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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1435

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USSR REPORT  
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CONTENTS

NATIONAL

Handling Of Party Decisions in Oblast-Level Press Discussed (Y. Mikhaylov; ZHURNALIST, No 5, May 83).....	1
Collective Contract System in USSR, Other Socialist Countries Examined (MOSCOW NEWS, Nos 14, 15 1983).....	5
Conception of Collective Contract Effective Collective Contract	
Editorial Process in Local Soviet Paper Described (N. Barmina; ZHURNALIST, No 5, May 83).....	12

REGIONAL

Vayno Addresses Estonian Republic Aktiv Meeting (SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 4 Jun 83).....	20
Information Report on Meeting Vayno Report to Meeting	
Obkom Official Views Work of RAPO Councils, Party Raykoms (A. Gudkov; SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN', 2 Jun 83).....	35
Siberian Literary-Political Journal Praised on 60th Anniversary (V. Dement'yev; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 2 Jun 83).....	39
Shortcomings in Performance of Ukrainian CP Noted (PRAVDA UKRAINY, 29 Apr 83).....	43

Tbilisi Seminar Discusses Juvenile Delinquency (V. Kaishauri; VECHERNIY TBILISI, 1 Apr 83).....	50
Two Views On Fate of Siberian Villages (G. Kirilyuk, L. Fuks; SEL'SKAYA NOV', No 12, Dec 82)....	53
Consolidation of Villages Urged Viability of Siberian Towns Substantiated	

NATIONAL

HANDLING OF PARTY DECISIONS IN OBLAST-LEVEL PRESS DISCUSSED

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 5, May 83 (signed to press 11 Apr 83) pp 22-23

[Article by Yuriy Aleksandrovich Mikhaylov, staff correspondent of the Kurgan Oblast newspaper, SOVETSKOYE ZAURAL'YE, and prize laureat of the USSR Union of Journalists, in section entitled "In Practice": "No, Not the Boring Style!"]

[Text] Occasionally oblast newspapers publish accounts and notices from plenums of rayon party committees and meetings of the party and economic active. With an eye to their senior colleagues, even the rayon newspeople seldom prepare materials about meetings of the primary organizations. Faces are made at these materials in the secretarial offices--Boring, they say, "unreadable." There is cause for the complaint. But, on the other hand, where else but at a meeting do the style and work methods of a primary or rayon party organization come to light most completely?

I go once more through the files of my own SOVETSKOYE ZAURAL'YE for the year 1982; I leaf through the newspapers of neighboring oblasts--There is no appreciable difference in the publications. I come across rather typical notices from a plenum of the Shadrinskiy Rayon Party Committee, entitled "Reserves of the Shadrinskiy Grain Field."

The plenum agenda contained an important and far-reaching question--about the tasks of the rayon party organization in further increasing the production of grain and enhancing the feed reserve for animal husbandry in view of the demands of the May (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The notices begin with the fact that the speaker, the first secretary of the rayon committee, pointed out the sharp contrasts in harvest yields on rayon farms: Although the kolkhozes imeni Michurin, Chapayev and Zavety Lenina, and the sovkhov-tekhnikum each harvested 30 or more quintals per hectare, nine farms failed to reach even 20 quintals.

Excellent source material for analysis! The reader is convinced that now the speaker, and the author after him, will indicate how the front-runners succeeded and the underlying reasons for the lag. However, this is precisely what is not in the account, and interest in the publication falls.

Neither the reader nor, more importantly, the manager of the lagging farm will make the discovery for himself, having heard once again that to increase the harvest yield it is necessary to plow the autumn plowland and the fallow lands at the right time and in the right way, to use mineral fertilizers effectively, to bring order to the storing and preserving of fertilizers, to sow the best varieties of grain and fodder crops, and so forth and so on. Here the participant of the business conference begins to yawn, and the reader lays down the newspaper.

The managers and specialists of modern agricultural production, as a rule, have a higher specialized education and a solid record of practical work, and they know perfectly well how and when it is necessary to plow, sow, begin the harvest and so forth. It would seem that they know, but by no means all of them observe the elementary requirements for running a farm competently.

An example of this was given at the Shadrinskiy Raykom Plenum and in the notices from it: 110 tons of ammonium nitrate were delivered to the "Zelenoborskiy" Sovkhoz... and they forgot about it. Only at the end of the summer did a pensioner accidentally find the spoiled mass in a haying plot.

