh Komsomol Congress because of drunkenness, and he was not refused the right to represent the republic Komsomol at the 20th Komsomol Congress.

/Bureaucracy and formalism dealt their most painful blows at city and rayon level components. Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms slackened their attention to primary party organizations./

In these conditions many primary organizations failed to maintain principled positions in young people's education and started losing their influence among

the young. It was there that the living ties between Komsomol committees and Komsomol members and young people were broken.

The result of all this was that rush and bustle reigned at the top, while passiveness and apathy put down roots at the bottom. Rank and file Komsomol members were losing their faith in leading Komsomol organs. The machinery of resolutions, plans, and measures was idling for most of the time.

/The Komsomol Central Committee, its Bureau, Central Committee secretaries, members of elected central organs, and the Komsomol Central Committee apparatus are responsible for many of the errors of which we are talking today./ The Central Committee did not always correctly assess the situation and displayed indecisiveness and inconsistency in its actions.

Many Central Committee members failed to take a firm and principled stance, often failed to respond to existing errors, and did not strive to eliminate them. The Central Committee's permanent commissions worked formally and without initiative, and it was on extremely rare occasions that they made any constructive suggestions and recommendations to improve the work of Komsomol organizations.

The Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat often failed to keep an eye on the long-term questions concerning the development and improvement of the Komsomol's activity.

Central Committee departments and subsections wasted a lot of time on bustle within the apparatus and gave inadequate assistance to local Komsomol organizations, cadres, and aktivs. The work of the Central Committee apparatus was based on farfetched forms and methods and was detached from real life.

All this was the subject of exacting and self-critical discussion at the Komsomol Central Committee's latest, 14th plenum. The main point under discussion was to learn lessons from the mistakes and prevent them from recurring in the activity of the new Central Committee.

Following the adoption of the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Further Improvement of Party Leadership of the Komsomol and the Enhancement of Its Role in the Communist Education of Youth" in July 1984, the 12th Komsomol Central Committee plenum made attempts to restructure the work of the Central Committee and the Komsomol committees. A considerable proportion of report-writing and farfetched forms of work were abolished.

The majority of Komsomol officials and aktiv members were becoming aware that they could not continue to work in the old fashion. Some Komsomol committees sought and found ways to reach young people and really involve them in the resolution of economic, social, and educational tasks. But the style of work of the Central Committee apparatus and many Komsomol committees remained basically unchanged; they retained their belief in the omnipotence of their decisions and the inability of Komsomol organizations to act independently.

Actual work was often replaced by elaboration of schemes and plans for restructuring.

How can we fail at this point to recall Lenin's advice to go out to the young. He believed that this is the only salvation, and warned that delays might otherwise occur and we might find ourselves with "scientific" notes, plans, blueprints, schemes, and wonderful prescriptions, but without organization or any actual work.

/The Higher Komsomol School and its Scientific Research Center must be severely criticized for their work during the period under review./

Due attention was not paid to the development of scientific research. A scornful attitude toward theory and scientific recommendations took shape among Komsomol officials. Absorbed into people's awareness in a truncated and distorted form, theory led to mistakes in practice.

It is also necessary to speak of another cause of the buildup of negative trends in the Komsomol, which was somewhat disregarded during the pregress discussion.

/Only an atmosphere of equanimity and indifference in their own organization by Komsomol members themselves could have made it possible to trample the rights of primary organizations, to appoint rather than elect their leaders, and to breach the statutory norms of internal Komsomol life./

Only such an atmosphere made possible the occupation of leadership positions in the Komsomol by incapable and unworthy people and the promotion of careerists and bureaucrats who often forced entire organizations to serve their own ambitions.

/Many people wanted to change everything while basically changing nothing either in their own thinking or in their own life./ Restructuring is, bluntly speaking, of no use at all to those who are concerned not so much for the interests of our common cause as for their own tranquility.

No rights and no guarantees of respect for such rights, no matter how important they may be in themselves, can replace the readiness and ability to make use of them, nor can they replace responsibility and civic courage.

/To put it briefly, comrades, many Komsomol organizations and Komsomol committees found themselves "excluded" from life and detached from the real problems of young people and their education at a complex period in the country's life./

Young people were, of course, affected by the decline of the rate of economic growth, the pretense that shortcomings did not exist, the leftover principle in allocating funds for social needs, the peculiar ideology and mentality of stagnation, and the gap between words and deeds.

/Elements of deformation of socialist awareness were manifested more strongly than before among a section of young men and women./ Passiveness, consumerist feelings, skepticism and an uncritical attitude toward petty bourgeois mentality were the consequence of stagnation phenomena in society's life on the one hand and serious shortcomings in young people's education on the other.

The violation of the link between the measure of labor and the measure of consumption, the poor organization of production, and the lack of attention to young people and their education in many collectives affected young people's attitude toward labor.

Many komsomol members and young production workers fail to cope with the plan, tolerate slipshod work, and violate labor and technological discipline.

A stratum of people for whom the purpose of life boils down to nothing but material prosperity has taken shape among young people.

/The Komsomol must restructure itself in order to participate actively in the restructuring of society./

The positive processes occurring in all spheres of social life, whose beginning was marked by the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, have generated rapid growth in young people's social activeness and Komsomol organizations' initiative.

The most typical features of the last 2 years of the Komsomol's life and the life of many of its organizations have been the creation of a new moral and ethical atmosphere, the psychological restructuring of Komsomol cadres and aktiv and Komsomol members, the decisive break with ossified stereotypes, the principled and exacting assessment of shortcomings and omissions, and the sharp turnabout from formalism to actual work.

Well aware that they can no longer work in the old fashion, many Komsomol committees are seeking new and more effective methods of work and of reviving internal Komsomol life and are concentrating their attention on the solution of the most urgent problems--social, economic, and educational. They are finding their place in the common work. Generally speaking, a creative approach toward the work in hand and an attitude of questing are being established, there is stronger monitoring and verification of the execution of decisions and collectiveness of leadership, and ties with the masses of young people are strengthening.

Publicity in the activity of elected organs and of their apparatus, cadres, and aktiv, a self-critical assessment of what has been done, and an urge to achieve more are becoming the rule for increasing numbers of Komsomol organizations.

Only in such an atmosphere will Komsomol organizations really become the assistants of party committees in the implementation of the major revolutionary transformations now under way in the country.

Komsomol members are joining more actively in the intensification of social production and modernization of industrial enterprises, mastering advanced forms of labor organization and economic forms of management, and striving to ensure that restructuring and acceleration really take place wherever a Komsomol member mans a work position.

Supporting to the utmost and comprehensively developing young people's labor and social enthusiasm, Komsomol committees are creating conditions for the broad dissemination and affirmation of everything that is best, for the still further development of self-motivation among young men and women.

For this purpose, active restructuring is now under way in the activity of elected organs and Komsomol committees' apparatus to ensure that their work is as close as possible to the needs of primary party organizations operating in labor and study collectives.

A number of Komsomol obkoms are conducting an experiment to improve the structure of their apparatus, while Komsomol raykoms and gorkoms have reviewed their work procedures and are resolutely abandoning bureaucratic forms of leadership.

Noticeable changes for the better have occurred in the activity of numerous republic, kray, and oblast Komsomol organizations. Positive trends are increasingly tangible in the work of the Rostov, Sverdlovsk, Ulyanovsk, and many other oblast organizations, the Moscow City Komsomol organization, and a number of Komsomol committees in Belorussia, the Ukraine, and the Baltic republics.

It is worth disseminating the Omsk Obkom's experience in mobilizing young men and women for specific socially important work, the Krasnodar Kraykom's experience in the development of agriculture, the Penza Obkom's experience in organizing work with children and adolescents in places of residence, the Minsk Obkom's experience in improving the keeping of Komsomol membership records, and the Kuybyshev Obkom's experience in restructuring the style and methods of Komsomol committees' work.

It is, of course, still early to speak of positive results. The elimination of conventional schemes and stereotypes and the overcoming of stagnation phenomena in internal Komsomol life is no easy work. But the 2 years of work under the new conditions make it possible to draw a very important conclusion.

The bureaucracy and formalism which have grown roots in the Komsomol are dangerous diseases. But a reliable cure for these diseases does exist-- participation in the resolution of specific socioeconomic tasks and democratization of internal union life.

b) The Restructuring of the Komsomol's Work--An Imperative Demand of the Time

What do we mean by restructuring the Komsomol's work?

/Restructuring in the Komsomol means dragging Komsomol organizations out of a state of inertia and stagnation into the vanguard sectors of the struggle for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and shaping the new man, it means getting down to lively, daily, and painstaking work with young people./

To effect restructuring means, having objectively and self-critically assessed the situation, to boldly reject superfluous centralization and everything that is farfetched and has failed the test of practical work and to encourage initiative and self-motivation among Komsomol members.

Restructuring must be effected with due consideration for the historical experience of Komsomol work. Restructuring has nothing to do with wholesale rejection, fault-finding, or indulging in hare-brained schemes. We must effect restructuring while relying firmly on Komsomol traditions, on all the best that has been accomplished by all generations of Komsomol members and Komsomol officials, on the democratic and self-motivated nature of our organization, on the already existing experience of work of Komsomol organizations, Komsomol committees, cadres, and aktivs. There is no room for haste or bustle under the new conditions, each step must be checked against practice, and the young people must be consulted.

Exceptional importance attaches today to each Komsomol member's understanding of our union's underlying foundations.

/The Komsomol does not and cannot exist without the Marxist-Leninist teaching, without party leadership of the Komsomol, without conscious discipline./

The most difficult part of restructuring is to change one's mentality, to change the habit of seeing only executors "below" and only functionaries "above."

Restructuring in the Komsomol must begin with oneself. It will not occur automatically.

/Of course, the main responsibility for clearing away the accumulated obstacles of bureaucracy and formalism lies with the Komsomol Central Committee, union republic Komsomol central committees, Komsomol kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, cadres, and the aktiv. But it is also a matter for all Komsomol members. We will achieve the necessary result only by rallying in the struggle against everything that is alien to the young communist league's nature and ensuring unity in this struggle./

We have no spare time to prepare for restructuring. It must be effected "on the move," not in individual sectors but along the entire front, and answers

to the questions facing us must be sought in life itself rather than in desk drawers.

/Why is it that, when speaking of restructuring in the Komsomol, we emphasize the need to move Komsomol organizations into the vanguard sectors of the struggle for acceleration?/ Because communist education is impossible without involvement in production, in real social relations. Otherwise the entire restructuring in the Komsomol will again degenerate into formalism.

"It is only in labor together with workers and peasants," V. I. Lenin taught, "that one can become a real communist."

/Where are these vanguard sectors of the struggle for acceleration?/ The Komsomol Central Committee believes that these are primarily the intensification of social production on the basis of scientific and technical progress, participation in the pursuit of a strong social policy, and the galvanization of the human factor--uninterrupted education, the shaping of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, the enrichment of young people's spiritual world, and a healthy way of life.

/The front line of the struggle to accelerate socioeconomic development runs through every work place, through the conscience of each young person./

We must have a clear impression of what we want to achieve, of the goal of restructuring in the Komsomol.

/We want to ensure that, for each young person, the Komsomol really is a Leninist school for education, a school for socialist democracy, collectivism, and participation in the management of state and social affairs.

/Democratization is the main avenue of restructuring. It must affect all aspects of the Komsomol's life./

Primary organizations and Komsomol committees are entitled, proceeding from the common tasks, to select for themselves from the entire arsenal of forms and methods of work the ones they consider most effective.

Higher-ranking Komsomol committees must uphold the right of young people and primary Komsomol organizations to participate in the resolution of all questions of a labor collective's life which affect young people's interests.

/The primary organization's responsibility increases to an incalculable extent under the new conditions of work./ It is responsible for the Komsomol members' attitude toward labor and study and for their compliance with the demands of the Komsomol Statute. Not a single Komsomol member must be outside its field of vision. Not a single misdemeanor must go unnoticed. Greater obligations and greater rights are the two sides of the same coin.

/The main obligation of each Komsomol organization now is to develop and support young people's creative initiative to the utmost./

/The most important form of direct democracy is the Komsomol meeting./ The meeting's prestige has obviously declined. The reasons for this include lack of specificity and urgency in raising questions, hollow rhetoric, resolutions that are downright impossible to fulfill, and stage management. The Komsomol meeting must regain its status as a supreme organ in the eyes of Komsomol members.

Only a general meeting or conference is in a position to evaluate the work of each Komsomol committee, bureau, or Komsomol group organizer. You recall, comrades, the extent of absurdity that was reached by Komsomol committees in their quest for a "universal yardstick" to measure the social activeness of Komsomol members and the militancy of primary organizations. Here we cannot have any prescriptions suitable for all eventualities of life. It is a matter of principledness on the part of all Komsomol members.

It is necessary to significantly strengthen the material base and expand the financial independence of Komsomol organizations, and to give Komsomol members an opportunity to earn and spend their financial resources by themselves.

There must be no recurrence of the pursuit of numerical growth or the substitution of formal actions for painstaking work with each young person.

The Komsomol Central Committee perceives the guarantees for this in: First, resolute condemnation of forced swelling of the Komsomol's ranks; second, admission on a strictly voluntary and individual basis, following thorough training of the candidate and testing of him by specific deeds; third, empowering primary organizations themselves to make the final decision on admission to the Komsomol.

In this work it is very important to ensure that each Komsomol organization is concerned with its numerical and qualitative structure and that it ensures that each new member is involved in social life, that he has his Komsomol assignment, and that he bears his share of responsibility for the common cause from the very first days of his membership in the union.

/Restructuring will require profound changes in the work of elected Komsomol organs from top to bottom./

The start must be made with their structure. /The primary Komsomol organization is entitled to decide for itself who will head it./ Leaders are not elected by force and if they are so elected, they will not be followed.

The Komsomol Statute guarantees the right to nominate any number of candidates for the office of secretary and to membership of elected organs, to openly discuss and challenge candidates, and to hold them accountable for their work, and this right must be ensured in practice.

An important step along the path of democratizing the election system within the Komsomol could be taken by means of secret ballot when electing secretaries of the Komsomol Central Committee, union republic Komsomol central

committees, and Komsomol kraykoms, obkom, okruzhkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms at plenums of the corresponding committees provided, of course, their members deem this necessary.

There must be an end to excessive paperwork. And this must be done resolutely. It can be done only by stepping up monitoring by elected Komsomol organs of the activity of the bureaus, secretariats, and apparatus of the corresponding Komsomol committees. It would evidently be correct to begin plenums with reports by the bureaus on decisions they have adopted.

Monitoring the fulfillment of adopted decisions and rendering practical assistance to Komsomol organizations--these are the most important tasks of members of the Komsomol Central Committee and other elected Komsomol organizations. They must set an example to Komsomol members of how Komsomol duties and social obligations are to be performed.

It is necessary to ensure that all members of elected organs--from the Central Committee down to raykoms--visit primary organizations, monitor the activity of apparatus workers, and participate in preparation of decisions.

Working under the new conditions, the Komsomol apparatus must give more attention to the quest for advanced experience and talented organizers of young people, thoroughly study the processes occurring among young people, help define the main avenues of work, and bring together different organizations to resolve questions they may have in common.

/All Komsomol committees must learn to work under conditions of total publicity./ Publicity for us is not just a means to correct certain excesses in work and enhance the responsibility of Komsomol cadres. Publicity is a natural phenomenon in the Komsomol, a mandatory condition for Komsomol members' faith in the leading Komsomol organs.

In order to expand publicity, it is necessary to make full use of the Komsomol press, wall newspapers in primary organizations, and all other media at our disposal.

At the same time, we cannot fail to take account of the fact that the penchant for critical remarks among some young people, Komsomol officials, and journalists at times degenerates into nihilism or "do-nothingness? ["manilovshchina"]. They are always ready to slip in their caustic word or two, but when it comes to rolling up their sleeves and really getting down to work, their activeness declines sharply.

In implementing restructuring in the Komsomol it would not be amiss to recall the words of V. I. Lenin, who wrote: "Anyone who finds this work 'boring,' 'uninteresting,' or 'incomprehensible,' anyone who pulls faces, panics, or gets carried away by declamations about the lack of the 'former uplift,' 'former enthusiasm,' and so on--would be better 'relieved of duties' and consigned to the archives to prevent him from causing any damage, because he

is either unwilling or unable to perceive the particular features of a given level or a given stage of the struggle."

/The improvement of work with Komsomol cadres is a key question of restructuring in the Komsomol.

/The activity of cadres must be constantly monitored from "above" and especially from "below." The Komsomol must have no officials who are beyond monitoring and beyond criticism, regardless of the position they may occupy./ For this purpose it is necessary to make use of certification, which is currently in progress, accountability reports to young people, and reviews of performance assessments. The main point is that this ought to be done informally and with broad participation by Komsomol members, in an atmosphere of complete publicity and freedom of criticism.

The CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum decisions make it incumbent upon us to wage an uncompromising struggle for the pure and honest image of the Komsomol official and aktiv member.

/Constant contacts with young people are the sine qua non of the office occupied by every Komsomol official./ But this alone is not enough. You cannot cultivate in others any qualities which you yourself lack. Ideological commitment and moral purity, competence and businesslike efficiency, simplicity and accessibility, personal modesty, genuine interest in young people's life, and familiarity with their real problems--all these are needed by each Komsomol official. There must be no hesitation in getting rid of those who place no value in young people's trust or are morally lax.

The first thing we must do under the new conditions is to resolutely restructure the system for the training and retraining of Komsomol cadres, the work of the Higher Komsomol School under the Komsomol Central Committee, zonal and republic Komsomol schools, and the "Olimpiyets" Youth Center.

This system must be firmly based on systematic and profound study of the practical experience of Komsomol work, and must be imbued with everything that is most valuable, with the most advanced ideas.

Exceptionally great importance attaches to the requirement that, in the process of instruction, Komsomol cadres should acquire a profound mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory, turn more often to V. I. Lenin's works and party documents, and become skilled in transforming knowledge into actions.

/It is the Komsomol members' right to elect their leaders, and it is the obligation of Komsomol committees to teach them to work./

/Komsomol practice needs new bold ideas based on scientific experimentation./

There is a need for serious research into the Komsomol's history in all its complexity, without simplifications or omissions, but also without

falsifications or sensationalism. The theory of Komsomol building must be brought as close as possible to the practice of restructuring.

A great role in the solution of these problems has to be played by the Komsomol Central Committee's Council for Coordination of Scientific Research into Youth Problems, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, and the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. It is time to solve the question of creating a specialized scientific research institute in the country which would study youth problems, and of publishing an appropriate scientific journal.

We are entitled to demand of the Higher Komsomol School under the Komsomol Central Committee and of its Scientific Research Center, which made quite a few interesting suggestions during the period of preparations for the congress, to work much more efficiently.

In restructuring the Komsomol's work it is necessary to bear in mind that this is not an end in itself but a means to solve the pressing problems of communist education and to advance Komsomol organizations to the vanguard sectors of the struggle to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development.

/It is necessary to enhance the competence and quality of resolutions adopted by the Komsomol Central Committee, reduce their number, and ensure their fulfillment./ Once a resolution has been adopted, it must be implemented in full. It is time for everyone--both in the Central Committee and at local level--to abandon the flawed practice of measuring achievements by the number of resolutions adopted.

Komsomol obkoms are overburdened by instructions and requests from higher-ranking organs. For example, last year the Zaporozhye Komsomol Obkom received over 1,000 documents from the Komsomol Central Committee, the republic Komsomol Central Committee, and the party obkom.

RSFSR Komsomol obkoms received 500-700 documents each year.

## II. In the Vanguard Sectors of the Struggle to Accelerate the Country's Socioeconomic Development

Comrades!

/The acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development offers millions of young men and women a real opportunity to apply their abilities and knowledge and claim their place in society./

Restructuring is based on the country's vast economic, scientific, technical, and cadre potential, on the most educated generation of Soviet people trained for productive and creative labor.

Young people represent almost one-third of those employed in industry, the construction industry, the agroindustrial complex, and transport, half of

those employed in the power industry, instrument building, and radio electronics, and more than 40 percent of those employed in trade and the services sphere.

The economy's orientation toward extensive development, the slow introduction of new equipment and technology, and the departure from democratic principles in the management of production on the one hand, coupled with most serious shortcomings in young people's labor education on the other--these were the main causes of the decline of the prestige of labor in the material production sphere.

Komsomol committees attempted to cultivate a communist attitude toward labor in isolation from the actual conditions in production, using obviously obsolete forms of work. Some young people proved to be not geared to persistent and conscientious labor, questing and creativity, or the overcoming of the difficulties of professional development.

This, in its turn, had an effect on the ideological, political, and moral education of young men and women.

#### a) The Komsomol in Production Under the Conditions of Its Intensification

The acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development primarily means the utmost intensification of production. The center of gravity in work is shifting from quantitative indicators to quality and efficiency, from interim to end results, from the expansion of production funds to their renewal, from the buildup of fuel and raw materials resources to their thrifty utilization, to improved labor organization and incentives, to the galvanization of the human factor.

/The new conditions of economic management demand the shaping among young people of new economic thinking and a feeling of being stewards of social production./ This feeling cannot be cultivated by slogans alone. It is determined by actual economic relations and the opportunity for young people to influence the organization of labor and the distribution and utilization of its results.

On what do we need to focus attention here?

/We are gaining a new ally in young people's education--economic accountability./

Economic accountability and self-capitalizing provide a firm link between everyone's interests and the end results. Economic accountability means collective thrift, resourcefulness, fairness in labor remuneration, and everyone's participation in management.

The principle of distribution according to labor and the practice of relations of economic accountability allow no one to live at other people's expense and encourage a more responsible approach toward the choice of vocation and the

quality and intensiveness of one's labor. We are essentially talking about giving priority in economic practice to each young person's personal responsibility for his own well-being and for the well-being of society as a whole.

Under the new conditions Komsomol committees are given vast opportunities to work creatively, to eradicate the faulty practice of at times resolving economic tasks to the detriment of educational ones and utilizing the enthusiasm of young men and women to patch up economic deficiencies and planning errors and to cover up waste.

/We must take a fundamentally new approach to Komsomol committees' participation in the organization of socialist competition./

Many Komsomol committees duplicate the work of trade union organs and replace detailed work with the dissemination of farfetched initiatives and ideas. Support was given to so many of them that there simply was not enough time for their practical implementation.

When duly appending their signatures to pledges young people often do not know with whom they are competing and why. And since they do not know this, competition is just a matter of form for them. The leveling mentality, which has grown firm roots in the incentives system, has not promoted a genuine competitive spirit, either.

/Competitive spirit must be present in all of Komsomol work./ Socialist competition is a natural condition of well organized production with a considered labor remuneration system. The experience of the best labor collectives, like Sumy's M. V. Frunze Machine Building Association, offers convincing proof of this.

Komsomol committees must show concern for ensuring that each Komsomol member and each Komsomol and young people's collective in production know the results of their daily, weekly, and monthly work, can compare them with the results achieved by others, and enjoy material and moral incentives encouraging them to produce better items more quickly and for less expenditure.

Publicity plays a great role in competition. Much could be done here by young people's newspapers following the example set by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA which, in honor of the congress, announced a competition of Komsomol and young people's collectives for the "Challenge Prize."

The winners in this competition, incidentally, were selflessness, magnanimity, and heartfelt generosity--remarkable features of our young people. Representatives of the 22 finalist teams decided to make a gift of the "Challenge Prize"--a new-model Moskvich car--to a children's home. On behalf of all congress delegates, the Komsomol Central Committee expresses thanks to the young workers for both their shock labor and their noble deed.

/Many labor collectives devote inexcusably little attention to the retention of newcomers and the improvement of their vocational skills./

When joining a production facility many young people have only a superficial idea of the nature and content of the labor that lies ahead.

This is one of the reasons behind the high cadre turnover, which costs society so dear. On average one young person in three changes jobs during the first year at work and, as a rule, takes a month to learn the new job. For this reason alone the country loses about R4 billion each year in industry and construction.

Komsomol committees must find more efficient forms for /early vocational orientation of young people and their retention in production./ There are extremely broad opportunities here for cooperation between Komsomol organizations in schools, vocational and technical schools, and enterprises in the national economy.

/The so-called "slogan approach" toward participation in the resolution of national economic tasks is firmly rooted in Komsomol practice./ Komsomol organizations sponsor virtually everything. And it has to be admitted that the tone in this was set by the Komsomol Central Committee. The Komsomol Central Committee adopted a resolution of its own in response to most resolutions adopted by the party and the government the economy's development. Moreover, many of them were of a declarative nature and had no economic backup at all.

If we look carefully at the tested forms of Komsomol participation in the resolution of national economic tasks--the Komsomol and young people's collectives, student detachments, and Komsomol shock construction work--we are struck by the fact that they bear a deep imprint of the period of extensive economic development.

Therefore, our main task is, first--and speaking figuratively--to wash off the "extensification" [ekstensivshchina] and restructure them for work under new conditions. And second, to seek in life itself new forms for young people's creative participation in the economy's restructuring.

What specifically can and must be done? /The content of the activity of Komsomol and young people's collectives must be reviewed./

There are more than 400,000 such collectives in the country. But it is not a matter of quantity, it is a matter of actual returns. Let each rayon or city have only a few of them, but let these few be genuinely economically accountable collectives.

The shock labor by young people's teams today must be based not only on enthusiasm but also and primarily on the application of advanced forms of labor organization and remuneration, modern equipment and technology, and skill in managing production.

/There is a growing economic benefit from the activity of student detachments./ Over a 25-year period the volume of work done by them has increased almost 1,000 times and last year amounted to R1.6 billion. The student detachments have gained lasting labor glory. During the last 5-year plan period many students were awarded high state prizes. Unfortunately, the detachments' successes prevented us from perceiving and solving the problems which have accumulated in this patriotic movement.

The expansion of the scale of activity was not accompanied by improvements in the management structure. Many economic leaders perceived student detachments only as so much manpower. Additional detachments numbering more than 100,000 were formed each year under pressure from them. There were quite a few incidents of industrial injury and financial violations in detachments which were formed in a hurry, without the necessary training. People who had "attached" themselves to the movement and whose only goal was to grab more from the state or the kolkhoz often appeared in the guise of student detachment.

It is time for the Central Staff for Student Detachments to look into the purpose of this movement and how it ought to develop. The main point, in the Central Committee's opinion, is for the movement to regain its primary principle of voluntariness and initiative and to provide a correct combination of economic and educational effects.

/New forms of socially beneficial labor by young people in their free time away from study or their main work have emerged in many Komsomol organizations during the last few years./

We are talking about creating everywhere year-round labor associations for work in communications enterprises, health care, children's preschool institutions, and municipal services. We are talking about young people's voluntary service bureaus, family workshops, and cooperatives for the collection and processing of secondary resources and the procurement of medicinal herbs, berries, and mushrooms. They could also include students' science and production detachments and detachments of young workers and employees for work in the agroindustrial complex during harvest time.

This is by no means a complete list of labor initiatives by young men and women. It is necessary to support them, help them to develop, and aim for the abolition of the still existing unjustified restriction on young people's and adolescents' participation in labor activity.

Such young people's associations must function on principles of complete self-financing and economic accountability.

The Komsomol Central Committee believes that, /utilizing the experience of student detachments, it is possible to create in the very near future a unified system for the economic accountability and self-financing of young people's voluntary labor associations, organizing under the same principles

the labor not just of students but also of representatives of young workers and peasants and young specialists./

We are talking about hundreds of thousands of young people who want to work well and to earn from their labor during their free time away from their main job or study. This will also be a weighty contribution by young people to the resolution of national economic tasks, and a supplement to young families' budgets.

/The Lenin Komsomol's history is inseparably linked with new construction projects./ Traditions have developed and forms and methods of sponsorship have been worked out over decades. Many of them produced tangible results at certain stages of our development. In particular, the transition to the detachment form of social draft which was effected in the last few years. At the same time, the CPSU Central Committee's demand for an end to formalistic and bureaucratic attitudes toward Komsomol shock labor construction projects was not met. We must speak frankly about this to the congress delegates. During the 11th 5-Year Plan period more than 100,000 young men and women were sent to projects in West Siberia, Krasnoyarsk Kray, and the Far East alone, but one in every three left his or her job within the very first year.

On the eve of the congress the Komsomol Central Committee and the editorial offices of young people's newspapers and journals received hundreds of letters from young construction workers. Here is what Aleksey Pakhomov, a leading member [boyets] of the detachment named for the 27th CPSU Congress, writes from Tyumen: "And what did we find here?! We were just not needed by anyone. We sat around without work for about 1 month.... Entire teams just sit about and read newspapers.... /In my opinion, if detachments are formed, then they ought to be sent wherever young people's energy is really needed...."/

Young men and women write with anguish and alarm that little has changed at construction sites under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Power and Electrification, the Ministry of Construction for Areas of the Urals and Western Siberia, the USSR Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises, and several other ministries, that the proper concern for people is still lacking. Just like in the past, leaders treat young people as if they were a commodity, covering up economic mismanagement and disorganization by attracting additional labor resources. State funds are wasted, the meaning of Komsomol assignments is lost, and the Komsomol's prestige is damaged.

Intolerable conditions prevail at construction projects linked with the Kansk-achinsk Fuel and Energy Complex, the Gusinozersk and Kharanor GRES, the Krasnoyarsk heavy machine building plant, and the opening up of the Yamburg and Astrakhan gas condensate fields.

Such situations are unfortunately typical for many Komsomol shock labor construction projects. The Komsomol Central Committee sees this as the result of a one-sided approach toward such projects. We have turned into suppliers of young manpower, often limiting ourselves to flag waving and bombastic

slogans. It must be admitted that the Komsomol has failed to find levers to realize young people's great potential and their desire for self-assertion in labor at shock labor construction sites. We have failed to develop a machinery for collaboration with state and public organizations.

Today we must change the nature of our cooperation with ministries and departments on the development of the national economy's most important sectors. We offer to embark on an experiment in the construction of modern enterprises and cities--to give consent to advanced social, economic, architectural, urban planning, scientific, and technical development options for Komsomol construction projects.

/In our view, these projects must become projects of really great importance for ensuring the accelerated development of the country's entire national economy, primarily in regions of Siberia, the Far East, and Russia's Non-chernozem Zone.

The further opening up of new regions will require thousands of skilled workers, reliable guys and girls. It's not going to be volunteers that will be the problem. The work of Komsomol organizations must be assessed not by the number of detachments that have been formed or travel vouchers that have been issued, but by the real state of affairs at shock labor construction sites and the actual return from each work place.

It is also necessary to aim for a real expansion of the rights of Komsomol organizations at sponsored construction sites--from the promotion of leaders to the determination of procedures for financing projects under construction, with simultaneous enhancement of their responsibility for all affairs at the shock labor site. The interests of the cause demand that the Komsomol Central Committee together with the USSR Council of Ministers define the projects for long-term application of Komsomol forces over the 5-year plan period.

/Participation in the implementation of the party's agrarian policy and the Food Program is a most important matter for the Lenin Komsomol./ Concentrating their efforts on the involvement of young people in agricultural production and the creation of proper working and living conditions, Komsomol organizations have sent each year more than 160,000 young men and women to work in stockraising, rural construction, and land reclamation. The chronic trend of declining numbers of young people in the countryside can and must be overcome. Positive changes have occurred in this work, including in many regions of Russia's Non-chernozem Zone, which is sponsored by the Lenin Komsomol.

/Collective contracts, economic accountability, and intensive technologies are primarily the key factors for boosting the efficiency of agriculture./ Today they are utilized by about 34,000 Komsomol and young people's collectives, representing about one-third of the total. These forms of labor and production organization make it possible to display to the full the art of real and, if you like, creative stewards of the land. The training, education, and retention of such workers and participation in establishing

stable labor collectives in the countryside must be perceived by the Komsomol as one of its most important tasks.

The experience of individual Komsomol organizations shows that these problems can be solved. In Mordovia, for example, Komsomol committees ensured the involvement of the majority of school pupils in actual production relations through economically accountable school pupils' links of machine operators and stockmen. Integrated detachments consisting of school, VUZ, and technical college graduates are sent to farms, Komsomol and young people's collectives are formed, and efforts are made to get them to assimilate advanced technologies and forms of labor organization.

/Young people's desire to find an opportunity for creativity in labor is manifested in the keenness for collective contracts, including family contracts./ A year ago Mariya Gravirson, a mechanized milking foreman on the Estonian SSR's "Payuzn" Kolkhoz, and her husband Anatoliy took over a dairy farm on the basis of a family contract and pledged to obtain 4,250 kg of milk per cow. Conscientious performance of all technological operations and the desire to constantly augment their knowledge and improve their skills enabled them to achieve success. And here are the results: Milk yields are 20 percent higher than planned, labor costs have been reduced by almost one-third, and the prime cost per quintal of milk is 11 percent lower than on the kolkhoz as a whole. Last year Mariya was the winner of the International Young Stockmen's Competition in Bulgaria.

/Sponsorship of economically weak farms represents a specific contribution by the Komsomol to the implementation of the Food Program./ There are numerous examples of efficient work by Komsomol organizations in this area. Success is forthcoming wherever sponsorship is approached in a comprehensive fashion and young specialists and scientists are involved. They are not only concerned with sending cadres to sponsored kolkhozes and sovkhozes, but also develop their production base, aim at introducing advanced experience, and play an active part in the construction of housing and other projects for social purposes. It was precisely such an approach toward its sponsored "Komsomolskiy" Kolkhoz that enabled the Gomel Obkom to get the farm out of the laggard category within 3 years.

More than 50,000 young men and women responded to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's appeal to participate in the boosting of lagging farms. Just over 1,000 people managed to translate their intention into practice. Many farms are simply in no position to provide even the elementary conditions they need to move there and start work. We ask the USSR State Agroindustrial Committee to help us solve this problem.

A substantial increase in the practical contribution made by the Komsomol and young people to the intensification of social production and the implementation of the Food, Energy, and other socioeconomic programs will materialize if the younger generation becomes an active participant in changes and if it is given scope for the full implementation of its creative potential.

b) To Assist the Acceleration of Scientific and Technical Progress

The party is implementing energetic and innovative measures to enhance the economy's receptiveness to scientific and technical progress.

The intensification of production today involves a struggle between the new and the old, it involves overcoming the defective practice of only partially improving equipment. It means a genuinely revolutionary breakthrough to the highest world standards in science and technology, to high quality and competitiveness of Soviet products. This is a vast field for the application of young people's energy, knowledge, and creativity.

/The Komsomol's participation in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress is the main avenue of its activity in the 12th 5-Year Plan period./

At the same time, we can feel the effect of the persisting gap between young people's potential and the real opportunities for involving them in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

The temporary young people's creative collectives, set up as autonomous structural subdivisions, are an effective form for young men and women to participate in resolving specific production tasks today. We must be bolder in aiming to ensure that the solution of the most complex scientific and technical problems is assigned to these collectives, and they must be helped.

For year after year there was no change in our approach toward /young people's scientific and technical creativity./ There was no growth in the number of rationalizers and innovators, and exhibitions of young people's scientific and technical creativity were often just exercises in window dressing. The way out of this situation lies through fundamental restructuring of all work with young innovators.

/The party Central Committee backed the Komsomol Central Committee's proposal to create a unified social-state system for young people's scientific and technical creativity in the country./

The entire work on attracting young men and women to participate in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress is being organized on a new footing. It is necessary, right from the very beginning, to rule out formalism and unsystematic campaign work, and to coordinate conditions for the creation of a precise organizational and economic machinery within this system.

What does the Komsomol Central Committee perceive as the importance of the system for young people's scientific and technical creativity that is being developed?

First, young people's intellectual potential is enlisted in "opening out" bottlenecks in production and creating and assimilating new equipment and technologies.

Second, the initiative of innovators comes to fruition through economically accountable centers for young people's scientific and technical creativity, which organize the work of young people's creative collectives on the basis of contracts with enterprises.

Third, in the long run these centers ought to become experimental and practical-adoption [vnedrencheskiye] organizations, middlemen between young people's creative collectives, production, and the scientific community at large.

Fourth, the system will provide at all levels an organic link between enterprising public initiative and state backing for it, between self-motivated questing by young people and the necessary material and technical base.

It is also important for us as a real attempt to work out approaches which are fundamentally different from the past toward young people's and the Komsomol's participation in the resolution of major national economic tasks in organic conjunction with educational tasks.

It would be appropriate for one of the next few Komsomol Central Committee plenums to discuss the range of questions concerning the development of the system of young people's scientific and technical creativity.

/Under the conditions of the present-day scientific and technical revolution mastery of the fundamentals of computer literacy is becoming a most important factor in young people's training for life and labor./ In 5-10 years' time anyone unable to operate computer equipment will be like someone unable to read or write today.

So far we have not succeeded in launching a mass young people's movement for mastery of the fundamentals of computers and programming. Many Komsomol organizations have remained uninvolved in this work. The process of supplying schools, vocational and technical schools, and VUZ's with personal computers has been slow and painful. Only 2 percent of schools have information technology departments. An impermissible delay has developed in the resolution of questions concerning software supplies. There still are no author's copyright provisions, and no prices have been fixed for software products. The shortage of games and educational software results in computers standing idle.

Be that as it may, however, there is much that can be done right now. Young scientists and specialists in the city of Gorkiy have organized computer propaganda tours of schools, young pioneer camps, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes. Important work has been launched by student detachments in several VUZ's in Novosibirsk and Sverdlovsk to develop school computer programs. The best educational and games software, in no way inferior to foreign models, has been recommended for use in schools and in secondary vocational and technical schools. Initiatives like these must receive the Komsomol's backing.

Young people's computer clubs must become an effective form for Komsomol committees to participate in this work and must be supplied with the necessary equipment.

Moscow's "Kompyuter" Children's Club will soon be a year old. It was established through efforts by enthusiasts with active support from the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Central Economics and Mathematics Institute, and the Moscow Komsomol Gorkom. Such an interesting and important initiative can only be welcomed.

/The quality and competitiveness of output constitute a general indicator of scientific and technical progress and labor organization./ State acceptance has been introduced in many of the country's enterprises. Komsomol organizations must channel their efforts toward inculcating in each young working person a sense of responsibility for his section of work and observance of technological discipline and a sense of pride in his plant's brand name. More energetic work must be launched to set up quality control groups, which must become a comprehensive form of young men's and women's participation in the improvement of output quality. The movement for top-quality multiple-skill teams must be revived. It would be appropriate for Komsomol and young people's collectives to gradually take over the functions of young people's quality control groups.

/Scientific and technical progress and the present-day level of production raise with growing urgency the need for the constant improvement of skills./ Komsomol committees must involve real masters of their job in this work. This, in our view, is the most important point.

A truly talented person is always on the move and therefore has no fear of competition from young people. Let us recall the founder of Soviet cosmonautics Sergey Pavlovich Korolev. Metal worker Vladimir Stepanovich Chicherov, miner Mikhail Pavlovich Chikh, crop farmer Terentiy Semenovitch Maltsev, and many other eminent working people have become genuine mentors of young people.

/Komsomol organizations can and must set up a school for vocational skills around every real master of his job in order to preserve the invaluable experience and give new impetus to the mentorship movement./

Reliance on young people produces the desired effect only when the necessary conditions for creativity and vocational growth are created. Here is an example. The mining equipment, metal rolling machine tools, and most powerful hydraulic presses manufactured by the "Novokramatorskiy Mashinostroitelnyy Zavod" Production Association have become famous all over the world. They are purchased by more than 30 countries. Young people play a most active part in the development and assimilation of new equipment models. Each year there is an auction of young people's ideas, and the association has temporary creative collectives, a plant club for technical creativity, and young rationalizers' schools. Association Director Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Matsegora trusts young people, and they respond to this trust with enterprise work. Good work is

being done with young people at the "Rostselmash" Production Association, Leningrad's "Svetlana," the Kama Truck Plant, and Minsk's "Integral."

Many questions in production today expand from strictly technical into sociopolitical questions whose solution determines the involvement of young men and women in the real acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

/The proportion of nonmechanized labor is still high./ In most cases, the real conditions at work places match neither the needs nor the abilities of young working people. Even if the rate of equipment renewal does treble as planned, this will enable only a fraction of young production workers to start working on new machine tools by end of the 5-year plan period. Much can be done here by making use of own resources. Young people in Leningrad and Kharkov Oblasts have actively joined in the technical remodeling of enterprises, switch to two- and three-shift working everywhere, and make more intensive use of the existing pool of modern machinery.

Komsomol committees, together with specialists, must seriously tackle this and ponder how young people's labor can be alleviated and improved and what help can be given in creating the conditions necessary for enterprises to switch to multi-shift working.

/The implacability of Komsomol members and young people toward squanderers and idlers, toward grabbers, and toward routine in production must be encouraged. The "Komsomol Searchlight" system has a most important task to perform in this respect./

We must breathe new life into it. We must restore its initial militancy and uncompromising attitude. The "Komsomol Searchlight" is a form of young people's participation in monitoring from "below." The role of the "Komsomol Searchlight" must be significantly enhanced in ensuring precise work by the entire chain of production, in inculcating responsibility to production partners, and in upholding young people's interests in the sphere of labor, daily life, and leisure. Komsomol members and young people must know and believe that the "Komsomol Searchlight" and the Komsomol organization will help obtain justice in any matter but will also call to account any violators of discipline and slipshod workers.

/Young scientists and specialists must play a special role in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in production./

To date far from full use is being made of their potential in this work. Young specialists themselves often lack initiative, give up in the face of difficulties, cannot lead the collective, and do not learn to do so.

On the other hand, Komsomol committees have simply failed to give serious support to young scientists and specialists. Many of their valuable suggestions are not utilized in production. Even developments awarded the Lenin Komsomol Prize find it difficult to overcome departmental barriers.

Everyone knows the problems of vegetable bases. In Moscow alone more than 7,000 people are daily diverted to work there. Some 4 years ago young scientists from the Potato Farming Scientific Research Institute and the Moscow Institute of Agricultural Production Engineers developed an automated quality control and sorting unit for fruit and vegetables. The suggested technology makes it possible to fully eliminate manual labor in potato sorting, ensuring high quality and preventing damage to the potatoes. Some 10 such units should have been working in Moscow's fruit and vegetable enterprises by this year, but not a single one is yet operational. The Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building and the USSR State Agroindustrial Committee have still shown no interest in the broad introduction of the young people's achievement.

The councils of young scientists and specialists have totally lost their former prestige as organizers of young enthusiasts and their collaboration with production. And yet it is they who should be concerned with ensuring that the natural difficulties of professional growth do not become insurmountable obstacles for some young specialists.

They must focus young people's efforts on the priority sectors of retooling, using for this purpose targeted competitions, contracts for scientific and technical collaboration, creative associations, and the elaboration of specific targets for young people for the improvement of production and the introduction of new equipment and technology.

We appeal to the leaders of ministries and departments, the leaders of enterprises: Place more trust in young people, give them an opportunity to display their initiative, to compete, to implement useful and interesting initiatives, and you'll see--they will completely change the old ideas about their attitude toward labor.

#### c) To Constantly Master Modern Knowledge

/Our society's urgent need for knowledge in the period of restructuring is comparable only to the need the country experienced in the first difficult years of Soviet power./

Let us recall how V. I. Lenin formulated the question: "...A communist society cannot be built in a country of illiterates. It is not enough for Soviet power to order, or for the party to issue a certain slogan, or to assign a proportion of the best workers to this work. What is needed is for the younger generation itself to tackle this work."

A reform of education is being implemented in the country. It affects the fundamental interests of the training and education of millions of young men and women. This is why, as far as the Komsomol is concerned, this is one of the most advanced and most important sectors of the struggle for the renewal of society.

The school reform has been under way for 3 years now, progressing slowly and with difficulty. But many Komsomol committees still seem to be waiting for something. They are waiting for instructions from "above," they are waiting for school pupils' attitudes toward study to change, they are waiting for an atmosphere of cooperation between teachers and pupils to be established in schools.

Yet we must act, and act without any delay. /It must be said bluntly that the reform's demand for a fundamental improvement in the work of Komsomol and young pioneer organizations and the development of their initiative and self-motivation is not being met./

The forms of quality control of knowledge, order, and discipline applied by teachers have also become forms of Komsomol committees' work. While Komsomol meetings, reviews, and competitions are part of the school curriculum.

There has been no effective collaboration between Komsomol organizations in schools in the same rayon. Even in the same school teachers' and pupils' organizations have often failed to find a common language.

It is primarily Komsomol-member pupils and Komsomol-member teachers who must become aware of the need to act. It is up to them to display initiative, independence, and responsibility.

/This detachment of the Komsomol demands a solicitous attitude from Komsomol raykoms and gorkoms./ It is they that must show concern for the practical training of teachers for joint work with pupils' Komsomol organizations.

We have to establish permanent and lively contacts between school pupils and working young people, Soviet Army servicemen, and students, and literally "enfold" them in Komsomol life at large.

/The acquisition of knowledge means hard work. But school pupils and students continue to labor under the impression that the period of learning is only a time for climbing the foothills of labor, that this is not yet real life but only preparation for it./

The stereotypes of school life, isolation from reality, and the lack of conflicts in school courses have given many children a rosy impression of society, labor, and their future. An obvious gap has developed between formal education, the knowledge acquired by pupils, and their social maturity. Closing this gap means making education lead the way rather than bringing up the rear.

Komsomol committees must cultivate among school pupils and students a conscientious and creative attitude toward the acquisition of knowledge, the application of knowledge in real life, technical and artistic creativity, and productive labor and encourage self-education.

/Comrades, let us get down to a job that is new to us--the quest for talent./ After all, talent is a priceless asset of society. Let us set up under the Central Committee new adolescents' clubs for children with clearly visible creative abilities. Like, for example, clubs for young research workers, programs, or cosmonauts. And many more besides, but they must all be definitely headed by a recognized authority in the relevant sphere. Each such club could have its own permanent camp, summer schools, and competition system. Every Komsomol committee publication for children, teenagers, and young people must have a creative association for gifted children corresponding with its specific field.

/It is socially dangerous to retain the currently prevailing stereotyped attitude toward vocational education./

Just like in the past, children are threatened--by teachers at school and by parents at home--that they will be sent to vocational and technical school as punishment for disobedience or poor performance. Just like in the past, rural schools are unpopular among young people. One in every five has no school farm, while one in three lacks elementary conditions for study. The schools mainly have obsolete equipment. Essentially often only a handful of workers are trained to operate new equipment and agricultural machinery.

Each year about 50,000 pupils of rural vocational and technical schools abandon their studies, and one graduate in three leaves the farm without completing even a year's work. Apart from any moral damage, this causes enormous material damage to the state. The problems of rural vocational and technical schools go far beyond the framework of shortcomings in vocational training. They involve questions of the cultural standard and social maturity of the next generation of the working class and kolkhoz peasantry. And here we are already talking about a political issue.

The main shortcoming here lies in the fact that Komsomol organizations in schools, rural vocational and technical schools, sovkhozes and kolkhozes, and industrial enterprises have not managed to pool their efforts and consequently have failed to exert any serious influence on the solution of these problems. Of course, it is beyond the Komsomol's powers to eliminate all shortcomings on its own, but it must not stand aside, either.

The main element in these Komsomol committees' joint work consists not of giving assurances of Komsomol sponsorship or issuing Komsomol assignments in their hundreds of thousands but of displaying daily concern for the ideological and moral education of pupils in rural vocational and technical schools and the conditions of their study, daily life, and leisure and also solicitude for their adaptation to production work.

/Young students have shown keen interest in the restructuring of the system of higher and secondary specialized education./

For many years the growth of the number of specialists with higher education overshadowed the quality of their training. Education for education's sake

resulted in the emergence of a specialist who is not prepared to solve complex problems independently and up to the requirements of modern standards and unable to work hard and be an effective leader of the collective.

Unskilled teachers, lawyers, physicians, and scientists cause incalculable economic and moral damage. We now have a whole army of engineers and "urban" agronomists and veterinary technicians who are not working in their specialized field.

The Komsomol must help talented, capable, and determined people to enter the universities, put an end to elitist admission to "prestigious VUZ's," ensure social justice for university entrants from among workers and kolkhoz members, and guide young people toward teacher training institutes.

We need honest competition based on children's abilities and knowledge rather than on their parents' ability to pull strings. Here, too, Komsomol organizations must take an uncompromising stance.

"From the work place to the university lecture hall!"--this movement won the support of young people in Ulyanovsk Oblast. We are familiar with Poltava's "School--teacher Training VUZ--SCHOOL" experiment. Future specialists are selected at schools for young physicists, chemists, and designers under Moscow's Engineering and Physics Institute and Kazan's Chemical Technology Institute. This approach merits support.

Social justice must be observed not only in the context of VUZ entry. Students joke: It is easier to get into an institute than to "soar upward" out of it. Komsomol-member students themselves know better than any dean's office who is really studying and who is extending his carefree childhood. Komsomol organizations must display principledness and an uncompromising attitude here.

/The restructuring of higher and secondary specialized schools which is under way offers VUZ and technical college Komsomol committees the opportunity to resolutely restructure their own work on the principles of self-motivation and initiative./

In order to resolve the tasks of restructuring on a broad democratic basis young people must acquire economic and managerial knowledge.

But what sort of knowledge can we talk about if students and school pupils continue, as before, to obtain it only from textbooks?

/In order for young people to understand the essence of terms like "economic accountability," "self-financing," or "prime costs" they must participate in real production relations. Wherever this is possible, and the earlier the better./

Some 18 months ago the "Yunost" School Plant in the Rostov Oblast City of Kamensk-shakhtinskiy started producing industrial output--centrifugal pumps,

consumer goods, special clothing. But this is not the only important aspect. The 600 school pupils, while mastering their vocations, are real masters of the enterprise and sense their responsibility for the fulfillment of plan indicators and the organization of production.

But school or student plants and production associations or school farms are still unique phenomena, even though they first appeared more than 2 decades ago.

The Komsomol Central Committee should have long ago displayed initiative in studying this experience and in laying organizational and legal foundations for its dissemination. Unfortunately, we did not do this. But we do have an opportunity to set matters right. /We are faced with the natural and justified question of expanding the sphere of activity of school pupils' labor associations and creating a system for their management, as a number of union republics have already done./ This must be done in the very near future.

/School and student self-management is essentially the first and therefore the most important lesson in democracy./

But the Komsomol's participation in the management of educational establishments' affairs today is restricted and confined not to matters of essence but to matters of form like, for example, drawing up monitor duty rosters and ensuring the observance of sanitation and hygiene rules, or--in students' collectives--to the organization of leisure, hostel life, and self-service facilities, and that not everywhere, either.

But when it comes to the main questions of the organization of the teaching and education process the message is: It's nothing to do with you. How will students and school pupils assess this, what and how will they be taught?

The Komsomol Central Committee is convinced that the habit of perceiving pupils as just objects of pedagogical influence will not make it possible to attain the goals set by the restructuring of education.

The USSR Ministry of Education spent 3 years drafting a Schools Statute but it simply failed to make any provision for self-management. This is evidently why the leaders of public education limited themselves to a purely professional discussion, without school pupils themselves. As if these questions did not affect everyone.

/School pupils' self-management is a key question for school Komsomol organizations./ It is important to give pupils real rights in their own school, including complete responsibility for its safekeeping; it is important for them to learn to understand the budget, to show concern for supplementing it, and to expend any state funds saved or earned by them.

School pupils' collectives must play a real part in the planning and organization of the teaching and education process, and must express their opinion of teachers' labor and their own comrades' behavior and diligence.

It is understandable that this will require a certain restructuring of the mentality of children themselves, but this will not be achieved without changing the mentality of adults.

In presenting the question in this fashion, the Komsomol Central Committee proceeds from the actual experience of schools and vocational and technical schools and presupposes a considered and pedagogically literate approach, mandatory experimentation, and scientific interpretation.

/It is necessary to restore one of the best traditions of our higher schools--students' self-management. The questions on which neither the rector's office nor the professorial and tutorial staff are allowed to make decisions without students' agreement must be defined./

It would be appropriate for the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee, following a broad discussion, to adopt a normative document defining the rights and obligations of student collectives.

/The Komsomol Central Committee has received quite a few suggestions to convene an all-Union students' forum and to establish, under the Komsomol's leadership, student councils headed by a USSR Students' Council./ These proposals must be carefully studied. An all-Union students' forum could discuss the progress of the implementation of measures envisaged by the restructuring of higher and secondary specialized schools and questions of the VUZ Komsomol's work.

/Noticeable success in school pupils' self-management can be achieved provided there is a real expansion of teachers' rights of questing and creativity in organizing the tuition and education process, provided we succeed in putting an end to petty regulations governing the life of educational collectives./

"I have seen many things and I have been through a lot in my life as a teacher, but I have never before come across anything like what I am going to describe," a teacher from the Moscow region wrote to the Komsomol Central Committee.

"The collected orders issue No 13, May 1986, contained a 'Letter of Instructions for Compiling a Unified Timetable of Tuition and Extracurricular Work with Pupils in General Education Schools' issued by the RSFSR Ministry of Education for practical use in school work. According to this letter, class teachers must compile an 'Individual Assignments Record' for each pupil in their class. After this, having compiled 40-45 such records (depending on the number of pupils in the class), the class teacher must compile a 'Unified Assignments Records for /Pupils of the Whole Class/.' On the basis of the /records/ collected from all classes, the organizer of extracurricular activities must compile a reference record of /each school pupil's assignments./ To put it simply, it could not have been worse! When a school has 800-900 pupils, the reference 'record' will require 6-7 sheets of Whatman paper. And what about schools with 1,500-2,000 pupils?... So much for savings in paper, let alone any moral damage caused by such 'Sisyphean labor.'

"And how many 'letters of instructions' like this descend on our schools! How much paper is wasted to no purpose, how many useless reports are compiled, how many study and 'creative' plans are drawn up!"

It must be admitted that both the Komsomol Central Committee and other Komsomol committees are authors or co-authors of numerous instructions and directives, of countless "long-play" actions and measures. Just before the congress the Central Committee Bureau adopted a resolution on regularizing measures involving pupils in schools and secondary vocational and technical schools, granting Komsomol and young pioneer organizations independence in the selection of forms and means of their activity.

But a unilateral "moratorium" on form determination from "above" is not enough. This is why we are insistently asking the ministries, departments, and organizations concerned to follow our example.

/Teachers are our main allies, and it is incumbent upon the Komsomol to uphold their right to quest, to save their time, and to support their efforts aimed at developing school pupils' initiative and self-motivation./

/Modern education is impossible without the development of science and reproduction of scientific cadres. This demands that talented young people, the natural successor of scientific generations, be broadly involved in scientific activity./

Unfortunately, this process was violated during the last few years. The problem of aging scientific cadres emerged. They have an average age of approaching 50. The position and role of young people in scientific institutions and in science as a whole are declining. In the last 4 years the number of Komsomol members among scientific associates, VUZ lecturers, and postgraduate students fell by almost 23,000. The proportion of young people among senior scientific associates today is lower than ever before. There are virtually no young people among section, sector, or laboratory chiefs.

Competition in specialized technical, physics, and mathematical fields is declining, and the ranks of postgraduate students are short of outstanding talent. About 15-20 percent of postgraduate students defend their dissertations on schedule. But even these alarming figures do not reflect the entire depth of the problems concealed here.

Under modern conditions, a loss of responsibility to science essentially means a loss of responsibility to society. The year that has just passed clearly showed the damage that can be inflicted on the country by the most complex equipment when it is entrusted to negligent and incompetent people. But there is also a different kind of irresponsibility. It occurs when some specialist indifferently asserts that our country lags in terms of some important indicator of scientific and technical progress. It occurs when a young scientist participates in the development of dubious projects which are actively condemned by the public.

To judge by everything, the ideology and mentality of stagnation have even penetrated deep inside a dynamic sphere like science. A technocratic type of young scientist has developed whose thinking is on such a "global" scale that his circle of interests often excludes terms like honesty, daring, morals, and patriotism.

/The problems of training scientific replacements are very acute, and radical measures are needed to solve them./

We know that the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium is making efforts to overcome the stagnation in scientific cadres, and we sincerely welcome these efforts. There will be movement along the entire chain, which will enable talented young people to get into real science.

We recently agreed with the leadership of the Academy of Sciences on specific organizational and economic measures aimed at creating conditions for the professional and creative growth of young scientists and the objective assessment of their labor. We think that joint coordinated steps in this direction will help to enhance young people's contribution to science.

The Komsomol shares with schools, VUZ's, and academy science responsibility for educating the new individual and shaping the new man. /On the threshold of the new millennium the readiness of young people to continuously master modern knowledge and the ability to utilize it are one of the most important conditions for society's political and economic viability. Today there is a topical and impassioned sound to Lenin's appeal to learn./

d) To Participate Actively in the Implementation of the Party's Social Policy

Comrades!

The Komsomol can and must participate eagerly and actively in the implementation of the party's social policy as elaborated by the 27th CPSU Congress. This is a new and almost untouched sector of work for us.

/Exceptionally great importance for the education of young people attaches to overcoming the leftover principle in appropriating funds for social needs.

/For rather a long time the Komsomol Central Committee and Komsomol committees held a position of noninterference./

While reproaching--not without reason--young men and women for a consumerist attitude to life, we shut our eyes to the consumerist attitude toward young people's enthusiasm.

For example, school pupils work two and three shifts on most all-Union Komsomol shock labor construction sites, while thousands of young mothers do not work through the lack of children's preschool institutions. The availability of social, cultural, and consumer services facilities in new economic regions that are being opened up is considerably below the all-union

average. This situation has developed because the USSR Gosplan and the ministries, when planning the construction of industrial projects, left housing and social, cultural, and consumer services facilities "for later." The social infrastructure developed without taking into account the influx of young people, the growing number of young families, and the rising birth rate.

This is how Valeriy Peshkov describes the "concern" for young people's daily life at the Berezovka No 1 GRES shock labor construction site in Krasnoyarsk Kray: "The GRES and the city itself have been under construction for over 10 years, but living conditions here are still unsatisfactory. The temperature in young people's hostels rarely rises above 5-6 degrees in winter, and the walls are covered by frost like a refrigerator's freezer compartment. People often have to sleep in their felt boots, padded jackets, and hats. The streets are not properly laid and neglected. Food in the dining rooms is, first, expensive and, second, very bad."

Production giants with a dwarf-like social base have been erected in Siberia and the Far East. Even though this approach is condemned today, the force of inertia is still great.

Construction work started in 1986 on a new city on the Amur River in Khabarovsk Kray. Following a Komsomol appeal, a 700-strong all-Union detachment was sent there. The construction project is new, but the attitude toward young people is the same as ever.

The city's development is taking place without a master plan, and no account has been taken of the effect of future production units on the highly vulnerable local environment. The Komsomol Central Committee has requested the USSR Council of Ministers to show greater interest in the fate of this young city. But it is impossible to adopt special resolutions on all young cities. What is needed is a new and modern approach to questions of comprehensive planning, to the planning and construction of these cities. There is no other way to avoid educational defects resulting from unconsidered economic activity.

This is also what happened on the Baykal-amur Main Railroad. For the majority of construction workers the "temporary" lack of facilities has already stretched over more than 10 years. There is an acute shortage of housing, kindergartens and creches, and projects for cultural and consumer services purposes.

The Komsomol Central Committee feels that it bears direct guilt to the volunteers who went off to join in the construction of the Baykal-amur Main Railroad on Komsomol travel passes. The Baykal-amur Main Railroad is the key to regions which we will be populating in the years to come. It is a matter of honor for the Lenin Komsomol to finalize its sponsorship of the construction and development of this project.

/Komsomol officials and the aktiv must learn to understand the economics and purpose of the structure of social consumption funds./ It is necessary to

learn to influence the compilation of plans for socioeconomic development and to aim for more active assistance by society for the categories of young people and young families most in need of such assistance.

/Housing is the most acute social problem for young people./ It takes an average of 10-15 years for a young family to acquire an apartment, and the results of labor have virtually no effect on the improvement of housing conditions.

There is no room for illusions here. It is impossible to solve this problem only for young people, without taking other categories of working people into account. This is a problem of the whole state and the whole people, and it must be solved by society as a whole.

/It is possible to accelerate its solution for some young people who have the greatest need and have distinguished themselves in labor. A real opportunity to achieve this is offered by young people's housing complexes./

The principle applied in them--providing housing in accordance with each person's personal labor contribution--is a socialist principle. It is liked by the majority of young working people.

Thousands of young families live in young people's housing complexes, and tomorrow there will be 10 times as many. The ministries are allocating considerable funds for their construction. Is it right, however, to build young people's housing complexes only in accordance with set plans? In our view, this approach is outdated. It is possible to achieve a considerable increase in the commissioning of housing and social, cultural, and consumer service projects with the help of young people's initiative merely by building young people's complexes over and above the existing targets. The most realistic way to achieve this goal is to help bring enterprises in the construction industry up to their planned capacity. A new stage in this work could begin by creating, on the basis of young people's housing complex collectives, independent economically accountable young people's construction organizations, as is happening now in Leningrad and Nakhodka and is planned for Moscow, Riga, and other cities. The USSR Gosstroy backed the Komsomol Central Committee's suggestion about the creation of young people's construction organizations to build young people's housing complexes. We are convinced that, given the acute shortage of cadres, such construction organizations with a rotating complement of workers, who are vitally interested in both the pace and the quality of work, can make a major contribution to the solution of the country's housing problem.

/Young people's housing complexes do not provide only housing. They are a new form of socialist communal life, which develops relations of friendship, comradeship, and mutual assistance./ This is furthered to a considerable extent by the fact that the best young people's housing complexes have their own solid material base of social, cultural, and consumer service facilities, a base which, incidentally, has been built by the young people themselves.

It is the task of Komsomol committees to prevent the bureaucratization of live work and to prevent any exploitation of this most acute problem and the placing of young people in opposition to the elder generation.

/There are at present more than 10 million people living in hostels./ By no means all of them have created conditions for study and leisure. Often they are simply in short supply. A large number of hostels are sited in unadapted buildings that have not been repaired for a long time. Some three-fourths of hostels have no snack bars or dining rooms, and about half have not been supplied with furniture and fittings according to norms.

/The role of each Komsomol organization in this regard must be to aim for the allocation of the necessary funds, to create satisfactory daily life and housing conditions, to participate in the selection and training of educators, to boost the prestige of self-management organs, and, if it becomes necessary, to take in its own hands the imposition of order in every hostel./

The problems of small family accommodation is particularly acute. Only 15 percent of the need for such accommodation has been satisfied. It is young families that suffer the most from this. Quoting all sorts of circulars and prohibitions, zealous administrators--frequently with the tacit agreement of Komsomol committees--simply evict newly married couples and refuse to issue them with residence permits. Meanwhile in Yerevan, for example, some hostels have only a 40-50 percent rate of occupancy. Despite this, thousands of families squeeze in private accommodation and pay considerable sums for it.

In many places it is possible right now to resolve the question of temporary housing for young families in hostels, boost the construction of family hostels, and improve their material facilities. This question was examined in 1985 at a session of the Commission for Holding International Youth Year in the USSR. In accordance with its recommendations, a draft resolution on hostels was elaborated and submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers, but 18 months have already passed and the document has simply not been adopted. Meanwhile the situation in many hostels is deteriorating. In our view, the problem of hostels demands a particularly keen examination and corresponding decision by the government.

/Young people feel particularly acutely the substantial social, cultural, and consumer service differences existing between city and countryside./

The road network and consumer service and trade facilities are extremely underdeveloped in the countryside. Cities are several times superior to the countryside in terms of the availability of water supplies and central heating in population centers. And even the conditions of labor are, let us be blunt, different.

There will be a significant increase in the volume of funds channeled into the social modernization of the countryside in the current 5-year plan period. It is important for us to find areas for the application of young people's energy in making use of them.

Many Komsomol committees have become organizers of rural young people's housing construction cooperatives with municipal services up to urban standards. Plans for rural young people's housing complexes have been elaborated in Kirov, Omsk, Irkutsk, and Sverdlovsk Oblasts.

/Rural construction workers are faced with a difficult task--completing the construction in the current 5-year plan period of clubs and houses of culture in all population centers and rayon centers./

The funds allocated for this purpose are double the amount in the previous 5-year plan period. These funds were not fully utilized last year. Komsomol organizations must also participate in the construction of rural clubs and in determining the content of their work regardless of their departmental subordination.

/It is simply obligatory for Komsomol committees to finally tackle the strengthening of young families./ There are many problems here: Housing and consumer services conditions, material and other daily life difficulties, growing numbers of divorces. This is not the first time we have mentioned them.

The problem of young families was singled out in particular at the 27th CPSU Congress. It must be frankly said that the Komsomol Central Committee and other Komsomol committees simply did not get down seriously to this important work and failed to give attention to inculcating in young men and women a sense of responsibility for the creation and safeguarding of families and the education of children.

We believe that the problem of young families is a state problem demanding immediate and most serious measures.

/We are particularly alarmed about children raised in children's homes and boarding schools./ Children's homes are becoming "warmer" and children's living conditions are improving. The Komsomol has played its part in this. Many of them, however, still show little human interest in the fate of children deprived of parental love. There are serious shortcomings in the work done in this sphere by Komsomol committees in Turkmenia and in Arkhangelsk, Irkutsk, and Novosibirsk Oblasts. The fact that the secretaries of the Perm Komsomol Obkom and the oblast's Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms have not visited the oblast's children's homes and boarding schools for years is attributable only to official callousness and bureaucratic attitudes. And these homes and schools frequently suffer from cold and damp conditions in their premises, bad food, and acute shortage of books and games. Even the funds and books allocated by the Komsomol Central Committee do not always reach them.

The Komsomol Central Committee is participating in a social experiment launched in Kirov Oblast--the establishment of a children's home under the Lapse Plant. The labor collective has taken over the role of the family, guaranteeing jobs and housing for the home's residents in the future. We

believe that this example could be followed by many other labor collectives and their Komsomol organizations.

It has somehow happened, comrades, that /the greatest attention is paid to two categories of Komsomol members--adolescents and young people "on their way out" of the Komsomol./

The situation must be corrected. On the whole, more attention must be devoted to the most important and crucial times in each young person's life. These are graduation from school, coming of age, army service and the start of independent labor activity, the creation of a family, and the birth of a child. There is not and there cannot be any education, there cannot be any Komsomol without attention to man.

/Important government decisions on young people's tourism were adopted by the government during the period under review. Even so tourism in the country is developing extremely slowly and with great difficulties./

There is enormous interest in tourist travel among young men and women, but the opportunities are extremely limited. Today only one-tenth of the demand for such services is met by the "Sputnik" youth camps. This is due to the underdevelopment of "Sputnik's" own tourism base, the lack of attention devoted to it by several union republic councils of ministers, and lack of initiative on the part of many Komsomol committees and "Sputnik" offices. Travel costs are frequently rather high for young people. Now, under the new conditions of economic management, it is important to prevent them getting even higher. If need be, trade union and economic organs should be asked to help. We think that they will not refuse to help such a cause.

/There is a pressing need to change the procedures in the planning, production, and marketing of commodities in demand by young people./ Such products represent 6-7 percent in the production program of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry and are due to reach only 15-20 percent by 1990. Light industry and trade still operate on the notion of the "average buyer," meaning ageless people with identical tastes. A considerable number of young people satisfy their consumer demands by buying imported goods and often making use of the services of speculators.

The country has some interesting experience in solving these problems. The slogan "Goods for the young--from the hands of the young" is already a reality for many enterprises and Komsomol committees in Belorussian, Latvia, and the Ukraine. There is a need to pool the efforts of all interested ministries and departments and to create specialized industrial-trading firms and commercial associations.

The Komsomol Central Committee submitted these proposals to the government 18 months ago, but the situation has remained virtually unchanged since then.

Let us recall the rise of singer-songwriters and the lack of guitars for sale, of numerous vocal and instrumental groups and the poor quality of equipment

and instruments, of hang gliding and the primitive methods used to manufacture the equipment, of the "skateboard" passion and the absence of wheeled boards. Now we have a new problem--video equipment. In order to counteract backroom video clubs with their--mildly speaking--dubious repertory, we need primarily top-quality and inexpensive Soviet-made equipment and absorbing and meaningful video programs. Their production is being organized. But while they are still in short supply, preferential rights to acquire them must be given to Komsomol organizations, young clubs, cafes, and hostels.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on the organization of the production of video equipment. It is our immediate task to ensure most direct and eager participation in its implementation. This applies primarily to Komsomol organizations at base enterprises--the video equipment manufacturers in Voronezh, Novgorod, and Leningrad. A competition could even be organized among young people's creative collectives for the best model of a Soviet-made videotape recorder.

/Unfortunately, the country's toy design and production is lagging./ Children and adolescents today need not only plush mice and inflatable rabbits, but also modern toys--electronic toys which develop cognitive activeness.

It is here that young specialists, students, and Komsomol organizations in the appropriate enterprises must apply their imagination and inventiveness. And the Komsomol can display its initiative here--it could announce an all-Union competition and organize an exhibition of the best prototypes of educational games and toys.

Comrades!

/Young people themselves must eject from our common home such disgusting phenomena as drunkenness, drug addiction, and hooliganism./

You all know the public response to many central and local newspapers' coverage of these subjects. Much of what people previously preferred to keep silent about has come to light in the atmosphere of publicity. We have raised these problems with sufficient urgency, now they must be solved, now we must act.

The steps taken by the party and the government to combat drunkenness and alcoholism and cut back the production and sale of alcoholic beverages are perhaps the most resolute educational measure in the last few decades. This is a bold and exceptionally important step.

/All Komsomol organizations must consider it one of their most important jobs to help bring to an end the struggle against drunkenness and moonshining. Drunkenness is incompatible with Komsomol membership.

/Drug addiction poses a serious threat to the physical and moral health of the growing generation./ We cannot take consolation from the fact that there are millions of drug addicts in the West and only thousands of them in our

country. This social evil must not spread in our country. Apart from anything else, drug addiction, like drunkenness, is a breeding ground for crime. According to the results of social studies, two-thirds of the drug addicts polled in Georgia, for example, spend between R100 and R3,000 a month on the poisonous venom. Of course, such sums can be obtained only by criminal means. According to experts' estimates, underground drug dealers in this republic earn tens of millions of rubles each year. But the highest price for this is paid by our society. Unless this phenomenon is countered by the force of the law, by public opinion, by medical assistance for those in need of treatment, and by Komsomol organizations' work, the infection will spread.

The Komsomol Central Committee understands how great is the danger of drunkenness and drug addiction for young people, and intends to act by pooling the efforts of all organizations. It is necessary to conduct persistent and skilled preventive work among young people in every organization and to ensure that children are engaged in interesting work.

/Young people react with anguish to the fact that in our society there are people who cynically trample the norms of socialist morals and Soviet laws./

You have learned from the press, comrades, that some young people have decided to struggle against them in groups or individually. We can only welcome this pure and noble initiative, but we cannot approve the methods of struggle which are frequently applied in such instances.

It is incumbent upon the congress to call on all young people, who are not indifferent to the fact that swindlers and scoundrels rub shoulders with honest working people, to unite in operational Komsomol detachments and groups to combat embezzlement of socialist property, drunkenness, drug addiction, and hooliganism so that, together with the militia, they may strike a real blow against these ugly phenomena.

/There is another major and exceptionally interesting and complex task which we must resolve--to affirm a healthy way of life among young people. Sport is our main ally in this work./

Adolescents and young people are eager to engage in physical culture and sports. But much formalism has built up in this lively and interesting work.

Komsomol committees must share the blame for the fact that avalanches of figures and events in many places have simply swamped live mass sports work. Even in today's popular running clubs and fitness groups the majority of members are middle-aged and elderly people. Young people are to be encountered much less frequently along tourist tracks. The "Ready for Labor and Defense" badge can be acquired simply by participating in a single sports festival, while joining the millions-strong army of physical culture enthusiasts is just a matter of getting a 30-kopek membership stamp.

The last few years have seen a widening of the gap between top competitive sports and mass and generally accessible sports and physical culture. While

showing the respect due to our outstanding sportsmen, we must effect a turnabout toward mass sports and physical culture.

The problem of sports facilities has already become the talk of the town. They are in short supply, and those that do exist are often deserted.

Yes, we need new sports palaces, swimming pools, and stadiums. These construction projects are exactly suitable for the Komsomol. But order must be imposed in all existing fields and halls, they must be supplied with trainers, and their intensive utilization must be organized. All this often requires not so much material resources as enthusiasm, inventiveness, and a kind of organizational chance-taking, the demolition of departmental barriers.

There is abundant proof of the resourcefulness of physical culture enthusiasts and Komsomol organizations. One example is the mass "Motor City Winter Ball Game" tournament in the city of Tolyatti.

Largely thanks to the efforts of Komsomol committees, recognition has been given to the "Hopeful Starts" children's sports games in Omsk and Tomsk Oblasts, which are mass summer and winter rural games; to basketball in the Baltic republics; and to mass mini-soccer tournaments in Georgia. Competitions for the Komsomol Central Committee's "Leather Ball," "Golden Puck," and "White Rook" club prizes are popular virtually everywhere.

Not announcing more and more monthly events, but looking for people who are dedicated and capable of arousing young people's interest in sports, and helping them morally and materially--this is the only possible way to promote mass sports and, at the same time, cultivate a healthy way of life. The all-Union students' games for the prize of the "Molodaya Gvardiya" Komsomol Central Committee Publishing House, which will be inaugurated this year, are called upon to fully serve this purpose.

In our view, the practical organization of mass physical culture work in young people's and adolescents' places of residence and leisure could become the main sphere for the application of the Komsomol's energy in the next 5 years.

We believe that housing management committees must become the centers for the organization of this work, by creating under them a widespread network of most diverse physical culture and sports sections, study circles, children's, adolescents' and young people's clubs, and amateur associations, including on the principles of self-financing.

Another important area will involve establishing new Komsomol Central Committee clubs modeled on existing ones, expanding the age limits and structure of their membership, and involving in them "difficult" adolescents and young people of predraft and draft age.

The successes of outstanding Soviet sportsmen Sergey Bubko, Vyacheslav Yekimov, Anatoliy Karpov, Garri Kasparov, Yuriy Korolev, Arvidas Sabonis, Maya

Chiburdanidze, and Robert Emmiyan are a wonderful example of emulation, for the cultivation of will power, industry, and courage.

The civic and moral stance of masters of sports are highly important in this respect. Komsomol committees should not reduce their role in work with them to just organizing festive celebrations. Komsomol organizations are called upon to show concern to ensure that each young person, while scaling the heights of strength and agility, affirms the best traditions of Soviet sports and, by means of his personal example, propagandizes the healthy way of life in constant contacts with young people.

The entire complex of young people's social problems, by no means all of which have been mentioned here, must remain within Komsomol committees' field of vision. Help in the solution of many of them can be provided by giving Komsomol members themselves an opportunity to display initiative. This will be a contribution toward the implementation of the party's social policy, as well as a most important prerequisite for enhancing the Komsomol's prestige.

III. To Form a Marxist-Leninist World Philosophy, to Enrich Young People's Spiritual World

Comrades!

/The time of revolutionary renewal has confirmed Lenin's well known idea: In terms of people's political development, a year in such periods is equal to decades./

Under the influence of the 27th CPSU Congress ideas, under the influence of the changes occurring in Soviet society, new impressions about socialism and its potential are taking shape in young men's and women's consciousness. Young people are becoming more firmly convinced that our ideals and principles of social justice are victorious both in theory and in life.

This was the vein in which the preconference discussion took place. Heated debates were conducted at Komsomol conferences at Moscow University, the Volga Motor Vehicles Plant, the Likhachev Motor Vehicle Plants, and many other organizations. Our task is to support young people's desire to investigate today's complex and contradictory world and the developments occurring in the country's economic and sociopolitical life and to help them do so from positions of Marxism-Leninism, the positions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

The sharp arguments about the Statute, the Komsomol's goals and tasks, and young people's place in restructuring which flared in many organizations and in the press not only do not give grounds for doubting the world philosophical positions of those participating in them but, on the contrary, convincingly prove that in young people's minds there is no alternative to socialism.

/The time of renewal has generated among many people a need to turn afresh to Lenin and to Lenin's teaching./

Young people lean toward living and creative Marxism-Leninism and do not tolerate dogmatism, scholasticism, and political phrasemongering. The answer to many questions about the place of young people and the Komsomol are still to be found in Lenin's speech at the Third Russian Communist Youth Union Congress and its central idea that the Young Union's main task is to learn communism.

/The pregress discussion became a test of the effectiveness of our political education work. And let us say frankly: Many of its conventional forms and methods failed to pass this test./

Komsomol and ideological workers often prove totally unprepared to show respect for a different opinion or a different position. This is manifested primarily in people's desire to authoritatively call others to order, to impose their will and their taste, and to rigorously regulate the framework of what is allowed.

Each time, young people inevitably reinterpret the experience of preceding generations. This objective process cannot be replaced, let alone abolished. V. I. Lenin said that young people "...are forced by necessity to approach socialism /differently,/ not in /the same/ way, /not in the same form, and not in the same/ situation as their fathers." Not to fear young people's criticism or possible mistakes, to place more trust in them without compromising our principles--this means to help the constant renewal of thinking and to cultivate interest in and creative approach toward revolutionary theory.

Let anyone who is in the wrong be convinced by sound arguments that his position has not been accepted. This can only make young people's communist beliefs stronger and deeper.

/The prohibitions still applied by many young people's educators and Komsomol committees can achieve nothing but a transformation of healthy criticism into fault-finding, of firm beliefs into double standards in life./

"I lead a double life," one of the letters received by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA begins. "While at school I am a model girl and member of the Komsomol committee. After school I am a currency speculator. My friends know this and consider it normal. I myself have gotten used to it. The reason I am writing to you is that I have everything except happiness."

Such "split personalities" are the result of formalism in ideological education work, of lack of interest in specific young people and their way of thinking and way of life.

During the period under review many Komsomol committees, while meticulously compiling reports on political instruction and lecture propaganda, on the all-Union march and "Ready for Labor and Defense" competitions, essentially failed to receive the essence of the ideological education process. The result of isolation from life, scholasticism, and repetition of truisms is that the

forms of this work no longer attract but repulse young people. The Komsomol Central Committee failed to make a prompt and principled assessment of these trends, and often limited itself to halfhearted measures.

Today it is clear that we all must learn afresh, abandon many stereotypes in the Komsomol's ideological work, and be bolder in seeking modern and effective forms and methods for the class, ideological, and moral tempering of young people.

We must be guided in practice by the well known stipulation that the shaping of world outlook is impossible without a person's active involvement in the creative transformation of reality. Komsomol committees will have to consistently create and develop organizational, political, legal, and economic conditions for the manifestation of young people's activeness and for making it constructive.

It is necessary to overcome monotony in ideological education work with young people both in content and in form. The social, professional, age group, and national detachments of our union are diverse. To take into consideration the entire variety of abilities, needs, and collective and individual interests is an important condition for improving the Komsomol's activity in shaping young people's world philosophy.

We must take a fresh look at the role of individual work in political, ideological, and moral education. The main point in this work is to perceive young people in everything, to be able to listen to them and understand them, to help them reveal their potential, and to develop and consolidate the best human qualities.

We must consign to the archives the method of forcing people to attend Komsomol events, get away from didacticism, and establish an open dialogue in contacts with young people.

The work on the restructuring of ideological work is only just beginning. It demands much initiative and creativity.

Today, when a struggle is under way between the old and the new, when opinions and positions are in conflict, it is necessary to study and be familiar with public opinion, the mood of different categories of young people, and their attitude toward the processes which are occurring. And not only to be familiar with it, but also to actively shape it. Experience in such work has been accumulated by Komsomol organizations in Leningrad, Georgia, Lithuania, and Estonia. But this experience has not yet been widely disseminated. Inadequate use is made even of the existing potential of feedback. Young people's letters and statements and their questions to propagandists, lecturers, and speakers are an accurate barometer of public opinion and a valuable source of suggestions and proposals, and it must be used more efficiently.

/Profound and substantial restructuring of political education lies ahead,/ and the Komsomol Central Committee and Komsomol committees have embarked on it. Its main purpose is to substantially renew the content of instruction, combine political knowledge with the life of specific collectives and specific people, and encourage self-education. We can no longer tolerate the fact that young men and women know more about events occurring at the other end of the world than about affairs in their own rayon or city.

The Komsomol Central Committee has supported the practice of Komsomol organizations in Ulyanovsk, Kuybyshev, and Kiev of setting up sociopolitical clubs. Such clubs also exist in other cities. Both global problems and questions pertaining to their collective's life are discussed there on young people's initiative. Debates, business games, and meetings with leaders of production and study collectives help the young men and women understand their role in acceleration and study the principles and machinery of socialist democracy and self-management. Television linkups with foreign countries have resurrected the political polemics [politboy] and political discussions [politdiskusiya]--in other words, forms of active cognitive activity--which were very popular among young people in the past.

But there is still a fear of such discussions, excessive caution, and inability to conduct them. Komsomol committees must always support young people's inherent leaning toward arguments, independent quest for truth, and political action.

It is particularly necessary to see to it that young people always have with them tactful and authoritative adviser and interlocutor--teacher, Komsomol leader, lecturer, or propaganda worker--and every leader and every Communist must live up to this requirement. And the most important point is that this person must set an example of serving the ideals which he promotes among young people. And of course, we must be bolder in assigning young people, those whom young people themselves have promoted and whose words they trust, to propaganda work. Propaganda workers must help /in the qualitative renewal of the technical base of mass political work./ The Komsomol Central Committee plans to establish a central video lecture library and develop a network of such libraries at local level.

/Man must always be in the center of the Komsomol's work, and he must not be allowed to face the problems of his life in isolation from people./

Corrosion of consciousness occurs gradually, unnoticeably, and, as a rule, whenever a young man or woman is deprived of the sympathy of the comrades in the Youth Union. This is when sympathy for their fate is often shown by clergymen or members of various sectors who lead them astray.

This is one of the reasons behind the tenacity of medieval customs and traditions in a number of regions in the country. How can a modern young person perceive instances of self-immolation by young girls, "abduction" of brides, and fabulous sums of "bride-money" as anything but savagery.

Komsomol committees must return to an assertive stance in the confrontation with the religious world outlook. Today it is more important than ever before to overcome narrow-minded neutral attitudes toward religion, snobbish affectation for mysticism, and indifference to atheism, the spiritual asset of socialism.

The Komsomol aktiv's work must be based on competence in questions of religion and atheism, knowledge of the specific nature of young people's mentality, systematic atheistic work organically combined with young people's vital interests, and respect for their dignity. Only a highly moral and spiritual rich person can become a genuine atheist.

/The Komsomol was born as a union of internationalists and has remained one throughout its history./ Frankly speaking, however, in the last few years we have reduced our patriotic and international work to the assertion of successes in nationalities policy and to slogans and ostentatious events. There are numerous factors in real life which breed national conceit and narrow-mindedness. There have been sharp manifestations of this in Alma-ata and Yakutia, Frunze, the North Caucasus, and several other regions.

Internationalism cannot be inculcated by words alone. What is needed is active participation by Komsomol committees in boosting the numbers of young workers from the indigenous nationality in the national economy of a number of union and autonomous republics and in forming multinational production and study collectives and young people's hostels. It is necessary to step up the struggle against all phenomena of nationalism, chauvinism, parochialism, and national narrow-mindedness.

/Restructuring can be implemented only by people who sincerely and ardently love their multinational socialist motherland./ It is exceptionally important at this time to cultivate among young people a sense of personal responsibility for the progress and outcome of restructuring and to devote greater attention to the patriotic aspects of young men's and women's labor and social activity.

The history of the Land of the Soviets, the Communist Party, and the Lenin Komsomol is not just a matter of the glorious past /but also a part of living current affairs. Komsomol committees must display a very solicitous attitude toward everything that determines young people's historical awareness./

It is impermissible for young men and women to be ignorant of the history of their native city, settlement, village, or street, for veteran neighbors to be forgotten, or for historical or cultural monuments to be destroyed.

The Komsomol Central Committee supports the young people from Arkhangelsk, Yerevan, Moscow, Penza, Tomsk, and Leningrad who have undertaken the restoration of cultural monuments and the architectural and historical restoration of their cities.

In the course of the preparations for the congress proposals were received to build in different regions of the country cities and settlements of the future like, for example, Pereslavl-Zalesskiy, Yelabuga, and many others. These proposals include interesting projects deserving attention.

But our foremost task must be to ensure that, with young people's active participation, the features of the future and outlines of projects that are modern in terms of amenities and architecture become increasingly actively a part of the appearance of our cities and villages today.

It is necessary to develop the experience of setting up young people's architectural planning workshops on principles of economic accountability, Komsomol restoration and construction teams operating on the method of people's construction sites, and student detachments.

In this major and multifaceted work the Komsomol has an urgent need for assistance and support from writers, scientists, and masters of the arts. We still produce extremely few vivid and talented books and movies on our fatherland's history. Young viewers ardently welcomed the television series on M. V. Lomonosov, and it is a pity that works in such a patriotic tone are still rare.

Today, more than ever before, /our ideological adversaries try to play on difficult periods in our history and hope that Soviet young people will lose their revolutionary spirit, optimism, and readiness for struggle./ They seek an imaginary opposition in the young people's ranks. They want to identify the struggle between the new and the old with a conflict between generations.

Our young people are highly interested in their country's history. They look at the past years with pride and respect, and at some periods even with pain. We believe in the path we have chosen--this is the main factor uniting all generations of Soviet people. We share a common responsibility for the fate of our motherland, the fate of the great cause initiated in October 1917. What organic links exist between the October Revolution's ideas and today's transformations of all aspects of Soviet society's life, which are revolutionary by nature! Awareness of this generates in young people a desire to strengthen the country's might through their labor and participation.

/There must be no slackening of attention to the training of our motherland's defenders--a most important sector of work with young people./

During the last 5 years 75 servicemen were awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union for courage and heroism in performing their international duty. Among them are our congress delegates Ruslan Aushev and Viktor Kapshuk, Sergey Filipchenkov, Igor Chmuro, Vladimir Kucherenko.

Internationalist servicemen Nikolay Chepik and Valeriy Arsenov and hero-firemen Vladimir Pravik and Viktor Kibenok, our Komsomol comrades who performed the ultimate duty to the motherland, will remain forever in the Komsomol's ranks.

The volitional and moral qualities and great skills of soldiers and officers are needed today in order to ensure that no one is tempted to solve political questions from positions of strength. Military patriotic work must be developed and its content and forms must be brought into line with the new realities and up to the modern standards of the technical equipment supplied to the Army and Navy.

Komsomol committees must help each future servicemen to train well, both morally and physically, for service.

In the last few years military patriotic work gradually lost its questing nature and became ostentatious and frequently simply boring.

It is necessary to give scope to initiative from "below" also in this work, while retaining the viable forms accumulated within the framework of the all-Union march, military sports games, young men's military patriotic schools and clubs, and Komsomol and Young Pioneer honor guards at the Flame of Eternal Glory. In this work, following the example of Belorussia, Altay and Stavropol Krays, and the cities of Novorossiysk and Engels, it is necessary to step up collaboration with servicemen's units, DOSAAF organizations, trade unions, culture, and public and vocational and technical education.

/Veterans are of great help to the Komsomol in military patriotic education. The Komsomol welcomes the establishment of the All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans, and perceives the main task of joint work as being to sacredly cherish the unbreakable thread of continuity of revolutionary ideals linking all generations of Soviet people./

We address words of sincere and profound gratitude to party, war, and labor veterans and Komsomol veterans for their great work on educating the growing generation. We wish you, dear comrades, good health, good spirits, and energy in anticipation of your assistance in restructuring the Komsomol's activity!

Komsomol organizations in the Armed Forces must aim for the honest performance of the serviceman's duty by every Komsomol member, readiness to accomplish feats and, if need be, readiness for self-sacrifice, and must assist commanders, political workers, and party organizations in the military-technical, political, and moral training of the fatherland's soldiers.

Particular alarm is caused by instances of nonregulation mutual relations between servicemen. This disgraceful phenomenon in the Army and the Navy must be countered by energetic work to establish in each subunit an atmosphere of servicemen's comradeship and brotherhood and respect for a person's honor and dignity.

Great importance attaches to the involvement of servicemen from the reserve in military patriotic work among adolescents. They have a natural desire to maintain the combat brotherhood after discharge from the ranks of the Armed Forces, set up their own clubs and associations, and serve the common and

necessary cause. They are entitled to count on all-around support from Komsomol committees in this work.

There is a pressing need to fundamentally eradicate formalism from the Lenin Komsomol's sponsorship of the Navy, Air Force, and Border Guards and give it a specific content.

Comrades!

/A new moral climate is being asserted in our society./ Young people see this in the form of actual examples on a daily basis.

Over the past years we often forgot that genuine morals do not exist in isolation from behavior, that behavior is indeed the sign of the presence of absence of a moral stance.

Young people are increasingly actively joining the open struggle for the interests of society, for our communist morals. Such people will never ask why they need the Komsomol. They need the Komsomol to struggle for our communist morals. Wars cannot be won single-handed.

/It is important for us to reveal the unity of the interests of the individual, the collective, and society./ Under the new social conditions, in an atmosphere when the principles of economic activity are changing, we cannot allow any erosion of collectivism, comradeship, and mutual assistance, nor can we allow individual groups to withdraw into the narrow world of strictly material interests. It is necessary to overcome the trend of seeking culprits only at ministerial level; to learn to speak the truth face to face with our work colleague, Youth Union comrade, or immediate leader, to speak about such alarming phenomena in young people's and adolescents' behavior as consumerism, selfishness, foul language, and disrespect for women and their elders. Every Komsomol member must actively counter this.

A feeling for the native land and responsibility for its future are indicators of the civic maturity and morals of each and every one who lives and works in it.

Under contemporary conditions, young people's education is impossible without ecological knowledge, a solicitous attitude toward nature, and harmony with it. Unfortunately, quite a few problems have built up in this respect. Many active environmentalists and champions of this noble cause have failed to obtain any support from Komsomol committees.

It is necessary to switch from bombastic slogans to actual work, making wide use of existing experience. There are examples of such work: Chuvash young people have played an active part in the restoration of forests in the last few years; people are familiar with the initiatives of young people in Voronezh, Tambov, and Smolensk Oblasts to preserve small rivers, in Bryansk Oblast to struggle against ravine formation, in Donetsk Oblast to green slagheaps, and others.

Komsomol committees must actively support the ecological movement enthusiasts and help them unite. It is necessary to further develop the movement of "green" and "blue" patrols, school forest areas, and student companies for environmental protection.

We are all responsible for the Siberian taiga and Lak Baykal, for the lands of Central Asia and the northern rivers, for the beloved native field and the groves of our childhood. There is no room for indifference here. Young people's ecological education must be based not on fear of the future but on responsibility for it, on our sound attitude toward nature, on our moral stance.

/The mass news media are a most powerful weapon in the Komsomol's hands in the struggle for restructuring and for an active stance in life on the part of young people./

The Komsomol has 3 publishing houses, about 250 young people's and children's newspapers and journals, and active editorial offices for young people's and children's radio and television programs. They reach an audience of tens of millions of young people. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is the flagship of the youth press. Its print run almost doubled in the period under review. Journalists have done and are doing very much to resolutely cleanse the Komsomol of everything that is alien to the Youth Union's nature and to affirm publicity and democracy. We are convinced that they will continue to wage the struggle for restructuring with unflagging passion and daring.

Young people's mass news media address a reading and viewing public that is unique in receptiveness and size. It is therefore even more impermissible when an urgent letter becomes the subject of verbose generalizations, or a human misfortune the subject of sensationalist reporting. Komsomol journalists are evidently still short of persistence, and at times even of professionalism, in their quest for and coverage of advanced experience in work with young people.

/More followup of new developments, more support for things which makes young people's life truly meaningful and pure./

Comrades!

There is perhaps no other sphere than culture where the originality of young people's interests is expressed so distinctly or causes such polarization of opinions and such heated passions.

Many young men and women, joining in the fatherland's cultural traditions, have persistently expanded their spiritual horizons. Their moral health, civic awareness, and effective patriotism all strengthened.

/But in the last few years there developed an increasingly tangible contradiction between, on the one hand, the growth of young people's

educational standards and knowledge and, on the other hand, manifestations of lack of spirituality and consumerist moods./

Unfortunately we come increasingly often across young people who have narrowed their window on the world down to the size of a fashionable phonograph disk. The public perceives with alarm the growing consumption of cheap art substitutes by young people and the loss of their cultural immunity. The ideological adversary--at times even successfully--insinuates mass bourgeois culture among young people. We can perceive a decline in the influence of the classical heritage and folklore and noisy success for a number of cheap hackwork products.

/It must be said bluntly that, during the period under review, the task of shaping and satisfying young people's cultural demands was not given the proper attention by Komsomol committees./ Their participation in cultural building was mainly assessed in terms of gross indicators. Calculations were based on the numbers of events and participants in amateur artistic activities. Priority was often given to mass celebrations and concerts at which the absolute majority of young people provided a passive audience. It is hard to describe as keen the attitude of many Komsomol committees toward the holding of the second All-Union Festival of Folk Art. It is no secret that it has become accepted practice to take credit for all mass cultural work among young people while shifting responsibility for shortcomings to trade unions and cultural organs. And the result is that the Komsomol Central Committee and Komsomol organizations often brought up the rear in the ranking of young people's attractions or adopted a position of wait-and-see. And the ultimate result was they did not always perform their function of protecting young people's spiritual interests at both state and local level.

But we cannot accept the reproach leveled against us by those leading officials, or rather cultural administrators, who seek in the Komsomol the main and only culprit for the flaws in the younger generation's aesthetic and moral education.

In our view, the solution of the problems of young people's cultural development is obstructed by superficial assessments of these problems and the widespread stereotypes rooted in public awareness.

In the first place, there is the wholesale underrating of the level of young people's spiritual demands, the hackneyed view that their cultural needs are primitive and one-sided. When the segment with undeveloped tastes is held out as representative of all young people. When references to an imaginary large audience allegedly demanding plain entertainment are used as the basis of the repertory policy of movie distribution and television and the activity of publishing houses, concert organizations, houses of culture, and--to be self-critical--Komsomol committees.

A closer look also shows the gap separating reality from conventional ideas about open paths to cultural treasures and the greatest spiritual riches.

Some two-thirds of young people point to constant difficulties in acquiring works of fiction. Senior school pupils, students, and young workers have no opportunity to do any work in the largest of our famous libraries.

The forms of museum work are also behind the times. Tremendous artistic and historical riches remain, lifeless, in basements, excluded from spiritual circulation.

At a reader's request, a newspaper printed a photograph of a ticket to the Bolshoy Theater to show what it looks like. This jocular act contained a large proportion of bitter truth. And how can you cultivate an attraction for the theater among young audiences when, on average, a child in the country goes to a children's show only once ever 5 years?

The thesis that genuine art needs no advertising proved to be convenient for many people.

How can you speak of propagandizing classical music among Moscow's young people when, for example, posters for the Conservatory's Great Hall are handwritten in a single copy. Preparations for guest appearances by leading masters with many local philharmonic orchestras are conducted at exactly the same level.

There are also problems with declining movie theater audiences in many cities in the country, not to mention rural areas or regions that are being opened up.

Cultural services are becoming to a large extent a prestigious commodity to be consumed by an elite. It is well known that students at Moscow VUZ's have developed an entire system for collective acquisition of tickets to the best theaters by organizing all-night lines. Whenever there is shortage, even the attraction of something beautiful proves capable of giving rise to phenomena like speculation and bribery.

To put it briefly, /the guarantees of young people's access to spiritual riches, gained in the course of the building of socialism, are far from always ensured by specific work by cultural institutions./ Nor are Komsomol committees over-concerned about this fact.

/I would like to address the leading masters of literature and art from the Komsomol congress rostrum: Spare neither energy nor time to take yet another step in the direction of young people./ Just like Svyatoslav Rikhter did, when he preferred to meet residents in 50 towns and settlements in Siberia rather than play the best concert halls in the world. You must believe that the reception given to him in the Tayshet House of Culture was as enthusiastic as that at the "December Evenings" in the A. S. Pushkin Museum.

Incidentally, last February's Pushkin Evening dedicated to the great poet's memory left an indelible impression on millions of young television viewers. Surprising aspects of the familiar image came to light, and the depth of

thinking and height of feeling of an enormous personality who is still in his people's ranks were disclosed. If Yegor Isayev, Boris Oleynik, Chingiz Aytmatov, Irakliy Abashidze, Georgiy Sviridov, Kirill Lavrov, and other figures from literature and art, who spoke so wonderfully on that occasion, were to address young people more often and with equal passion and enthusiasm, how much richer their spiritual life would be!

The time that has passed since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum has proved that young people correctly perceive and appraise the complexity of our culture's present and its contradictory history. Under these conditions, we must get rid of the "barrier mentality" in work with young people, whose effect was that various movies, paintings, or books were put away in special foundations or storage facilities. Socialist democracy's inherent atmosphere of trust is artistically more fruitful and ideologically healthier than the atmosphere of prohibitions.

The delusion that ambiguous phenomena in cultural life can be tackled only by administrative measures is already obvious today.

Amateur song clubs, which attracted audiences in thousands, fought for survival for over 3 decades. While cultural organs, trade unions, and the Komsomol held sessions and tried to determine their attitude toward them. The First All-Union Festival proved that this mass movement had embraced young people with an active civic stance and had created real artistic riches.

Many a lance has been broken over rock music. The latest fashions in idols, styles, likes, and dislikes have been changing as if in a kaleidoscope. The only things that have not changed are the scornful attitude of musical criticism and the composers union toward these problems and the timid attitude displayed toward them by cultural organs and the Komsomol. Is it surprising that adolescents and young men and women at times cannot tell the difference between forgery and original, between high standards of performance and helpless cacophony? Young people's press media, television, and radio are not giving young people enough help in discovering which values are genuine and which new developments are fashionable but only of transitory value.

/The result is that some young people take as their guiding lights in life not the masterpieces of our own and world art, but the standards of commercial bourgeois products and crude commonplace popular songs. Of course, the ensembles and groups that are popular among young people must not be ignored, but there is no need to go to the other extreme--to reduce publicity to the one-sided opening of "popular music dams" to the detriment of the comprehensive development of young people's aesthetic tastes./

We are talking about the need to mobilize socialism's vast spiritual resources in the struggle for the young people.

It is well known that the party has condemned the leftover principle in allocating funds for the needs of the cultural sphere.

Recently the CPSU Central Committee adopted several resolutions on the development of the material base of culture and on the improvement of theatrical work and exhibition and concert work. There will be a significant improvement in the conditions for creative unions' activity.

The Komsomol will have to channel its organizational and material potential toward the implementation of the party's cultural policy. The field for activity is really enormous. There must be more daring experiments to disseminate publications for young people through Komsomol organizations, retail outlets of young people's publishing houses, and targeted subscription for book series in individual regions of the country. It is necessary to cooperate more closely with television, the "Melodiya" firm, and concert organizations to develop programs for young people and to participate in organizing the All-Union Society of Movie Lovers.

The Komsomol's attention is especially needed by theaters catering for young audiences, puppet theaters, young people's studios, and theaters bearing the lofty name of the Lenin Komsomol.

It is necessary to strive to make the cultural assets at our disposal really accessible, transform museums, exhibition halls, libraries, and movie theaters into centers for lively contacts between young people, and introduce the best examples of literature, art, and folklore into their environment.

A branch of an art museum has taken over one of Irkutsk's cathedrals. An amateur chamber choir gives remarkable performances of classical Russian music in the hall with wonderful acoustics on Sunday evenings. The audience's enthusiasm is boundless. Thanks are expressed to the singers in different languages. In different languages, except Russian, because the tickets are bought by "Inturist." People in the city itself cannot determine whether tickets can be sold to residents of Irkutsk and whether in that case regulations would be breached.

The 27th party congress stressed that the state of Soviet multinational art largely determines society's moral health.

At the same time, the congresses of creative unions spoke in a principled fashion about the flood of dull and ideologically inferior works, a flood that has grown stronger in the last few years. There was also impartial talk about the causes of this phenomenon: Hierarchical structures and unwritten rules of corporate solidarity had an increasingly noticeable effect. Artistic criticism at times played the role of patron of servility and sycophancy.

Today we must say with concern from this rostrum that, unfortunately, some esteemed figures of literature and art have recently been offering young people not so much lessons of principled struggle against selfish interests and personal ambitions, but examples of gross violation of ethical norms and cliquishness.

This atmosphere hinders the professional development of the next generation of creative workers and has an effect on their social attitudes.

In order to enable their works to reach the public, young people often have to sacrifice their originality and make compromises. Even before they have made a real name for themselves they find themselves attached to various clans and groupings. Preference is frequently given not to talents from deep within the people, but to those who are within the field of vision of people who determine cadre and artistic policies. The well known rebellion by some young poets, painters and musicians, and the demonstrative challenge to established traditions were largely conditioned by phenomena of stagnation in the work of creative unions, publishing houses, and concert organizations.

/We support the resoluteness of the creative unions' shift toward tackling the problems of establishing the generation which will replace them./ We hope that this turnabout will be felt not only by the unions' leadership but also by young people themselves, having been given an opportunity to determine the measure of their talent and popularity in an open and honest argument.

/The only important point is to ensure that the main argument centers not on the author's youth but on the maturity of his work, that the wave of renewal does not bring organized dullness to the top./

Following--if you will pardon the expression--the example of some of their elders, some groups of creative young people have started uniting not on the basis of shared artistic principles but on the basis of the pursuit of undeserved social benefits. You may treat this as a joke but, among the numerous proposals for restructuring, we also received a suggestion to establish a House for Creative Youth Veterans.

/The Komsomol Central Committee most resolutely condemns the time-servers and careerists who undermine the prestige of the young creative intelligentsia./

At the same time, the social activeness and the acute social sense inherent in the best representatives of creative youth pose the question of new forms of their association. The Creative Youth Councils that have been set up everywhere are justifiably criticized for the fact that they have turned into a bureaucratic offshoot of the Komsomol apparatus and failed to exert any real influence on the development of creative careers.

The Komsomol Central Committee, together with the creative unions, the USSR Ministry of Culture, and the Soviet Culture Foundation, will offer the broadest possible opportunities for actively involving the abilities, energy, and enthusiasm of the young generation of the creative intelligentsia in artistic and social life.

/The Komsomol has now taken new steps in capturing the leisure sphere as a field for young people's social activity./ Union-wide fame has been acquired by the experience of setting up the Association of Young People's Clubs in Odessa, young people's cafes in Minsk and Belgorod, rural culture and sports

complexes in Omsk and Gorkiy Oblasts, and young people's culture centers in Saratov and Dnepropetrovsk.

/It is necessary to pool the efforts of the Komsomol, cultural organs, and other public organizations in improving the utilization of the material and technical base of culture and leisure and developing it./ Komsomol members can achieve much by emulating the initiative of young workers at the Volga Motor Vehicles Plant. We have the workforce, we also have the right to allocate Komsomol funds to the construction of culture and sports projects. These opportunities must be actively utilized in every rayon, be it rural or urban.

There is increasingly great awareness of the need to further develop young people's self-motivation, initiative, and socially important creativity in the leisure sphere.

/Komsomol committees, like cultural organs and trade unions, can and must support the young people's amateur activity associations which further the spiritual elevation of personality and serve the social interests./ They must be supported both organizationally and materially by introducing more boldly the principles of economic accountability, self-capitalizing, and self-financing.

Practice in the last few years has brought to life youth initiative foundations in Novosibirsk, Moscow, Tallinn, and other cities. Many Komsomol obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms have set up various organizations enjoying the rights of legal entities. They conduct an interesting and at times complicated quest for their place in the common work. It is important not to stop there and to expand the conventional framework of the Komsomol's influence on young people's leisure and artistic creativity and on young men's and women's social activeness.

Recently we have been encountering increasingly often in the press the term "informal groups," used to describe both associations to promote young people's initiative, which pursue noble goals, and casually formed street companies of adolescents. The Komsomol Central Committee calls on journalists and Komsomol officials, without making any fuss about various catch labels, to determine their attitude toward such groups according to the motives and results of their activity rather than according to their dress fashion or outward appearance. Let us not indulge in sarcasm from rostrums, in the press, or in lobbies, but conduct a specific dialogue with young people, encouraging healthy initiatives and eliminating defective phenomena which are alien to the socialist way of life.

One thing must be clear: Self-motivated associations are not an alternative to the Komsomol, they are not "firms" competing with it but a form of satisfying young people's multifaceted social needs.

/Thus, comrades, we are facing a complex and extremely protracted restructuring of young people's consciousness and spiritual world./

This restructuring presupposes the demolition of all dogmas and false values, of all simplistic and simplified impressions of the building of communism; it presupposes the affirmation of a new thinking based on the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the realities of the present.

#### IV. With the Planet's Young People--For a Nuclear-Free World, for Mankind's Survival and Social Progress

Comrades!

/The development of Soviet young people's international ties has always been an important part of the Lenin Komsomol's activity. But in our days the importance of this work is particularly great. It merges with the struggle waged by all democratic youth for a world without nuclear weapons, for mankind's survival./

The contemporary world is full of contradictions, and young people cannot remain impartial in the face of these contradictions. An exhaustive analysis of these contradictions was provided by the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th party congress. An immediate solution is required for global problems which affect the foundations of mankind's existence and directly concern the prospects for the development of civilization and everyone's present and future.

There is a commonplace sound to the phrase: The future belongs to youth! Young people bear a heavy burden of responsibility, because the question today is: Will there be any future at all? Of course, this also has an impact on all aspects of the Komsomol's activity in the international youth movement.

/Participation in the struggle for a world without nuclear weapons and for mankind's survival and in the implementation of the program for creating an all-bracing security system will determine the content of the Komsomol's international activity in the future./

The ideas of the new political thinking are making increasingly tangible headway in the international youth movement.

The impressive program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the start of the 3d millennium put forward by our country, the bold steps aimed at reducing the nuclear threat, and the profound awareness of the danger lying in the nuclear arms race have activated the most diverse political forces and nonpolitical associations in the international youth community.

Growing numbers of young people's organizations, far removed from our ideological views--liberals, radicals, centrists, "greens," young women's and young people's religious organizations--feel the need to develop cooperation for the sake of the common goal or averting the nuclear danger. /Today we are witnessing the incipient formation of a kind of coalition for nuclear disarmament within the youth movement./

The circle of Soviet youth organizations' partners and of ties established over the decades expanded considerably in the period of preparations for and holding of the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow. But we can no longer rest content with them in the light of the tasks facing us. It is necessary to advance to a higher level in the sphere of international contacts. We need to be really prepared for broad cooperation with national and international organizations, with small groups and mass movements, with all who make their contribution to the common efforts aimed at building more humane international relations and ensuring every person's right to live under conditions of peace, freedom, and respect for human dignity.

We intend to build contacts on the basis of trust, to help establish in international relations a dialogue between equal partners willing to listen to one another, and to concentrate more on the things which unite rather than the things which divide young people holding different political views and beliefs. Such an approach offers prospects for the more active development of joint and parallel actions.

/The Lenin Komsomol is guided in its international activity by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian socialist internationalism./

/The Komsomol attaches paramount importance to the development of friendship and all-around cooperation with young people in the socialist community states and their sociopolitical organizations./ We are united by a common ideology, a common world outlook, and common tasks concerning the renewal of socialism and by a sense of responsibility for socialism's historical destiny and the future of socialist civilization in the 21st century. The world in which we will have to live, work, and create is taking shape now, with our own participation.

/The new tasks pose the question of developing a new type of collaboration between fraternal countries' youth organizations./ We still have not managed to fully materialize the potential of our international ties with fraternal organizations. The new type of ties primarily presupposes a respectful attitude toward the fraternal countries' experience, creative quests, and established traditions, toward everything useful and interesting in their work that could be utilized under our conditions. Our guiding star along the path to achieving this goal is the activity of the CPSU, which builds the entire system of political relations between socialist countries on the basis of equality and mutual responsibility and places the exchange of experience in socialist building and its joint generalization in the center of all our cooperation.

This approach was reflected in the "Community" Program, adopted in April 1986, which pooled the efforts of young people in CEMA countries in resolving the tasks of socialist, economic, scientific, and technical integration. It is on this basis that we must advance to a qualitatively new level in our cooperation.

We will continue to comprehensively develop the traditional relations of friendship with young people from all socialist countries. To actively support the youth organizations in Cuba, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia building the new life under complex conditions and upholding their independence; the DPRK young people struggling for the unification of the motherland on a peaceful democratic basis; and to strive to expand contacts with young people's organizations in Yugoslavia. Our young people perceive with gratification the steps toward improving relations between the USSR and the PRC. We are in favor of mutual understanding and the restoration of friendly ties between Soviet and Chinese young people.

/The exacerbation of contradictions under capitalism has an effect on young people's situation./ The curtailment of their rights in the capitalist world and primarily of the basic right, the right to live, is one of the true indicators of capitalism's social decrepitude. Capitalism is incapable of finding a use for young people in key spheres of social life and in material and spiritual production. Unemployment among young people has reached an unprecedented scale. Those who are lucky are forced to take any job on any terms that may be dictated.

Young people's right to education is being increasingly curtailed. The content of education is being impoverished and reduced to narrow vocational training. Education fees are rising. Higher education is becoming elitist and inaccessible to increasingly broad strata of the population.

/The situation of young people in many Asian, African, and Latin American countries is tragic./ As a result of the rapacious policy pursued by imperialism for many years youth unemployment, super-exploitation of young working people by transnational corporations and local oligarchies, hunger, poverty, disease, and illiteracy have reached threatening dimensions and, essentially deny the right of millions of young people to survive.

/The offensive against young people's rights is an organic component of the policy of imperialism/ aimed at discrediting universal human values and humanitarian ideals and subordinating young people ideologically, politically, and spiritually. Technocratic sentiments, individualism, and indifference to politics are cultivated among them, and the cult of violence is being forced upon them. The struggle against the antihuman ideology of modern capitalism is a struggle for young people's moral health and one of the conditions for mankind's progress.

/The activity of communist youth leagues in capitalist countries calls forth profound respect among Soviet young people./ They are waging a consistent struggle against the world of capital, violence and profits, unbridled militarism, and the omnipotence of monopolies and the military-industrial complex, a struggle for the younger generation's rights and interests. The forms and methods of their work are largely determined by specific conditions in different countries. We are prepared to frankly discuss differences in views and assessments should they arise, and to carefully coordinate our points of view on fundamental questions.

The Lenin Komsomol feels sincere admiration for the selfless struggle by our comrades, the young communists, who display boundless devotion to the bright ideals of communism under the most difficult conditions of repression, victimization, and persecution.

/We resolutely demand that all prisoners of imperialism and reaction be set free!/  
.

The Komsomol again declares its invariable solidarity with the struggle waged by the peoples and young people of Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Southern Africa, El Salvador, Chile, Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine and by other peoples acting against imperialism and reaction, against colonialism and neocolonialism, against facism, Zionism, racism, and apartheid.

/Our solidarity with young fighters for national and social liberation--both political and material--must be more effective and more specific./ The sending of teams of young physicians, teachers, and construction workers and the work of voluntary labor detachments are as important to our comrades in arms as the rallies in their support. Nor must we forget that, for Soviet young people, participation in the solidarity movement is a powerful means of international education and a school for civic development and political maturity.

/We will continue to expand fraternal help and all-around support for revolutionary-democratic youth unions in countries of socialist orientation and to render assistance in their formation and development./

An increasingly noticeable contribution to the development of the international youth movement is being made by youth organizations from liberated states and young people from countries in the nonaligned movement. Together with them, we are prepared to actively cooperate in solving problems of development and the establishment of a new international economic order.

/The WFDY and the International Union of Students have embarked on a quest for better forms and methods of work,/ bringing their activity into line with the demands of the times, which dictate the need for new and nonstandard approaches. This involves attention to global problems, differentiated work with different social strata of young people, concern for expanding their ranks and ensuring the financing of their activities, and much else besides.

Soviet young people's organizations resolutely support these efforts and will do everything to ensure the strengthening of the prestige and influence of the WFDY and the International Union of Students within the international youth movement.

During the last few years Soviet young people's organizations have succeeded in establishing greater trust and mutual understanding with organizations of young socialists and social democrats and elaborating a number of joint approaches toward questions of preserving peace and preventing the nuclear threat, toward individual aspects of the development of the international

solidarity movement. There is no doubt that communists and social democrats are following the same path in this struggle. Existing ideological and political differences ought not to be obstacles to the establishment of relations of genuine partnership or to the quest for new spheres of cooperation.

Despite the attempts by the adversaries of detente to undermine all-European youth cooperation and to plant the seeds of mistrust and confrontation in it, positive processes remain dominant here. Proof of this can be seen in the resumption of active work by the All-European Structure of Young People's and Students' Cooperation and the expansion of the circle of problems being discussed within its framework. There are tangible manifestations of the trend toward stepping up mass youth exchanges with many West European countries. Today this offers a real opportunity to boost the contribution made by young people to the development of positive trends in the continent of Europe and to confirm by specific actions the commitment to the Helsinki agreements.

/In our view, favorable conditions are developing for deepening and expanding young people's cooperation in the Asia and Pacific region./ It will deepen as military-political conflicts are eliminated and a solution is found to the questions of transforming Asia and the Pacific into a zone of peace and cooperation. Thought must also be given to setting up a machinery for joint participation by the younger generation in the struggle for the triumph of these ideas.

/The world youth and students festival movement has acquired broader scope in the last few years. The Komsomol and Soviet young men and women support the idea of holding the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in Pyongyang in 1989./ We will do everything within our power to ensure that the next young people's forum becomes a new stage in the cause of strengthening the solidarity of young people in the world, in the struggle against the threat of war, and in the further expansion of the circle of its participants.

/The collaboration of Soviet young people's organizations with the United Nations and UNESCO has strengthened in the last few years./ We highly value the attention devoted by the United Nations, which proclaimed 1985 to be International Youth Year, to the solution of the younger generation's problems. At the same time, the United Nations and its specialized institutions have plenty of opportunities to further expand activity aimed at disseminating the ideals of peace, cooperation, and mutual understanding among young people. For our part, we are prepared to participate actively in this work in the future.

Comrades!

The qualitatively new level of Soviet young people's international ties also demands a new level of coordination in the work of the Komsomol Central Committee, the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations, the "Sputnik" International Youth Tourism Bureau, ministries and departments, and public

organizations like the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans, the Soviet Peace Foundation, and the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries. It is only through joint efforts that we can ensure the intensification of international contacts and create the conditions necessary for mass youth exchanges.

Another specific feature of the present stage is the fact that international activity can no longer remain the sole preserve of central Komsomol organs; all Komsomol organizations must participate in it. This presupposes their greater independence and initiative, including on questions of developing direct bilateral ties and contacts, youth and student tourism, and exchanges not involving foreign currency. But the improvement of organizational forms alone is not enough to implement this activity. Their development also requires the corresponding financial expenditure. It would seem appropriate to allow Komsomol organizations to use for this purpose any funds that may have raised.

The role of the press, radio, and television is exceptionally great in international contacts. We are entitled to ask our young people's mass news media: Have they done everything to ensure that people abroad know and understand the essence of the changes occurring in our country and perceive the specific contribution made by Soviet young men and women toward their implementation? To what extent are the specific characteristics of young audiences taken into account in this work?

We must at long last get some movement on the question of publishing in foreign languages a vivid illustrated journal about young people with its own image, organizing the exchange of youth television and movie programs, and effecting a fundamental turnabout in the production of modern youth information and propaganda materials, especially video materials. This is necessary in order to make our work in the international youth movement assertive and to widely disseminate objective information about our country and about Soviet young people's life.

The development of Soviet society and our foreign policy initiatives reflect our awareness of universal human values. The active support for them indicates that we are on the right path.

We must proceed from the basic task--to assist in implementing the party's international strategy of ensuring for the Soviet people, all peoples on the planet, and therefore young people, an opportunity to live, work, and study under conditions of peace, freedom, and social progress.

#### V. The Further Democratization of Soviet Society and the Komsomol

Comrades!

The decisions of the 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum provided an expanded program for the deepening of

socialist democracy and the development of the people's self-management. It was emphasized at the party Central Committee plenum: "Our advance in production, science, technology, literature, culture, art, and all spheres of social life is possible only through consistent development of the democratic forms inherent in socialism and the expansion of self-management. Only this approach ensures conscientious discipline. Restructuring itself is possible only through democracy and thanks to democracy."

/The Komsomol, as an integral component of the political system of Soviet society, is called upon to actively participate in the management of state and social affairs and the solution of political, economic, social, and cultural questions./

One of the Komsomol's specific features is the fact that it is an organization of the young people themselves, and it must simultaneously shape, express, and uphold young men's and women's interests and their education and development.

The Communist Party creates all the conditions necessary for this and steadily and consistently enhances the Komsomol's role in society's life and the education of the growing generation.

/Leadership by the party is the source of the Komsomol's strength and staunchness and the main condition for success in the fundamental restructuring of its work. The Lenin Komsomol sees the entire meaning of its activity in the implementation of the CPSU Program. The party's program is our program and the party's policy is our policy because it expresses the fundamental interests of all Soviet young people./

In implementing leadership of Komsomol organizations, party committees display demanding attention for their activity, transfer to Komsomol cadres and activists their experience of organizational and political work among the masses, and offer broad scope for self-motivation and initiative.

We would like party committees to constantly help Komsomol organizations in the determination and implementation of socially important work, to show greater trust in Komsomol committees in the solution of young people's problems, and to be more exacting toward economic leaders in terms of the creation of the conditions necessary for the highly productive labor, continuous education, proper living conditions, and meaningful leisure of young men and women.

The trust of party organizations and the measures taken by them to really involve young people in the solution of questions concerning production and social life will help in further boosting the social activeness of young men and women and in ensuring their active participation in the renewal of all aspects of society's life.

/The V. I. Lenin All-Union Young Pioneers Organization, whose ranks unite about 20 million children and adolescents, occupies a special position in the country's social life./ It rears young fighters for the party cause, involves

them in the practice of communist building, and trains fitting replacements for the Komsomol.

The party has entrusted the Lenin Komsomol with the leadership of the Young Pioneer organization's activity, and this is one of its most important functions in Soviet society.

It has to be admitted that, as far as the leadership of the V. I. Lenin All-Union Young Pioneers Organization is concerned, the Komsomol limited itself for many years to just setting general tasks without penetrating deep inside the essence of the problems of Young Pioneers' life.

If it was a matter of a program it was for the country as a whole. If it was a matter of training leaders it was in their thousands. If it was a matter of an action it was also on a global scale. The abundance of bombastic slogans and attractive names given to events created an illusion that the Young Pioneers were involved in practically useful activity.

Many Komsomol committees lost their ties with Young Pioneers' collectives and their responsibility for the processes occurring within them.

The structure of senior Young Pioneer leaders deteriorated. Production sponsors were replaced by teacher training detachments, and the majority of Young Pioneer detachments simply lacked permanent leaders. Komsomol school organizations, the ones nearest to the Young Pioneers, were in practice very distant.

While recognizing that the principle of collaboration with Young Pioneer organizations was of decisive importance for education, in practice schools frequently ignored it.

/For the first time in history the Komsomol's role in improving the Young Pioneer organization's work was raised by the 27th CPSU Congress to the level of the party program's demands./

It is necessary for us all, comrades, to clearly realize that no other educational institution is capable of shaping the political backbone of young individuals in such a targeted and definite fashion as the Young Pioneer organization. It was created for this purpose, and it is for this purpose that it exists.

The education of Young Pioneers and Young Octobrists is complex work demanding largess of soul and heart, a strong character, and pedagogical skill.

/The strengthening of Young Pioneer collectives with leaders must be perceived as a paramount task./ It is necessary to create a new system for the selection, training, retraining, and retention of such cadres. It is necessary to institute a V. I. Lenin All-Union Young Pioneers Organization scholarship for the best school pupils and students in teacher training establishments. It is necessary to conduct an experiment to test the

usefulness of transferring senior leaders to the staffs of Komsomol committees. It is necessary to assign cadres to strengthen city and rayon Young Pioneer organization councils.

The Komsomol Central Committee and the All-Union Young Pioneers Organization Central Council will have to renew the content of Young Pioneers' work with participation by Young Pioneers themselves.

It is necessary to restructure the life of Young Pioneer organizations on democratic principles, develop genuine self-motivation, and give them back their games, romanticism, imagination, and fantasy. Unfortunately, games depart from children's lives long before labor becomes part of them. We must find a place for Young Pioneers in our major and minor Komsomol affairs.

Not only Komsomol but also state decisions are required to improve the work of the All-Union Young Pioneers Organization. This includes the creation of a standard system for the production and distribution of Young Pioneers' uniforms and appurtenances. It also includes the consolidation of the material base and the building of new Young Pioneer camps and extramural institutions.

Union republic Komsomol central committees must aim more persistently at setting up year-round Young Pioneers' sanatoriums. Children in every union republic can and must have their own "Artek," while children and adolescents in every city and rayon of the country can and must have their own Young Pioneers' house.

The Young Pioneers prepared for the 20th congress like we adults did. We thank them for their good deeds. For the letters and the gifts the children made for the delegates.

The Ninth All-Union Young Pioneer Rally lies ahead. It will have to discuss how the Young Pioneers themselves ought to strive to fulfill /the main task--to learn to be real young Leninists, fighters for the cause of the Communist Party./ It is our Komsomol duty to help them in this.

Comrades!

In our political system young people's interests and specific needs are represented through the Komsomol, which has been given the right to initiate legislation, through the trade unions, through labor collectives, and through young Soviet deputies, many of whom are Komsomol members.

/During the period under review, the opportunities for young people's participation in the management of state and social affairs were not fully utilized./

It is necessary to seek more effective forms of joint work by the Komsomol and the commissions for youth affairs set up at soviets of people's deputies. This is a real opportunity for Komsomol committees at all levels to acquire a

kind of right to initiate legislation within the framework of local soviets' powers. It is necessary to learn to make efficient use of the right of Komsomol-member deputies to ask deputies' questions relating to the solution of young people's problems.

/Komsomol committees must actively assist the soviets in the further development of Soviet democracy.

/Ministries and departments have great reserves to improve work among young people./ In the last few years their collaboration with the Komsomol has somewhat improved, but mainly took the form of adopting joint resolutions. Several hundred of them have been adopted in the last 5 years.

Let us say it bluntly, there was hardly any return from many of them, but they did provide a kind of a shield for some sector leaders: There you are, we do work with young people.

Could this be why the leftover principle of attention to young people's problems in their sectors grew deep roots in many ministries over the last few years. The Komsomol Central Committee pretended not to see and was reluctant to quarrel with ministers whom it often had to approach for assistance.

The signs of fusion, so to speak, between "Komsomol bureaucracy" and "ministerial and departmental bureaucracy" to the detriment of young people's education are particularly alarming. This could be seen in the growth of the number of joint decisions and in the excesses in the development of students detachments, school pupil labor associations, and Komsomol shock labor construction work. To put it briefly, while "peace and love" reigned at the top, matters looked somewhat different from below.

Plans for socioeconomic development and collective contracts take virtually no account of young people's specific problems.

/Much more fruitful work could be done by the commissions for work with young people/ set up in 29 ministries and departments.

Economic and trade union organs have the right to dispose of funds and resources. The Komsomol can only submit suggestions for their distribution. In practice Komsomol officials and aktiv members are forced to constantly beg enterprise administrations and trade union committees to support young people's initiatives. And the solution of questions often depends not on the contribution made by the Komsomol to the results of the collective's labor activity, not on social needs, but on the personal disposition of various leaders.

Young people's position and rights in all spheres of social life are guaranteed by almost 2,000 legislative acts and government resolutions. The volume of current legislation is augmented annually by many new normative acts. But these laws and acts are often unfulfilled.

/The defense of young people's rights and the interests of their communist education is still implemented extremely poorly by the Komsomol./

The Komsomol Central Committee deems it necessary, in the process of finalizing the USSR Law "On the State Enterprise (Association)," to make provision for machinery under which questions concerning young people are resolved only jointly with Komsomol organizations.

The 27th CPSU Congress deemed it expedient to expand the range of questions which state organs can resolve only with participation or preliminary consent from appropriate public organizations, including Komsomol organizations, and to give them the right to block the implementation of management decisions in a number of cases. In our view it is necessary to accelerate the elaboration of a USSR law on this question.

On behalf of the 20th Komsomol Congress we would also ask the appropriate organs to support the numerous proposals by Komsomol organizations, Komsomol members, and young people regarding the elaboration and adoption of a USSR Law on Young People, which ought to legislatively define the multifaceted nature of collaboration between the Komsomol, as a sociopolitical organization of Soviet young people, and state organs, trade unions, and public organizations in the communist education of young people and the implementation of practical questions of organizing their labor, study, daily life, and leisure.

A nationwide discussion of the draft law in question would make it possible to elaborate a specific system of measures to boost young people's role and responsibility in resolving the tasks of improving socialism in our country and accelerating its socioeconomic development.

/There is a broad range of young people's problems which cannot be solved without strengthening the collaboration of Komsomol and trade union organizations./

A considerable role has to be played here by trade union committee young people's commissions. Elected trade union organs include 4.3 million young people, and many trade union committees are headed by Komsomol members. There are Komsomol representatives in the leadership of sector trade unions and on the AUCCTU Presidium.

At the Komsomol's request, the Statute of Trade Unions included stipulations making it possible to take a great step forward in cooperation between Komsomol and trade union organizations within labor collectives. We must utilize these new opportunities.

The 18th USSR Trade Union Congress devoted much attention to the questions of educating the next generation of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the Soviet intelligentsia. The Komsomol is ready for the broadest and most active cooperation with trade unions in educational work.

/The innovative nature of the tasks which the Komsomol will have to resolve in its work on young people's communist education demands the stepping up of its collaboration with creative unions and voluntary societies and associations./

/The women's movement in the country is going through a new stage./ The Komsomol's task is to find forms for cooperating with women's organizations at local level. The historical experience of the Komsomol's work with young women in the twenties and thirties would be particularly suitable in this respect. It is necessary to inculcate profound respect for girls, women, and mothers.

Together with women's organizations, the Komsomol could do much to strengthen young families, sponsor children's homes and creches, and safeguard motherhood and childhood.

The CPSU Program notes that the education of the growing generation is a matter for the entire party and the entire people. The future democratization of Soviet society and the democratization of the Komsomol itself will create new opportunities for the manifestation of young men's and women's initiative and creativity in all spheres of state and social life. And the Komsomol's most important task is to give utmost support to young people's desire to be active participants in the major transformations being implemented by the party at the present stage.

#### VI. Results of the Discussion of the Komsomol Statute

Comrades!

/The preCongress report and elections campaign and the discussion of the draft amendments to the Komsomol Statute played a most important role in determining the specific ways to boost the efficiency of Komsomol organizations' work to fulfill the 27th CPSU Congress decisions./

A distinctive feature of the meetings and conferences was that they were held more democratically, with great activeness on the part of Komsomol members. The creation of an atmosphere of publicity, frankness, criticism, and self-criticism was helped by the advanced familiarization of Komsomol members with the main features of the accountability reports and by the opportunity for a free exchange of opinions. Many Komsomol organizations made active use of "free microphones" or organized discussion clubs and "direct line" conversations with party, soviet, Komsomol, and economic officials.

/More than 2.5 million Komsomol members spoke at primary organization meetings and conferences alone./

Now it is extremely important to consolidate and develop all the best elements which emerged in the course of the report and election campaign. Not a single practical idea, not a single constructive suggestion must be ignored. The exacting conversation about the prospects of the Komsomol's development and the elimination of existing errors which took place at meetings and

conferences must now be translated into specific practical deeds in every Komsomol organization.

To a significant extent the restructuring of the entire activity of the Lenin Komsomol and each Komsomol organization will be helped by the amendments and additions proposed to be incorporated in the Komsomol Statute./ The principles and norms being enshrined in it provide the basis of the union's internal life and ensure purposeful work by all Komsomol components in the struggle to fulfill the Communist Party's program tasks.

/The Komsomol Central Committee attaches fundamental importance to the ensuring of continuity in statutory provisions./ The draft statute submitted for examination by the congress delegates retains unaltered the fundamental principles of our union's life and activity which have withstood the test of time.

But the current statute was adopted by the 14th Komsomol Congress in 1962. Significant changes have occurred within the Komsomol in these years. It was necessary to reflect these changes in the draft statute.

/A collective consultation with all Komsomol organizations in the country and the broad masses of Komsomol members and young people was extremely necessary on these issues./ In first publishing the draft statute for a broad discussion, the Komsomol Central Committee was convinced that the experience and suggestions of Komsomol members, party and Komsomol veterans, and young people's mentors would make it possible to take a more accurate and substantiated approach toward the introduction of amendments to the fundamental law of Komsomol life.

This was convincingly confirmed by the widespread precongress discussion of the draft statute. The Komsomol Central Committee alone received more than 235,000 responses, suggestions, and remarks. Most of them were constructive and provided the basis for introducing more than 100 fundamental additions to the draft, making it possible to be more precise in formulating and editing the statutory provisions.

/Consequently, the millions of Komsomol members who took part in the discussion can justifiably be described as creators and authors of the draft statute submitted for examination by the congress./

They focused their attention on problems of Komsomol membership, stepping up the struggle for the purity of Komsomol ranks, and enhancing demandingness toward Komsomol members who fail to fulfill their statutory duties.

/The draft statute enshrines norms which help the further deepening of internal Komsomol democracy./ In this context fundamental importance attaches to the additional provision introduced into the draft that unity in the implementation of the Komsomol's general line and tasks presupposes broad self-motivation of all Komsomol organizations and independence in the choice of forms and methods for their implementation.

/Substantial amendments were made to the statutory provisions on the holding of elections for Komsomol organs./ Their chief essence lies in the considerable democratization of this entire process.

/Greater demands are also made of members of elected Komsomol organs./ It was quite rightly said in the course of the discussion of the draft that if a Komsomol committee member does not justify the Komsomol members' trust he cannot remain on the committee. This is why we deem it necessary to enshrine in the statute the right of Komsomol organizations--without waiting for the next report and election campaign--to recall their candidates from leading Komsomol organs and to recommend their replacement by other Komsomol members who have proved themselves by specific actions and enjoy the requisite prestige among young people.

At the same time, it would be correct to lay down the principle that the structure of an elected organ cannot be renewed by more than one-third. Such a procedure will make it possible to retain the basic nucleus of collective leadership organs elected by congresses, conferences, and meetings.

On the whole, many fundamental additions were made to the draft statute. It has been distributed to all congress delegates, and therefore there is no need for any detailed comment on their content. I would only like to stress that the proposed new edition of the statute is not just another improvement. The fundamental law of Komsomol life has not undergone such changes ever before in its history.

/At the same time, we deem it necessary to inform delegates that, when elaborating the draft, the Komsomol Central Committee proceed from the premise that the making of amendments to the statute should not be approached lightly./

For example, some comrades proposed that the size of primary organizations which can set up Komsomol organizations with the rights of primary organizations be raised from 20 to 50 Komsomol members. Had this proposal been implemented, the effect would have been to reform about 500,000 organizations with the rights of primary organizations into mere Komsomol groups.

As a result of this, they would have lost the right to admit Komsomol members, to recommend Komsomol members for party membership, and to review their personal records of Komsomol members. Furthermore, the Komsomol would have suffered a reduction in its elected aktiv of approximately 1 million. Would this have been right? Of course not.

All amendments and additions had to be approached with proper responsibility, and their possible consequences had to be envisaged. It was important to prevent the introduction of excessive details in the statute, let alone the inclusion of farfetched innovations.

/The course of the discussion of the draft saw the submission of numerous proposals which must indisputably be taken into account in the Komsomol Central Committee's practical work or normative documents./ For example, these problems included the improvement of the system of paying Komsomol membership dues and the expansion of primary organizations' financial independence.

The Komsomol Central Committee's stance on this is as follows: At enterprises where the necessary conditions and opportunities exist, following a decision by the organizations themselves, and subject to strict observance of the voluntary nature of Komsomol membership, the payment of membership dues can be made by means of direct transfer.

The Komsomol Central Committee adopted a decision and is now conducting in 56 major primary Komsomol organizations an experiment whereby current accounts are opened with Gosbank branches for the independent expenditure of funds raised. Provided it produces positive results, this will be extended to other primary organizations. Amendments have also been made to the Instructions of Funds Raised, and now they will be expended by the decision of primary organizations themselves, without corresponding Komsomol gorkom or raykom resolutions.

It is finally necessary to solve the acute problem of creating conditions for Komsomol organizations to acquire everything they need in the trade network. After all, in fact membership dues and subbotnik funds represent cash in hand contributed by Komsomol members for the development of their organization. Komsomol members and Komsomol officials and aktiv members are logically asking: Why is it that, when paid into raykom accounts, this money loses its purchasing power?" The USSR Ministry of Finance should have given an exhaustive reply to this question a long time ago.

/On the whole, the amendments made to the statute will require a fundamental revision of the Komsomol Central Committee instructions./ It is necessary to make them more flexible and ensure that they do not fetter the self-motivation of Komsomol organizations.

Taking into account the experience of preparing the draft statute, it would be appropriate to conduct within the Komsomol a discussion on draft Central Committee instructions affecting the interests of the majority of Komsomol organizations and, with due consideration for the remarks made, have them approved by a Komsomol Central Committee plenum. This procedure for the preparation of instructions ought to be written into the statute. This will guarantee the protection of statutory provisions from all possible distortions.

/At the same time, comrades, it is not sufficient to only amend the statute./ It is important to ensure through joint efforts, both in the Komsomol Central Committee and in all Komsomol components, that statutory provisions really become a law for all Komsomol members, Komsomol officials, and aktiv members.

Each and every one of us must be firmly guided in his activity by the collectively elaborated and collective adopted statute.

/Thus, a draft Komsomol Statute, prepared on a broad democratic basis, has been submitted for examination by our congress,/ and in the Komsomol Central Committee's opinion it is in line with the demands of the time and the period through which the Komsomol is living and creates the conditions necessary for the fundamental restructuring of the Komsomol's entire activity.

We are convinced that the discussion of the draft by congress delegates and your proposals and remarks, comrades, will enable us to make our Komsomol Statute even more constructive and bring it fully into line with the Lenin Komsomol's tasks at the present stage of our country's development.

Esteemed comrades!

/This is how the Central Committee sees the results of its work since the 19th Komsomol Congress, the situation prevailing in the Komsomol today, and its most important tasks in educating a generation of people capable of ensuring the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development./

We are striving to ensure that assessments are objective and dialogue is frank, excluding any hushing up or verbal evasion.

We are striving to ensure that the main avenues of our future work with young people are clearly defined and that after the congress discussion we will know what we need to restructure and how and along which avenues to advance.

Some people may think: This is not the first time we have heard this. It happened before, the truth was "boldly spoken" but later the whole charge of frankness and the entire bubbling energy of plans and intentions disappeared somewhere, and things remained as they were. So, where is the guarantee that this time things will be different, the way our congress will plan them?

The guarantee lies in the changes taking place within our society, in the party's firm course of the renewal of society, the party's trust in young people and the Komsomol, and their boundless devotion to the party's cause.

The guarantee will also lie in the fact that each one of us--from the first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee to the Komsomol group organizer--has taken on the entire responsibility for ensuring that each line of the congress' decisions is translated everywhere into specific practical deeds.

/In other words, the main guarantee lies in ourselves, in each Komsomol member's readiness to fight for restructuring./ When Komsomol members in their millions understand this and get actively involved in work, the changes in the Komsomol will become irreversible.

/This is our own union, and it is up to us to impose order in it./ The Lenin Komsomol has a glorious history and rich traditions. It has always served the

party and the people with honor and we have nothing to be ashamed of. We are boldly looking into the past and into the future.

/We will never allow anyone to besmirch the Lenin Komsomol's good name!/  
1959

But it is not just a matter of being proud of the Komsomol's traditions, they must also be developed. Those who are born this year will join the Komsomol in the year 2000. It is up to us to ensure that they also can be proud of their motherland and their communist union.

/Under the leadership of Lenin's party, together with the whole Soviet people, we are continuing the great cause of October./ We are restructuring our life so that it may be more joyful, brighter, and purer, so that honest working people can breathe easily, so that broad scope is given to creative labor, and so that the really free development of each is a condition of the free development of all.

/In the relay of the generations it is our turn to take over the banner of the revolution. This is a great responsibility but also a great honor. Let us prove worthy of it, dear comrades!/  
1959

[prolonged applause]

/9599

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## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### LISSR TO HOLD MULTICANDIDATE ELECTIONS FOR LOCAL SOVIETS

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 29 Mar 87 pp 1-3

[Unattributed report: "In the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet]

[Text] On the instructions of the 27th CPSU Congress regarding improvement in voting procedures, the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet passed a decree to conduct elections, on an experimental basis, during the forthcoming 1987 elections to local Soviets of People's Deputies for rayon, city, settlement, and apilinka [LiSSR rural administrative unit] Soviets of People's Deputies, in the territory of Kaunasskiy Rayon, in multicandidate voting districts.

The elections are being conducted in accordance with the Law of the Lithuanian SSR "On Elections in Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR" as well as the present decree.

For the elections to the rayon Soviet of People's Deputies, 29 voting districts are being formed; within them, 128 deputies will be elected. The number of voting districts for elections to city, settlement and apilinka Soviets of People's Deputies and the total number of deputies for each soviet is established by the executive committee of the Kaunasskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies.

Multicandidate voting districts are formed by joining existing districts so that no fewer than three deputies are chosen from each of them. They are formed by the executive committees of the appropriate Soviets of People's Deputies for all soviet territories following a procedure provided for in Article 13 of the Law of the Lithuanian SSR "On Elections of Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR." These districts may be formed at the boundaries of independent settlements, in microrayons, blocks, streets, and other component parts of populated areas.

The executive committees of the appropriate Soviets of People's Deputies, within the limits of the total number of deputies to be elected to a soviet, establish the number of deputies to be elected in each multicandidate district, taking into account the size of the population in the district.

The number of candidates proposed for deputies in multicandidate voting districts should, as a rule, exceed the number of votes authorized [mandaty] for the voting district.

Upon the nomination of candidates for a multicandidate voting district by the various bodies of public organizations, by labor collectives, by general meetings and by gatherings of citizens at their places of residence, district preelection conferences are held. Conference representatives are selected at the same time that candidates are nominated. A district preelection conference is convened by rayon representative bodies of public organizations. In district elections to city, settlement, and apilinka Soviets of People's Deputies, preelection conferences are convened by the leading public organizations.

The district preelection conference discusses the proposed nominations and passes a resolution in support of them or, if necessary, makes changes in the list of proposed candidates with the concurrence of the organization that nominated them. Subsequently, the district preelection conference approves the list and presents it to the district election committee for registration of the candidates for deputy. At the same time an official public record of candidates nominated for deputy is submitted.

In the event that all candidates for deputy in an election district are nominated by a single representative body of a public organization, labor collective, general meeting or gathering of citizens at their place of residence, a district preelection conference will not be held.

Candidates for deputy, having been nominated in accordance with the Law of the Lithuanian SSR "On Elections of Local Soviets of People's Deputies" and the present decree, are registered by the appropriate district election committee upon presentation by the district preelection conference or by the representative body of a public organization, labor collective, general meeting or gathering of citizens at their place of residence.

The registration of candidates for deputy is carried out through documentation provided for by the Law of the Lithuanian SSR "On Elections of Local Soviets of People's Deputies" and by public record of the district preelection conference, except in cases when no such conference is held.

For the registration of candidates for deputy in multicandidate election districts a single record is compiled, listing all candidates for deputy registered in election districts according to alphabetical order.

The district election committee adopts a resolution approving the text of the ballot.

A list of candidates registered in each election district is published in the established order.

The voting is conducted for all candidates for deputy who have been registered and included on the ballot. In filling out the ballot the voter strikes out the names of all candidates that he is voting against and leaves the names of the rest. Ballots not filled out in the manner prescribed are voided.

Candidates for deputy receiving more than half the votes of listed voters in the district win election to a multicandidate election district.

If as a result of the election the number of elected deputies exceeds the number of votes authorized, deputies receiving fewer votes are considered to be reserve deputies of the corresponding Soviet of People's Deputies. A certificate of their status as reserve deputies is issued.

In the event of a tie in the voting, preventing a determination of deputies elected, the appropriate rayon, city, settlement or apilinka election committee will instruct the district election committee to carry out within a two-week period a run-off vote in the district for the candidates for deputy in question.

Upon removal of a deputy from the roster of a Soviet of People's Deputies, his authorized vote is transferred to the reserve deputy who has received the largest number of votes by comparison with the other reserve deputies in a given district. The authority of this reserve deputy as deputy of the soviet is recognized by that soviet upon presentation of the authorized voting mandate to the soviet's credentials committee.

Reserve deputies participate in the work of the Soviet of People's Deputies with the right of a deliberative vote; they enjoy the right of deputy inviolability and guarantees to the protection of labor rights provided for by legislation for deputies of Soviets of People's Deputies.

The regulations of this decree are being introduced on an experimental basis and will remain in effect during the period that the newly elected Soviet of People's Deputies in Kaunasskiy Rayon remains in office.

12889  
CSO: 1800/513

## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### KAZAKH CONFERENCE STRESSES PARTY MEMBERS' RESPONSIBILITY

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 87 pp 1, 3

[KazTAG report on conference-seminar at Kazakh CP Central Committee: "Confirming the Leninist Work Style"]

[Excerpts] A conference-seminar of executives of the republic was held on 21 February in the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

The Central Committee Buro report "The Increased Personal Responsibility of Kazakh CP Central Authorities and Central Committee Executives for Fulfillment of the Requirements of the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum" was delivered by G. V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee.

The following Central Committee members participated in the discussion of the report: Ye. N. Auyelbekov, first secretary of the Kzyl-Orda Obkom; T. K. Volodina, presser from Petropavlovsk; B. K. Asatov, first secretary of Kustanay Oblast's Rudnenskiy Gorkom; A. M. Mashurov, first secretary of Taldy-Kurgan Oblast's Alakulskiy Raykom; and A. V. Basov, leader of a tractor-cropping brigade of Kokchetav Oblast's "Chekhovskiy" Sovkhoz.

The question should be raised here: what has been the role of the Kazakh CP Central Committee machinery and its officials? Unfortunately, [in dealing with cadre problems] there is no doubt that the machinery party organization has not displayed sufficient exactingness toward party members and attention to the formation of dependable, stable ideological-political qualities of the communists. Many CPSU members who held executive office proved to be beyond supervision and criticism. There were people in the Central Committee machinery with worthless attributes.

Selfish group interests and permissiveness, egotism and conceit combined with servile subservience, an arrogant attitude toward one's juniors in position and age, and inordinate love of gain are nothing other than the outcome of an extreme individualism demeaning and deforming the personality of the party worker, from which his personality of communist suffers and, at times, is lost completely.

Former Central Committee Administrator A. G. Statenin was expelled from the party for abuse of office for mercenary ends expressed in the group embezzlement of imported furniture and also the establishment of protectionism and on

this basis the squandering of housing and the exemption from liability of subordinates who had compromised themselves.

For participation in the group embezzlement of imported furniture and also a financial violation expressed in illegal monetary transactions pertaining to payment for the furniture I. T. Shukumov, former accountant of the Central Committee Administration of Affairs, was expelled from the party.

A critical evaluation of the state of affairs and high mutual stringency and exactingness in the Central Committee machinery have been developed to an increasingly great extent recently. However, it is still too early to speak about this with complete confidence.

Some leaders of Central Committee departments are failing to secure and due end results. It is sufficient to say that the rate of growth of industrial production in January was far from that which we had planned.

Many enterprises and the industry of the republic as a whole operated in January considerably below their potential. The increase in the commodity product constituted only 3.7 percent compared with the 4.5 percent established for the year. Eleven out of the 33 union-republic and republic ministries and departments failed to cope with the quotas for the rate of increase in production. The product sales plan with regard to supply commitments was fulfilled only 96.5 percent. The shortfall in the supply of products amounted to R71 million, which was 2.6 times more than in the corresponding period last year.

The plan for the manufacture of products of the top quality category was not fulfilled (99.4 percent). The proportion thereof remained in fact at last year's level (11.9 percent).

Labor productivity fell compared with the level achieved last year. The plan with respect to this indicator was not fulfilled by 304 enterprises or almost 40 percent more than in January 1986. It is a long time since the republic has had such a flop for January.

The Heavy Industry Department in the Central Committee machinery has long been headed by I. B. Yedilbayev, member of the republic Communist Party Central Committee. He is an experienced official. And it is even more important to emphasize that in the period of reconstruction it is not telephone lectures which are needed but specific actions and organizing work and practical assistance with an indication of specific approaches to achieve end results from a territorial and sectoral angle.

The state of affairs in capital construction is causing serious concern. As before, the commissioning of fixed capital in January constituted only 2 percent of the annual plan. Given the plan for the first quarter, it is not commissioned by the Aktyubinsk, Alma-Ata, Guryev, Dzhezkazgan, Kzyl-Orda, Semipalatinsk, and Uralsk oblispolkoms and at enterprises in the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services. Of the 38 production facilities which were to have been commissioned back in 1986, capacity was introduced at only 2. The plan for the assimilation of state capital investments in January was fulfilled only 76.9 percent, and construction-installation work, 91.5 percent.

Like last year, the annual quota of capital investments channeled into housing construction was assimilated only 5 percent.

In contrast to last year, the plan for labor productivity growth in construction was not fulfilled. Given a decline of 5.1 percent compared with January of last year, the construction workers' average monthly wage fell only 1.3 percent.

This sector is headed by N. F. Krasnoselskiy, member of the republic party organization Auditing Commission. And it needs to be said plainly that the construction workers are not yet struggling in the best way to achieve the scheduled goals and accomplish the complex fundamental tasks determined by the "Accommodation-91" program.

Questions of trade and consumer service, which are in the hands of N. P. Smolkov, member of the Auditing Commission, also demand closer attention. Fulfillment of the plan for a total commodity turnover of R56.5 million (4.3 percent) was not secured this January. A specially big lag was permitted in Aktyubinsk and Uralsk oblasts, where there was a decline in the amount of commodity turnover compared with last year. There was a shortfall in fulfillment of the commodity turnover plan in public catering of R600,000 in the republic as a whole.

The quotas pertaining to consumer service were not fulfilled. Republic Ministry of Consumer Services enterprises failed to cope with the service plans.

The thwarting of the plans in the trade and consumer service system prevented a normalization of monetary circulation. The cash plan was underfulfilled.

Reconstruction in the republic is being conducted not for reconstruction's sake but in order for us to cope better and more efficiently with the plans and accelerate progress. But how to secure acceleration if some are slackening their pace? How can we understand that executives of the Central Committee are not assuming responsibility and not striving for a tangible change for the better in the sectors which they lead? It is time to adopt a more self-critical attitude toward our own practice.

Of course, many Central Committee officials are to an increasingly great extent mastering the subtleties of party political work. They are proving to be in the forward positions and able to encompass a wide range of issues, separate the essential from the inessential, the principal from the secondary and the general from the particular, see what is new and actively oppose what is outdated and worthless and passiveness and conservatism. But it is necessary in this direction to perform much more work and foster higher professional and party-political qualities of the staff workers. This can and should be done by means of worker certification. It is not a question of using it to expel people from the staff. No. It is a question of evoking by such approaches the need in people for the greater and more in-depth study of Marxist-Leninist science and the theory and practice of party building and realizing without inordinate preparation the demands of the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum pertaining to questions of reconstruction, a rise in the level of work with the

personnel, a change in the forms and methods of work and a renunciation of administrative and technocratic methods.

Very often the cause suffers from the fact that workers of the Central Committee machinery are more preoccupied with business correspondence and the preparation of reports and making decisions official, whereas work should be organized in accordance with the current requirements of the party Central Committee: leading and controlling work by people and for people.

After all, economic development in industry, construction and the agro-industrial complex, the growth of national income—all this is essential for the good of man. And how ashamed we should be in front of people if the large appropriations for housing, the development of health care and other social questions have not been assimilated by the 5-year plan for decades. Even given the slow rate of development of the republic's economy, full use has not been made of the appropriations for the solution of social questions and an improvement in the housing conditions of the working masses. Nor have the specific culprits, who should present themselves to the people and repent of their incapacity, been named.

In accordance with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum, it is essential to establish as a rule of life executives' reports to subordinates, to the workforce. And to give these reports positive and negative marks so that the executives may feel that the people under their jurisdiction are suffering from what they are costing in work and that they can no longer put up with this.

The development of democracy means according the workforce the right to choose its leader—from the brigade leader through the director. It means new approaches, under the conditions of which particular concern must be displayed for the training of a personnel reserve for promotion. It is necessary to end the practice of having the number of candidates for an office correspond exactly to the number of replacement positions. It is essential to prepare for presentation to people not one or two persons but more in order for there to be an opportunity to judge and compare who is better, who is worse, and submit one's own proposals. It means a new form of work, for which today many people are not prepared even morally. But time will not wait; for it is this that is an active and effective form of the development of democratic principles, the growth of people's social assertiveness, a concerned proprietary attitude toward the development of one's enterprise, an increase in one's material well-being and satisfaction of other requirements.

As far as the question of the promotion of nonparty people to executive work in all authorities, soviet, labor union and economic, people's control authorities and others, is concerned, there are not even approximate reserves here because Leninist requirements have simply not operated and have ceased to be observed in this field.

Yet Lenin gave constant reminders of the need for concern to be displayed for nonparty personnel and recalled constantly that it was ridiculous to even think of building communism merely with a small handful of people consisting of communists alone. All of society and all its members must be included in

this vast creative work. And now also these Leninist demands have been duly developed at the Central Committee January Plenum. Even today, following the plenum, some comrades simply cannot grasp how a nonparty person can be recommended as chairman, for example, or a rayon soviet, how a nonparty person may be elected chairman of a people's control committee. Not only may but must since the party stratum among workers is not even in excess of 10 percent. Consequently, 90 percent of specialists of various profiles are absent from the ranks of those being trained for promotion for executive work, yet there are many gifted people and capable organizers among the working people.

The workers of the Central Committee machinery need themselves also to reorganize in this respect and make this reorganization comprehensive: from the Communist Party Central Committee through the primary party organization. A great deal of organizing work has to be done.

The old approaches and cliches in work and communication and in interpersonal relations set the teeth on edge. The advice of wise and skillful mentors who said that beginning any job and preparing for a meeting or plenum, do it as if you were doing it from scratch, for the first time, read, interpret, determine, "make, invent, test," is practically forgotten.

It is necessary to create the conditions for the rejection out of hand of intolerable institutional boredom and all manifestations of bureaucratism. The new situation demands new behavior, new action. And for this it is necessary to work more on oneself in the search for the optimum ways of tackling a task.

It is difficult to wean people away from former approaches and former evaluations of their activity. For example, the specific question of milk production. Everyone counts from the previous starting point in terms of yield per forage cow in the past 24 hours. If more milk has been obtained, then, it would seem, good, if less, not that good. But the calculation of the milk yield needs to be performed differently and the following approach taken as the rule: how much milk per day is needed for the complete satisfaction of requirements and how much is produced. The difference here is the result of personal work deficiency, the result of insufficiently active measures to achieve this end, necessary result. As yet, however, the end result is frequently determined in the form which is easier to obtain and not in which people's requirements would be fully satisfied.

Each area in work needs to be approached intelligently, whether it be an improvement in the supply of food to the population or economics. It is necessary to be exacting and completely honest in the selection of the criteria of the evaluation of the activity of this body, group and specific person or the other. It is with good reason that folk say that "if a brood hen gets down to work skillfully, a chicken will be hatched from the swill." But it is necessary precisely to get down to work and get down to work skillfully! It is necessary to organize people, but how is this done at times?

A decision on this question or the other is adopted, and it contains a list of points to be enacted which frequently (even if all are fulfilled from

beginning to end) do not alter the state of affairs and do not ensure the end result because party officials are highly skilled at writing standard documents. The words "incumbent," "expand," "extend" and "emphatically put a stop to" may be glimpsed in them, but subsequently such documents are rewritten in their own key by lower party authorities. Strict order needs to be brought to bear here also. There is apparently reason to call attention to an enhancement of the authority of the party decision. And it would obviously be correct for the draft decisions submitted to the Central Committee Buro or Secretariat for examination to be defended by the appropriate departments. And if they show that the planned measures would really secure the proper result and persuade people that following the adoption of the decision it will not be a question of dotting the "i's" but that systemic and intelligent work to achieve the necessary end result will be organized, only then may the document acquire the force of a party decision.

I have been convinced repeatedly that the reconstruction is gathering pace more rapidly where the raykoms and gorkoms are operating more energetically, in the new way. And this is understandable, they are closest to the primary party organizations and the workforce and, consequently, to the leading edge of the struggle for an acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

At the same time there are still many party committees and workers who are continuing to live in the past and operate in the old way and who remain on the sidelines of the reconstruction, as it were. Criticism may also be boldly leveled at members of the Kazakh CP Central Committee and obkom first secretaries, but primarily at Central Committee staff workers. After all, how often does it happen that a Central Committee official arrives in an oblast or rayon, chats with the party committee, familiarizes himself through the executive's words with the plan fulfillment figures, visits one or two farms, where he once again chats with the leaders, at best, takes a look around the farm, stands at the edge of a field, makes some observations to the effect, for example, that it is necessary to cart out the manure from the livestock section in good time and not delay with the grass cutting.... And with these "guiding" observations he considers his visit to the rayon to have been successfully completed. It would seem that the local managers had only been waiting for the Central Committee official to arrive to learn from him that the manure needed to be carted out from the livestock sections. Of course, he must see this also, but the main thing is that he is called upon to discern behind the individual fact and phenomenon a trend, determine in the small shoots of what is new an experiment and its usefulness or, on the contrary, pointlessness and contrived nature and be able to evaluate as a whole. How a region is developing and what is needed to ensure that this development proceed in a vertical channel, toward the outlined end result.

It is not obvious to every manager, even a not very competent one, that the production of agricultural products must be greater than the amount of their sale to the state? If things are managed otherwise, the economy of the sector could be fundamentally undermined, and we could ultimately reach a situation where procurement plans are thwarted and the supply of foodstuffs to the population deteriorates.

Why, then, is the policy of a high rate of growth of the surrender of meat to the state not being supported by a higher rate of increase in the production thereof? Because the staff of the party Central Committee and its departments and party officials locally have grown accustomed to the lag and have not held executives' duly accountable for an intensification of the meat shop and are continuing to operate according to the stereotype.

Currently many obkoms are at their own initiative engaged in enterprising activity for an increase in the production of animal husbandry products. In the past livestock wintering period many oblasts have been obtaining a pronounced addition in meat over last year's level for an improvement in local supplies.

However, it is still too early to flatter ourselves with what has been achieved. State purchases of meat declined in this period in 11 oblasts, particularly in Alma-Ata, Guryev, Kokchetav and Chimkent oblasts. It is evidently necessary once again to remind obkom first secretaries M. S. Mendybayev, A. A. Kulibayev, M. R. Sagdiyev and R. Myrzashev, members of the Central Committee, of their personal responsibility for an improvement in food supply to the population.

Livestock tuberculosis and brucellosis are, as before, a serious problem in animal husbandry. An extremely inauspicious situation has taken shape in this respect in North Kazakhstan Oblast, when the diseases have encompassed many farms. The situation Kustanay, Tselinograd, Pavlodar, and Turgay oblasts remains tense. And here also the most serious complaints have to be levelled at obkom first secretaries V. T. Stepanov, V. P. Demidenko, A. G. Braun, P. I. Yerpilov and O. S. Kuanyshev for the failure to adopt decisive and efficient measures to bring order to bear here.

Or the question of organization of the brigade contract in agricultural production and introduction of such a progressive approach in the economy as the "standard monetary system." Why has this experience not become widespread in the republic? Of the 112 farms in Karagana Oblast, for example, even the customary checking system is employed only in two, and in Guryev, Dzhzhkzagan and Mangyshlak oblasts the party committees have practically completely ignored this effective anti-expenditure management mechanism.

Yet the party authorities' main tasks consist of developing the positive and "replanting" it extensively and ubiquitously as a strong seedling from one farm in another and literally hunting for progressive experience.

It is correctly said that the Central Committee members and its staff officials must set the tone in work, but it should be borne in mind that the strength of influence on people and their deeds and behavior depend not only on the position and office occupied by this executive or the other. Reliance solely on the authority of the office does not permit the hope that people, having listened to the executive's observations and instructions, will carry them out as required. The response depends primarily on personal authority. And personal authority is formed from many attributes, primarily from the extent to which the executive is competent, morally pure, sincerely firm in his beliefs and just toward people.

Unfortunately, it is frequently the case in practice that a communist is elected to a party committee, and he believes that respect is due him inasmuch as he holds a certain executive position. He performs some function or other in work to the extent of his capabilities and desires, but as committee member, he does not overburden himself with work--he meticulously sits through a plenum or aktiv meeting and at times, if required, he speaks, votes for a resolution and with this considers his duties as one elected to a party body at an end. It is as if the credit of trust given by election to a party committee is understood by the communist merely as supplementary credit to his personal authority. Why is the party committee nonchalant or even indifferent to such an attitude? Because in creating authority for some official and electing him to a party body it does not concern itself with ensuring that this authority be used not for personal well-being but for the interests of the party, the state and society.

There are still officials who perceive criticism as an unforeseen misfortune of office and give it a hostile reception. Others, on the other hand, have made it a rule simply to "flirt" with it. Both are bad. It is necessary to take criticism seriously and, what is most important, draw conclusions from it for if it is fair, it teaches a person to rid himself of shortcomings. The light of criticism and general openness help illuminate secret aspects of life which are frequently concealed from the public, contribute to the triumph of justice and openly show who is who.

Thus D. Bekezhanov, who had for more than 20 years worked as assistant to the former Kazakh CP Central Committee first secretary, abused his office, engaged in protectionism, unfoundedly interfered in personnel selection and assignment and promoted relatives and persons close to him to executive positions.

He was expelled from the party for the abuses.

Some comrades continue to be somewhat afraid of Bekezhanov and those like him because they have seen the consequences of their unlawful doings and have suffered a good deal from them. There is today no need to fear those who have abused or continue to abuse their authority and office and their stooges. Let them fear openness and the general resolve in the struggle for justice and think well before continuing to abuse, revive cliquishness and operate outside of the framework of Soviet laws and public morality.

The Kazakh CP Central Committee knows of instances of some of its members, including creative workers, having ended up at the police station in an exceedingly unseemly, unsightly form which is demeaning to human dignity. Out of respect for the possessor of high party credentials the police officers, as they sometimes have done previously also, let the detainee go in peace, without a strict punishment. But can a blemished reputation subsequently be cleaned with a procured medical certificate and labored explanations to one's work comrades and party comrades? Such instances demand the strictest and most scrupulous assessment.

The following important question is the need for a more specific determination of what functions, what duties specifically should be performed by the Kazakh

CP Central Committee and obkom members and candidates who do not hold executive office but who are ordinary workers representing various strata of society. One may very often hear in conversation with them the following answer: "But in actual fact what should I be doing? I attend plenums, listen to the speeches and speak myself periodically, what else?" In actual fact, what else?

Far from every member of an elective body from the ranks of the so-called rank and file answers this question intelligently, nor can each official of the party committee machinery provide sufficiently full clarification.

The whole point is that neither the Central Committee machinery nor the party authorities locally have yet displayed concern to ensure that the elected communists be taught forms and methods of work in the masses. And it turns out as a result that a comrade who is conscientious, modest and an excellent specialist in his field is not equipped for the active sphere of party activity. Yet this ordinary Central Committee member, enjoying authority in the worker masses, a communist, could move mountains in the sense of agitation and the organization of work not only in his own but in other outfits of the region. But he has not been taught. He has not been helped find his place in party, organizing work.

Another matter is the inadequate assertiveness of Communist Party Central Committee members from the ranks of enterprise, administration and organization executives, and it is time to adopt a stricter approach here to an evaluation of their actions. Much has been entrusted to the executive, and there is a manifold increase in his accountability. After all, he is responsible not only for himself but also for others, and the end result of his work is manifested in the results of the activity of tens, hundreds and, at times, thousands of people. The responsibility is even greater if communists show their trust in an executive by electing him to the party Central Committee. In this case the executive bears the burden of party political leadership, and not only in his own outfit but on a republic scale. And since all comrades elected to the Central Committee have been given a certain credit of trust, they must make a constant self-analysis and upgrade their practical, professional attributes.

The moral character of the executive-communist was dealt with at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum. For the sake of the purity thereof individual work with people by means of reports in the primary party organizations and an updating of officials' references and certification has been intensified.

There has appeared in the republic party organization such a worthless phenomenon as protectionism, the establishment of the "you play ball with me..." principle and a solicitous attitude toward family and relatives at the expense of society. The people see this injustice and are emphatically demanding the eradication of this socially dangerous evil. When worker and kolkhoz member dynasties arise, this is a positive phenomenon because it is progressive and corresponds to the collective spirit and content of material production and the socialist lifestyle. But the appearance of family "dynasties" of executives is contrary to the very essence of the Soviet system and the standards of party morals.

There are such negative phenomena also in the leadership of the VUZ's, where at every step family ties secretly, but firmly bind the deans. And it would be all right if each of them corresponded to the spirit and demands of the times and was an example of high personal merits, genuine authority, professional attributes and the necessary level of political culture. Unfortunately, the majority of them lacks high sociopolitical and moral qualities. Protectionism and subservience are flourishing on their party, however, and high party mindedness is lacking.

Executives now can be and must be elected, and the masses have the right to express no confidence in those who are not today justifying trust and revealing inadequate professional, political qualities and make their recommendations for a new executive. And, furthermore, the candidates for a vacant executive position are being chosen by way of competition instead of the former practice of direct appointment. The competitive method must not become a nutrient medium for manipulation and the use of personal connections. And the family approach, kinship, nepotism, and national preference and protectionism in questions of the promotion of executives infringe the right accorded members of the workforce to choose their leader and damage the reconstruction and communist building. Instances of family preference, protectionism, and patronage in the selection and activity of this executive or the other must be completely precluded.

It has been mentioned that not all members of the party Central Committee are providing for the proper results in the area of work entrusted to them. Does Central Committee member A. A. Dergachev, for example, always know what his deputies and the managers of the enterprises of the "Mangyshlakneft" Association which he heads are up to if he attempts to decide all questions himself, individually? This incorrect style contains the reasons for the diminished responsibility of many local officials, the lack of a purposeful search for ways to raise the oil yield of the beds and make efficient use of oil-producing capacity and the inadequate attention to the creation of the proper work and recreation conditions for the oilmen.

Nor, evidently, is S. P. Kurzhey, member of the Central Committee and general director of the "Ekibastuzugol" Association, always thinking about the needs of the people he leads if, with multimillion-ruble profits, he is inadequately developing the social sphere.

The plan for the introduction of housing and health care facilities was thwarted here last year. Kindergarten provision in the association constitutes only 63 percent, and of the 15,000 workers, there are 4,200 on the housing list. It is not surprising that personnel turnover constitutes an annual 13-15 percent.

The actions and behavior of some executives raise the question of whether they are not adopting a formal attitude toward their election to the Central Committee. After all, the following Central Committee members have been punished along party lines by the appropriate obkoms: S. L. Mamontov, first secretary of the Glubokovskiy Raykom of East Kazakhstan Oblast, for a superficial approach to an examination of complaints and V. P. Osipenko, first

secretary of the Tselinograd Gorkom, for lack of objectivity in the evaluation of the antisocial and amoral actions of a projectionist of the oblast television studio. Ye. Gabdullin, candidate of the Central Committee and senior horse herder of the Sovkhoz imeni T. Masin, was strictly reprimanded by Uralsk Oblast's Urdinskiy Raykom, this being entered in his record, for concealment from the accounts of personal livestock and its keep in the public herd.

And do the actions of Z. K. Nurkadilov, chairman of the Alma-Ata Gorispolkom, who was punished by the obkom for personal immodesty when deciding housing questions, whereas thousands of Alma-Ata residents have been on the apartment list for dozens of years, correspond to the high demands made of a member of the Central Committee?

While critically evaluating the state of affairs pertaining to an enhancement of the fruitfulness of the work of the party Central Committee and its elective aktiv and the executive staff, it nonetheless has to be observed that a reorganization for the better has been observed in the style of work. And at the same time it needs to be admitted that this reorganization has not affected the style of work of the soviet, union, and Komsomol authorities. When it is a question of an improvement in the style of party work, it should be borne in mind that it takes shape from the style and methods of work of each individual member of the party Central Committee. After all, in the social plane style means the individual's method of personal action, the individual himself. Therefore reorganizing the style of our work means reorganizing and improving ourselves. This is not always easy and is a painful process at times. It is necessary to abandon evolved habits and some traditions. It is also sometimes necessary to infringe some of one's own interests. But this has to be done. The recovery of the moral-psychological climate in the whole party organization and an improvement in all activity will depend on this.

The times demand that we give ourselves and others clear, specific answers to many complex questions. "...It is necessary to speak plainly," V. I. Lenin taught. "This is of interest and importance not only from the viewpoint of theoretical truth but also from the practical aspect. We cannot learn to tackle our tasks with new methods today if yesterday's experience has not opened our eyes to the erroneousness of the old methods."

N. F. Mishchenko, head of a section of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational-Party Work Department, took part in the conference-seminar.

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## CULTURE

### SOVIET CINEMA MUST REFLECT RESTRUCTURING PROCESS

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[Article by Doctor of Art Studies S. Freylikh, honored artist of the RSFSR: "Irreversibility"]

[Text] No matter how many reefs may obstruct the path of restructuring in cinematography, the very idea of implementing this restructuring has excited the public's awareness. Cinematography workers have gained faith in the likelihood of changes, passions boil over in the course of arguments, people whose voices we have never heard are rushing to the rostrums. This has been lacking in our cinematography for a long time, perhaps ever since the twenties. The restructuring of cinematography, just like the restructuring of society as a whole, cannot be decisive without the chief protagonist--the people. It is now--again by way of a parallel with the twenties--that the question of establishing a Society of Movie Lovers has been raised at the fifth congress of the country's cinematography workers. In this way, restructuring also involves those for whom art exists, in other words the viewing public.

But the very fact that questions have started to be decided at public meetings [soborno] causes irritation among people who have gotten used to the closed environment [bezglasnost]. In the course of the past decades we have gotten out of the habit of democracy and come to accept that the most important problems were resolved behind closed doors [neglasno], in the silence of offices, while various ideas occurring to people who were frequently incompetent were dressed up as resolutions addressed to the masses for unconditional implementation.

How many critical situations developed in the history of cinematography because decisions as to what was good and what was bad were made in precisely this subjective and bureaucratic fashion. Modern thinking is historical thinking; it cannot be formed on the basis of evaluations of the current moment alone. It is necessary to know one's past, not to forget the achievements, and to be aware of why it was that innovative works suffered beneath the blows of fate. Like, for example, "Bezha's Meadow" [Bezhin Lug] in the thirties, "Ivan the Terrible" [Ivan Groznyy] in the forties, and "The Ilich Border Post" [Zastava Ilich] (this was the actual conceptual title of the movie "I Am 20 Years Old" [Mne Dvadsat Let]), and "Andrey Rublev" in the sixties. The improper treatment of those movies was not only a drama for their makers but

it also held back the development of cinematographic practice and distorted the idea of the purposefulness of the moviemaking process.

I anticipate examples of reassessment of values, when movies which for unknown reasons were awarded all sorts of prizes are being exposed in their inconsistency, while other movies, which gathered dust on the shelves for years, are now appearing on the screen and are treated as masterpieces? Yes, I am well aware of the latest facts, and not just through the press but also as member of the Cinematography Workers Union disputes commission, which has already signed several dozen protocols applying for the release of previously banned movies.

A rehabilitation of primary truths is underway. Ostozhenka Street has regained its original name. Kira Muratova has regained the dignity of a Soviet artist.

But these facts should not, by themselves, bring about any sense of complacency within us. It is necessary to create conditions for making the process irreversible. It is the lessons of the past, the facts which I addressed earlier in this article, that teach us that the point is not to simply change various leaders--be it in the State Committee for Cinematography, the Cinematography Workers Union, or the studio. The science of management attaches great importance to the leader's competence and personal qualities, but it does not idealize this aspect.

Have we learned lessons from what has happened--and this is necessary--so as to render the process irreversible? It is necessary to rule out any chance of one group of untouchable directors' being replaced by another such group. Ultimately, the creation of idols bodes nothing good for the idols themselves. As soon as circumstances change, they are immediately deposed and consigned to oblivion. Thinking is nurtured through perception of complex and contradictory phenomena. We, however, preferred not to talk about complex phenomena, as if they did not exist. Now might be the right time to write a monograph on Mikhail Edisherovich Chiaureli. It is possible to see in this talented director's movies how time is fractured and reputation declines when an artist dedicates himself to the portrayal of a false idea. Chiaureli's movies from the last period were an extreme expression of the style of an epoch which we still obscurely describe as "the personality cult period." Leaf through any journal, newspaper, or book of that time, and you will inevitably come across Chiaureli's name in each case. The All-Union State Institute for Cinematography programs listed the director as a leading master. But his hero departed this life, and people suddenly stopped even mentioning Chiaureli, as if he had never existed in the history of cinematography.

Meanwhile, his real merit cannot be overlooked, and what I mean are movies of the twenties and thirties like "The Flask" [Saba], "Khabarda" [meaning unknown], "The Last Masquerade" [Posledniy Maskarad], and "Arsen" [a man's name]. At the same time, his deviations from realism are also instructive--the movies "The Fall of Berlin" [Padeniye Berlina] and "The Vow" [Klyatva] are perfect examples of a style which could be fairly described as pseudoclassicism. We cannot understand an artist if we take him only as an object of glorification

or study. It is instructive to examine how Academician Grabar wrote his history of art. He highly valued Repin, but he entitled the last chapter of the monograph on Repin "Downhill." In our time, when a painter goes downhill we discard him, we love people who are "upwardly mobile." But is life itself not driven by contradictions, and is the actual historical situation prevailing in our society today not based on a contradiction on a universal scale? This contradiction is echoed in the movie "Go and See" [Idi i Smotri] and in the movie "Repentance" [Pokayaniye].

But how rare are such successes! It has been established that 80 percent of movies released each year fail to even recoup the money spent on making them. It is reasonable to ask: Given such a mass production of shoddy output, why has there been no case of a movie studio's going bankrupt? While making dull movies, the studios even manage to win prizes. This means that their sins are covered up by the state, in other words the taxpayer, and therefore the viewer. The press has repeatedly sounded the alarm in this context, and I remember an article which was actually titled "The Technology of Dull Movies." But alas, no articles by critics, no directives or resolutions can halt the output of dull movies once dullness establishes itself in production. It has become clear: Dullness is suitable for officials and ungifted moviemakers. It is suitable for editors who, with frenzied zeal, distort the intentions of script writers and directors, haughtily lecturing them on how to write scripts and make movies. Now a historian of cinematography cannot ignore A. Lipkov's article "Inspection...on the Highways" in NOVYY MIR (No 2, 1987). A movie which was banned as "harmful" in 1971 was described by movie critics as "the best movie of the year" 15 years later. This example can tell us much about the meaning of the changes occurring in our cinematography. But the fact that the movie was finally released, and that specific persons guilty of causing the movie's dramatic fate were named, still cannot be itself guarantee that the mistakes of the past will not be repeated.

It is necessary to change the thinking which developed within the production system, where creativity was subordinated to the machinery of a moviemaking factory. The new model of the management of cinematographic production gives scope not just to creative workers. The reorganization tending toward the independence of creative links in the cinematography system will free state organs from petty daily routine, from bureaucratic befuddlement, from officious supervision of every step taken by studios, from the pointless and mind-boggling reading of each and every script written in all 15 republics. Under the new conditions state apparatus officials will be able to look beyond their office desk, take an overall view of the situation, and evaluate the trend of movement in order to coordinate collaboration between subdivisions and forecast the cinematographic process. This is precisely the way an experienced conductor acts--without substituting for anyone else in the orchestra he is nonetheless necessary to each individual player and to the orchestra as a whole--and an equally inspired conductor is needed by the orchestra which goes by the name of "Soviet cinematography."

The experience of the experimental studio which emerged under "Mosfilm" in the mid-sixties remains an instructive lesson for us. The memory of it was appropriately revived right before the cinematography workers congress, when

people were groping for ways to improve cinematography work. But here is the only point that was not brought up. The very idea of financial autonomy placed administrators and artists in a state of correct human relations. The task which faced the studio demanded not only a talented artistic leader (Grigoriy Chukhrai) but also talented chiefs (Vladimir Pozner and Leonid Mursa). The studio's dramatic end is also instructive. The more successful its work became, the more ill will it created, and in the end it was closed down by administrative order. This end to an innovative idea resulted in years of disbelief in any chance of fundamental changes in cinematography. And was only cinematography affected? The First Television Program has already broadcast twice a show based on Fedor Burlatskiy's play "Two Views From One Office" [Dva Vzgl'yada iz Odnogo Kabineta]. This very topic--the likelihood of change--is the subject of an argument between two characters seated in a party obkom office: One of them, figuratively speaking, is a "skeptic" (P. Velyaminov), the other is an "optimist" (A. Boltnev). It seems as if we are not watching a play at all, since the characters are only mouthpieces of certain ideas, but these ideas are so vitally important and the actors are so fascinating that we listen to them, careful not to utter a single word, because they are arguing about something of which we are thinking all the time, about which we argue with one another and at times even with our own selves.

So why was the experimental studio's experience not developed? The studio was the work of a small group of enthusiasts, and it ran contrary to the thinking of the time.

The 27th party congress marked the beginning of a new chapter in Soviet society's history and, by theoretically substantiating the renewal of socialism as a social system, the congress defined the levers for the implementation of an objectively irreversible process.

And it is incumbent on us cinematography workers to substantiate theoretically and with an equal measure of responsibility the need for changes in all our cinematography work. The Fifth Cinematography Workers Congress cleared the obstructions out of the way of Soviet cinematography. The Cinematography Workers January (1987) Plenum discussed the questions of a new organization of movie production and distribution.

Born out of fierce arguments and painful deliberations, the model of the new cinematography meets the requirements of the present historical situation, whose specific feature is the fact that it is not just a matter of the "top" restructuring the "bottom": The entire system is being renewed, and the party describes these renewals as revolutionary. But the practical organization must be based on theory. Of course it is good that, 20 years after it was made, Abuladze's outstanding movie "Supplication" [Molba], which was ranked in the third (!) category, was literally a few days ago regraded in the top category. But this was more than just a mistake by administrators. We did, after all, read articles by theoreticians raising suspicions as regards the use of parables in Georgian cinematography, but "Supplication" was made in the form of a parable and now it, together with the "Tree of Desire" [Drevo Zhelankiya] and "Repentance," makes up a famous trilogy.

And once again: Why go back to the dramatic history of some movie: It has been released, justice has triumphed; why rub salt in the wound? As a rule, these ideas originate from people who played an unseemly role in the dramatic fate of various movies; restructuring and democratization are dangerous for them, and under conditions in which openness and information are lacking their personal mistakes, at times verging on crimes, are easily shifted onto the shoulders of history, society, and Soviet power. We revert to mistakes of the past not for the sake of exacting revenge but in order to discover their essence, because without this the process may prove reversible. Each document banning one movie or another was backed by a program, unpublicized but harsh and imperative. Have we in fact revealed the positions from which "The Topic [Tema], for example was banned? Now that it is reaping success both on Soviet screens and abroad (top "Golden Bear" prize at the 1987 Berlin festival), it is annoying to think of the time it spent gathering dust, when movies like it advance art and help to demolish the stereotypes of old views of what art is allowed to do, what is typical, and what is modern.

And how about the "Inspection on the Highways?" People who banned this movie were convinced that they were upholding the heroic traditions of "Chapanev" in cinematography. But how blind they proved to have been. New art does not make copies of old masterpieces but is a continuation of them. The correlation of classical and modern is the most acute problem in practice. The style of many current movies so obviously has much in common with the quest of the twenties. This is an objective process, and it deserves the most careful attention in our theory. It is true that there were occasions when people engaged directly in practice were heard to say: We do not read your books or articles. Naive people, they are the makers of practice but, by not reading books and articles, they are captives of predominant aesthetic concepts and at times of dubious stereotypes. For example, the terms "highbrow" and "escapist," dilettantish with overtones of cynicism, are firmly rooted in studios as definitions of the, so to speak, serious and mass-appeal genres. The metaphysical division between the serious and the entertaining is the scourge of contemporary cinematography, and yet they can collaborate both within the limits of art as a whole and within the parameters of one single work. Is this not what the great Russian literature teaches us! Dostoyevskiy's philosophical novel "The Brothers Karamazov" has levels of perception. But these levels do not exist in isolation. With the help of melodrama (the motif of cruel love) and thriller methods (the murder investigation), the author seems to delve deep into ordinary people's primary feelings. So? Does he amuse us in this way, does he offer us, so to speak, relaxation from serious deliberations? No. Passions and experiences sustain the upper stratum of the novel, rendering its intellectual stratum not abstract-philosophical but captivating in its humanity. These traditions are also alive in classic Soviet cinematography. Take the overtones of an urban romance away from the "Maxim Trilogy" (Trilogiya o Maksime), take away the young hero's guitar, and you will transform a wonderful movie about the revolution into a "highbrow" work.

Restructuring humanizes relations in society. It is progressing slowly and painfully in cinematography, and we can see how the past has merged with the new and how difficult it is at times to separate them. The old concepts are

still tenacious, but the effect of new criteria can already be felt. Dull movies continue to be made using scripts written earlier, but "Repentance" is already in being, and next to it we have Aleksandr Tvardovskiy's poem "The Right to Remember" [Po Pravu Pamyati] which has finally been published--these phenomena in art and literature speak of the dramatic and profound causes of the present changes, for which our society has literally paid through its suffering.

The events occurring in our country are attracting world public attention. In a conversation with M.S. Gorbachev, Amintore Fanfani, president of the Italian Senate, said that success in what has started in the Soviet Union will be of enormous importance for the whole world. Failure would be a tragedy for mankind.

Thus, world importance is assumed by an event whose scale has not yet been discerned by our cinematography because it is too close to it. Writings on current affairs are more effective and sharper. Newspapers are more popular than thrillers, and this is typical of society's mental attitude. It deserves movies examining in depth the struggles and dramas of our time. The scheme of internal restructuring echoes the idea of relations among the earth's inhabitants in the nuclear age, threatening the destruction of mankind--this idea was put forward by the party and accepted in the world as the "new philosophy." This is the modern thinking, which is linked with the belief that the interests of humanity as a whole are above the interests of any class. This idea does not contradict our history but stems from the ultimate meaning of our struggle. Let me recall Nikolay Shengelay's words: "I came to cinematography to praise the meaning of the October Revolution for all mankind."

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CSO: 1800/497

CULTURE

SCRIPTWRITER DISCUSSES RESTRUCTURING IN CINEMA

PM161405 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Apr 87 p 3

[Interview with Ye. I. Gabrilovich by Ye. Petrova under the rubric "Encounter": "Frankness Is a Hard Science. We Talk With Ye.I. Gabrilovich, One of Soviet Cinematography's Most Senior Scriptwriters"--first paragraph is a MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The movies "Mashenka," "Communist," "Lenin in Paris," and "Declaration of Love," made from his scripts over the years, have one thing in common--the artist's desire to approach as closely as possible to the truth, to historical, psychological, and artistic truth. This was not always easy, these movies did not always encounter immediate success or understanding on the part of viewers. The scriptwriter's commitment to his chosen path is that much more valuable.

[Petrova] Yevginey Iosifovich, what is the meaning of contemporary cinematography today?

[Gabrilovich] I think that being contemporary--be it yesterday, today, or tomorrow--primarily means raising problems and producing arguments. What I value in art is not just a narrative of events, not a photographic record of life, but the ability to reflect the profound dialectical processes in social and personal relations. Contemporary cinematography owes a debt to restructuring. We are still busy flagellating ourselves for past shortcomings. We tell ourselves: Things were difficult in the past, but no sooner have we cast off the burden of heavy sins than the outlines of the bright future will emerge on the horizon. If art were to indulge in such placidity today, the road we are following may prove to be a dead end. The actual process of restructuring, with its internal conflicts and dramatic situations, is still outside any serious analysis.

[Petrova] What are the conflicts which you personally perceive within restructuring?

[Gabrilovich] Recently I, together with the young scriptwriter Yu. Polyakov, finished work on the script "Everything Will Be Fine" [Vse Budet Khorosho] for director L. Vtoroy. It is the story of a young girl, a Communist and ardent supporter of restructuring. She is energetic, full of hopes for the future,

eager to build the new. People around her also verbally acclaim restructuring. But only verbally. The result is that the main heroine finds herself rejected.

In my view, this is a perfectly realistic story line. It is also a realistic fact that words about renewal often cover settlement of personal scores or reprisals for criticism, claiming that the critic hinders restructuring. There are more than enough conflicts. But it is the writer himself, the script-writer, who today must restructure himself in order to enable cinematography to speak of all this in a well-argued and convincing fashion, in depth. It would seem that there is nothing simpler than to say what you think. It does appear, however, that for many years on end you have had a built-in strict censor who constantly prompts: It is still too early to speak about this, tread a bit more softly here in case you offend someone, it is still better not to say this directly, paraphrase it.

Nothing disappears without a trace in history. For years on end we were taught to live by directives, resolutions, instructions. We came to accept that mistakes in the set course are impossible. We got used to giving "unconditional support" and voting only "for." Look what happens. Today we criticize past shortcomings actively and fairly. But does it not also happen that people who only yesterday spoke out in "ardent support" of everything that was being done are now indignant at what happened yesterday. Someone who has gotten accustomed to thinking according to orders from above can switch from one position to another without any special effort.

I recently had an opportunity to observe an interesting scene. A little girl returned home from the kindergarten with tears in her eyes. "I'm not going there any more. The supervisor is nasty, the food is tasteless, the kids fight." Guests arrived a few minutes later and asked her: "Well, how do you like the kindergarten?" She answered: "Very well!" You see? There she is, a tiny human being, almost genetically conditioned: "I think one thing and I say something else." There it is, the beginning of duplicity which later leads to false statements at meetings, on radio and television, in movies and literature. Nor should anyone think that as soon as a directive condemning this phenomenon is issued, everybody will immediately start speaking frankly. The restructuring of mentality means prolonged, painstaking, and daily labor.

[Petrova] In your opinion, is there anything else apart from restructuring that contemporary cinematography ought to cover?

[Gabrilovich] I think that speaking the language of the time does not mean talking about things taking place at the moment. Cinematography owes a great debt to our fatherland's history. Numerous movies have been made about the war and the revolution but, as a rule, they are decorative and do not reflect history either in sufficient depth or always truthfully. Little has been said so far by party-minded cinematography about the negative phenomena which occurred during the war.

[Petrova] How do you interpret the term "party-minded cinematography?"

[Gabrilovich] Party-minded cinematography is by no means obliged to classify everything or to draw dogmatic conclusions: This is approved, this is not approved. It is necessary to be wary of the former desire to present on screen whatever party offices have already decided. The artist's task is to conduct a daily and profound analysis of history and the present so as to help the party along its future path.

I think that we still have to turn back to the years of collectivization and postwar construction work. These topics are awaiting their authors. But the main topic which ought to be covered are the real victories and complexities of Soviet man. Our screen gradually established the typical features of the positive hero: Straightforward and unbending, even if he did have any shortcomings, he quickly eradicated them. The hero has disappeared over the last few years, to be replaced by the antihero: Rogue, dodger, petty thief who, as a rule, was swiftly re-educated and repented his sins within the 90 minutes of screen time. I cannot give a precise prescription for the hero of our time. The main point is truth and depth in depicting him. Less dogmatism, fewer magic cures which drive cinematography into feebleness and boredom.

[Petrova] How, in your view, is it possible to halt the stream of dull and uniform movies, of which much is said today?

[Gabrilovich] Dullness, in my view, is very often a manifestation of unprofessionalism. We teach students at the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography everything and nothing. Superficial erudition to the detriment of professional knowledge. Even someone talented could be doomed to making dull and uninteresting movies unless he knows the secrets of the art. We must learn anew to make absorbing and interesting movies, we still have to revive the lost professionalism, and we must learn to write sharp dialogues, funny comedies, and absorbing stories. I would say that the last few years have seen a powerful politicization of art. The subject has become all-important for us. The question of whether viewers will see the movie or not is well down the list of priorities. It seems to me that young people's current fascination with rock music and incredible clothes and hairstyles goes deeper than purely musical passions or a desire to stand out. In my view, this is a sign of internal protest against the formalism of meetings, the uniformity and stagnation of life, boring and inexpressive art.

[Petrova] Talented cinematography is a matter for talented people, and we don't have all that many of them.

[Gabrilovich] But not all that few, either. I know this as someone who has taught at the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography for many years. It is a different matter that not only talented works but also people creatively "perished" in the last few years. It may seem easy from the outside: One script was rejected, I'll write another one. The creative rejection of someone's work generates lack of belief in his forces, disappointment. I know of talented graduates of the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography becoming store directors....

[Petrova] Major changes are occurring in cinematography today. What is your opinion of the new model of financially autonomous movie studios?

[Gabrilovich] The changes in cinematography are indeed major and gratifying. But we should not indulge in infinite admiration. There are more than enough problems. As for the new model, I am no economist. From the creative viewpoint, I can say that I am not a champion of plentiful artistic councils which are now acquiring great powers. I do not think that the collective discussion of works at art is a panacea. I personally sit on all sorts of councils and know what they are. It is very difficult, within some 90 minutes, to penetrate the depth of intention or get fired by ideas. And the result is as Tvardovskiy put it: "Here he slips in his own words, there he deletes other people's words." Ultimately, the author alone is responsible for all corrections and amendments. The council member is an outsider. He came and went without bearing any responsibility.

[Petrova] The action in your latest script take place against the background of building a symbolic monument to the future. Does this mean that, as someone who has lived through a lot, you still believe that today we are laying the foundations of such a monument?

[Gabrilovich] Frankly speaking, there were times when we were promised: Wait a little longer, and the golden age will dawn. But I do believe in the future. The only important point is to understand that we will not get there as easily as cinematography likes to show. There will be failures, defeats, and possibly quite deep ones. Bearing this in mind, let us forget for the time being the tunes of victory marches. Enormous and hard work lies ahead in restructuring art and, first and foremost, ourselves.

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CULTURE

SOIREE COMMEMORATES MOVIE DIRECTOR TARKOVSKIY

PM080959 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In Memory of a Master"]

[Text] A soiree devoted to the work of People's Artist of the RSFSR Andrey Tarkovskiy was held 4 April in Moscow at the Central House of Cinematographers. On this day the well-known cinema artist would have been 55 years old.

At the soiree it was noted that the director's talent flowered on his native soil and his films "Ivan's Childhood," "Andrey Rublev," "Solaris," "The Mirror," and "Stalker," have rightly gone down in the history of Soviet cinematic art. These wide-scale innovatory works are marked by their high level of skill and unique creative individuality. They are imbued with philosophical reflections about the fate of the world and the desire to consider the experience and lessons of history and to study the source of the national character's roots among the people.

The artist spent the last years of his life beyond the motherland's borders, which caused his friends and colleagues pain and grief to think about. He made two movies abroad. The title of the first--"Nostalgia"--speaks for itself. The second, "The Sacrifice,"--a profoundly tragic work about human loneliness and alienation--was made by Tarkovskiy not long before his premature death.

The memory of the innovatory artist is close to Soviet cinema figures. His life and work are described by a photographic documentary exhibition mounted at the Central House of Cinematographers. A retrospective of the master's movies has also been held here.

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## SOCIAL ISSUES

### ALMA-ATA RIOTS HIGHLIGHT FLAWS IN KOMSOMOL WORK WITH YOUTH

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by V. Yevseyev under the rubric "Youth and Time": "Where Are We Supposed to Go?"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] There are quite a large number of letters in the editorial office mail where readers, each in his own way, examine the problem: how does it happen that in our country, where there are hundreds of theaters and thousands of clubs, libraries, and stadiums, we are more and more often seeing teenagers who do not know where to go; they loiter aimlessly in the streets or set up in entryways and staircases. At times their "idleness" is manifested in ways that are by no means inoffensive, the letters say, and bring people who are just beginning to live to the brink of the precipice.

"Who is to blame for a young person getting into trouble? Is there not something in our daily life that helps form a vacuum and spiritual emptiness which is filled up by bad things--both "ours," which are from the realm of remnants of the past, and, even more tenacious, the propaganda of the Western way of life which penetrates to us in various ways, beginning with insignias on T-shirts and jeans?" D. Mazin, a veteran of the war and labor reflects. This letter also draws attention because it came from Alma-Ata.

The Alma-Ata events of the past year when instigators managed to bring some of the young pupils out onto the city's streets by ensnaring them with demagogic arguments on wounded national dignity showed our general errors and shortcomings in work with youth. That vacuum which D. Mazin writes about was created gradually when eyes were closed to certain unfavorable phenomena and bravura reports on Komsomol successes were substituted for actual work with different categories of youth.

How can the situation which has taken shape be corrected? There are quite a few opinions on that account. We even received the following suggestion: introduce a special form for active Komsomol members, create revolutionary detachments for introducing the socialist way of life, and fight relentlessly against all vices, including rock music, which is now popular among youth.

Questions regarding music and clothes--the most striking external signs of different generations--are heard in many letters. Some of the authors believe

that "bans" on Western music and Western fashion would put everything in order. Let us be frank, there are plenty of reasons for such categorical conclusions.

... On the table in front of me is a whole collection of surprising exhibits. Handmade bracelets with spikes, earrings with rivets and cut off fingers, necklaces made of metal dog collars, all kinds of large and small chains, badges and emblems with dishevelled heads and sinister skulls... All these are unique distinguishing marks of today's "hippies," "heavy metalists," "breakdancers," "new wavers," and the like. Who are they and what do they want?

Georgiy Z., born 1970, secondary student: "I consider myself a heavy metalist; I'm mad about music. In general heavy metalists don't have an ideology, in my opinion, only love for music."

Sergey P., born 1965, student at a tekhnikum: "I believe in the Orthodox religion. I listen to Western radio stations. I'm enrolled at a narcotics clinic. I love hard rock. Andrey K. and I wanted to form a group but we weren't allowed to..."

Dmitriy D., born 1968, testing mechanic: "I regard myself as a hippie. I started being a hippie as an expression of protest against New Wave and breakdancing. I'm not joining the Komsomol because I don't see anything to gain from it and I don't think there's any reason to just pay membership fees. I have a music education and my comrade and I appealed to the plant Komsomol committee for a place to play and musical equipment, but they rejected us. I'm called 'Monk' among my friends."

For the uninitiated, I should probably explain that "heavy metal," new wave," and "breakdancing" are all varieties of modern rock music schools. However, the "confessions" cited above were not recorded at a debate but at the headquarters of the Moscow Komsomol operational detachment of voluntary people's patrols where guys and girls come not for musical entertainment but for specific violations of public order. They have, of course, childish bravado--they say, look how unusual we are; we're not afraid of anything and nothing means anything to us. But even the most "inoffensive" of them, who, like the pupil Georgiy Z., make a declaration of love "only" for music, prove to be by no means angels when we check up on them. This same Georgiy was arrested in the company of drug addicts. It is true, he had not yet become one of them; in his own words, he refused to enjoy the "swamp blossom in the vaseline jar" because of the danger that he "might be caught." Today he refused. But tomorrow?

No, there can be and there should be no compromises in our position when the subject comes to worship of musicians in fascist uniforms, when musical "addiction" turns into drug addiction, or when the attributes of "heavy metal rock" are cold weapons. But in declaring an uncompromising struggle against everything that is really alien to us and against everything which we cannot be reconciled to in any form, we must nonetheless not evade the question: where does all this begin? And how did it come about that music and love for

it began to be accompanied by political apathy, drug addiction, and violations of the law?

Let us think on the words: "we wanted to form a group but we weren't allowed to," and "appealed to the Komsomol committee but they refused us"... Could it be it started with that? It is precisely indiscriminate refusals that lead to the counteractions that frighten us.

So does that mean permissiveness? Should we let them listen to what they want? I will cite lines on this account from yet another letter. "My son and I work at a plant," writes engineer A. Poltavtsev from Voronezh. "In our free time we make tapes. I love the music of past years and my son loves modern groups. But we don't have any disagreements on this. I believe in letting him record what he likes--rock music, disco; after all, in our youth we weren't just mad about folk melodies either; every generation has its own music. My son and I often argue about it but without any mutual accusations; we compare "his" and "my" music. I'm sure, for example, that in time the fascination with new fashionable trends will pass and a passion for real, melodic song will win out."

Such trust of a father and his faith in his son, it seems, can accomplish much more than cutting off kids' particular passions. Unconditionally refusing to recognize and cutting off teenagers' passions, we thereby, over trifles (to us but not to them!), deprive them of the right to independent thinking and independent choice. Today many social organizations have turned their attention to those people who were simply not noticed before--to those so-called unofficial associations of young people, among which are various types--both those which are easily adapted to public principles and those which demand serious indoctrinational and reindoctrinational work. But the fact that we have stopped closing our eyes to their very existence is also good and important. The only thing for us to guard against is not to turn yesterday's "alienated" into today's "chosen" ones. Because any "hippies" and people like them are only a drop in the sea of youth. And although this drop is also ours and we must be properly concerned about it, still we must not forget about the sea itself. About its ecological problems.

... I dropped in at a vocational-technical school chosen absolutely randomly. Vocational-Technical School No 152 is on the outskirts of Moscow. Repairmen, fitters, cookery specialists, cooks, clerks, and secretary-stenographers for fishing industry enterprises are trained there. It is a new building with modern study rooms, an assembly hall, a sports hall, rooms for activity group work, and its own shooting range...

I asked several pupils what they did in their leisure time. At first there was suspicion and distrust: from a newspaper? But why did he come to us? What have we done?" Then the apparently ineradicable desire to uphold "the honor of the uniform": "Everything in our school is fine, the activity groups are working and the sections and discotheques meet every month." "And in the evening after school, what then?" "And in the evening we watch the program 'Vremya' and go to bed."... And only after making certain that this conversation would not turn into prohibitions did the kids warm up to the subject. They interrupted each other and each one wanted to have his say.

But the general opinion was perhaps expressed most precisely by a girl who literally flew into the room after hearing of the "correspondent who had arrived."

"Why don't people think about youth at all now?" she fired from the threshold. As was explained, this girl and her friends had recently been at the reception office of the deputy of the rayon Soviet. They had come with the question of where they were supposed to spend their leisure time, but from the response understood nothing except that "some work is being done in that direction." Multiply that result by the young people's maximalism and the conclusion is that no one thinks of youth.

There is probably no need to prove that this is in fact not so. But there is also no reason to doubt that there is simply nowhere for many kids to go in the evenings. Scientists consider the opportunity for informal contact with peers a very important social need for young people. However, this is where things are particularly bad. Really, where can kids simply talk among themselves for a while? Palaces and houses of culture are not adapted to this--many of them have become ordinary movie theaters. As a rule young people are not permitted to go to their own schools or institutions in the evening. So teenagers have only entryways...

Wait, what about cultural-mass work at the domicile? I addressed this question to the head of Building Operations Directorate No 27, on whose territory many students of the vocational-technical school live. V. Zykov told about the hockey boxes built, the activity groups and art studios, and the opportunity to learn to play the bayan [accordion]... But he himself admitted that not everyone was attracted to these things. The kids had to be given the possibility of independent contact. A suitable place could be found. Only who could organize their leisure time for them? There was one pedagogue-organizer on staff schedule at the building operation directorate, but the position was not filled--the salary was only 85 rubles. They tried leaving the kids without supervision--they began to behave like hooligans, they broke things... That was banned. So they hang out in entryways. But that is not half the trouble. They break into cellars and attics.

Any healthy teenager is like Vesuvius. In the sense that there is energy melting away in him. Where it goes depends in many respects on us.

However the situation continues to be paradoxical: cellars and attics are broken into but the places adapted for leisure time which are in all schools and institutions and at building operation directorates are empty.

"Do you think we don't understand that the kids can't squeeze in anywhere in the evening?" says the director of Vocational-Technical School No 152, V. Korotayev, who has spent almost 20 years working with teenagers. "But at our institution where there are places and the necessary equipment--we only have a discotheque once a month. Why? Because at conferences for a year I'll keep hearing about any "incident" at this discotheque. The conclusion? Arrange discotheques less often--there will be fewer opportunities for an incident.

About 10 people will be sitting right on the stairs between the second and third floors. The lights of their cigarettes glow in the semidarkness. I do not refrain from saying: "So, fellows, you couldn't find another place?" In response a mocking warning: "Move along, old man, move along." Or the usual question: "And where are we supposed to go?"

It is easiest of all to answer with reproaches and exhortations. But that does not help solve the problem. The need to get rid of the edifying and admonishing tone in work with young people was again emphasized at the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Organizing leisure time is an important part of the process of molding the civic posture of the younger generation. Of course, it would be a simplification to believe that everyone we talked about at the beginning of these comments had taken a liking to being a "hippie," to narcotics, to unthinking love of music, and so on and so forth merely as a result of poorly organized free time; but the fact that all of them grew up from the entryway "stairs" is beyond question. And it will not do to take the position of an ostrich. The question of where young people can go in the evenings is not a made up one, but one that must be solved together with the young people themselves. Above all the Komsomol, that organization which for the most part absorbs the best and healthiest forces of youth and is supposed to attract the entire mass of young people and which is doing a great deal now but must accomplish even more tomorrow, must try to solve the question. And already now this organization must at the least do everything it can to bring teenagers up from the cellars and entryways to the light of real, full-value life.

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CSO: 1800/344

## SOCIAL ISSUES

### WEEKLY URGES MEASURES TO IMPROVE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN

[Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian on 4 February 1987 carries on page 13 a 1,900-word report by special correspondent Natalya Daryalova on child neglect caused by alcoholism. The report focuses on the story of five children who burned to death when they were left alone in an apartment. According to neighbors, two families (a total of nine people) lived in the one-room apartment. The three adults were heavy drinkers, and were frequently unemployed. The father of four of the children had been arrested for parasitism on more than one occasion. Neighbors contended that the children were often left alone and were not cared for. An investigation of the incident determined that the fire had been caused by a burst lightbulb, and that no one could be held responsible for the five deaths. The author maintains that while child care and upbringing are parental responsibilities, the state also has a role. There are legal provisions for the protection of schoolage children, she writes, but "apparently we do not have a single organization which as part of its professional duties undertakes the guardianship and protection of the citizens' and human rights of infants." She urges that an organization be formed to protect such children by ensuring that their parents care for them properly.

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CSO: 1830/461

## SOCIAL ISSUES

### AzSSR: STRONGER CAMPAIGN AGAINST OPIUM, CANNABIS URGED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 14 February 1987 carries on page 4 a 900-word article by G. Akhundov, Doctor of Biological Sciences, and N. Babayev, Candidate in Biological Sciences, headlined "Very Poisonous Plants," on the cultivation of opium and cannabis in Azerbaijan. They note that "at the end of last year it was revealed that narcotic poppy and hemp plants were still being cultivated by certain citizens on lands in Mingachevir, Zagatala, Salyan, and Nasimi Rayons. These facts show that the struggle against this woe, more precisely crime, must be definitively strengthened." They add that "in the struggle against the cultivation of very dangerous plants a greater responsibility falls on workers in the Plant Quarantine Administration of the Republic Agroindustrial Committee. They must not be satisfied by only forbidding the cultivation of the plants which we have named but must also significantly increase controls over completely stopping the cultivation of such plants in conjunction with the public and law enforcement organs."

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