It is beyond criticism that the fact was stated. How in the world could such a thing happen? A first assumption, that the sovkhoz managers and specialists do not believe in the yield-increasing ability of fertilizer, has to be thrown out at once. So, are they really so irresponsible that they don't care in the least about the valuables that went to ruin and that the harvest shortfall doesn't worry them at all? Also doubtful. Maybe the management of "Zelenoborskiy" let the reins of control get out of its hands and, not being able to organize matters, let them drift? Unfortunately, one doesn't succeed in finding out from the voluminous publication how the scandalous mismanagement is explained, who was guilty of it, how he was punished, or whether he was punished at all.

The reader is left in complete ignorance (as are the plenum participants) regarding reasons for the appearance of other bottlenecks in rayon grain farming. In the address it was stated that a significant portion of mineral fertilizers is applied without scientific recommendations, that due importance is not always given to organic fertilizers, that here and there the role of peas and vetch is underestimated, that on a number of farms the soil condition and quality of field work have not changed for the better, that variety renewal is carried out slowly, that a critical shortage of perennial grass seeds is making itself felt, and so forth.

The list of inadequate work and derelictions may be continued. Its magnitude creates the impression of a sharply critical trend at the plenum. However, in interpretive dictionaries the concept of criticism has to do with discussion, and presupposes analysis with the goal of evaluating merit and correcting shortcomings. Here everything is reduced to simple enumeration. But criticism without analysis, you know, degenerates into carping--an occupation every bit as naive as it is lacking in prospects.

Analysis of the unsatisfactory results of farming in each specific instance can lead to the most varied deductions, but, in general, as management theory prompts and practice conforms, and all their diversity leads to one of four conclusions, from which methods of action derive.

1) The manager doesn't want to work. Here the most effective action is his replacement. Such cases are extremely rare. 2) The kolkhoz chairman or sovkhos director desires and tries to do his job, but he doesn't know how to reach the established goal. Perhaps, disregarding the principle of democratic centralism, he "locks" everything onto himself, doesn't trust his subordinates and, intentionally or unintentionally, crushes their initiative. Or else, seeking to get out of the hole more rapidly, the manager concentrates his main efforts on solving specific problems and therefore, in the words of V. I. Lenin, at every step, unbeknown to himself, he "stumbles" on the general problems. Remaining unresolved, these tie him hand and foot.

The third situation arises when the manager both wants to work and knows how, as he should, but can't apply his knowledge in practice. Vladimir Il'ich, here too, left good advice. "He is a good fellow--as a poet, as a journalist, as a lecturer," he wrote to a responsible comrade, "but we, fools that we are, place him in legislative work and thereby spoil and ruin both him and the work." Not just anybody works out well as legislator or organizer.

And, finally, the kolkhoz or sovkhos does not have the objective conditions for normal activity. Not infrequently the farms are deprived of these because of nonfulfillment of contract obligations by cooperating enterprises--"Sel'khoztekhnika" and "Sel'khozkhimiya"--and also because of insufficiently thought out, "impulsive" planning.

Year after year the "Vpered" Kolkhoz and the "Yalanskiy" Sovkhos of Safakulevskiy Rayon, "Borozdinskiy" Sovkhos of Al'menevskiy Rayon, and other collectives of Kurgan Oblast which have hog farms, obtain an extremely low weight increase in the hogs. Their managers are constantly criticized, and severe penalties are exacted of them, but they continue to allocate no more than 60-70 percent of the required grain fodder. They propose to make up for the rest by enterprise and initiative. In practice--by increasing its yield. But even here hopes and efforts prove vain every time: The more grain the kolkhoz or sovkhos grows, the larger its quota grain sales. That same kolkhoz, "Vpered," achieved the highest yield in the rayon in 1982, sold 1.5 times more grain than the plan and, all the same, was left with 65 percent of the required quantity of grain fodder. And here, if you wish, criticize the chairman!

Until the causes of unsatisfactory work are ascertained, it is difficult to reckon that one will succeed in making a sound judgment, and then, like it or not, one has to resort to formulas of the type, "mobilize efforts," "take all necessary measures" and, of course, "eliminate the noted deficiencies." These usually are adopted unanimously, without the slightest objection. Who in the world would think of objecting to the elimination of deficiencies or

the mobilization of efforts! Besides, as a matter of fact, they don't obligate anybody to anything. Try afterwards to verify and evaluate: Were all measures taken or not?

Time passes, and the very same problems hang anew over the rayon. Something has to be done, but what? Look for the causes of the critical situation. But this, some workers, is not in keeping with concepts like "business-like efficiency" and "energetic action." It is necessary to act! Once again a meeting of representatives is convened. Again the critical thunderbolts flash, for a brief instant outlining organizational and economic problems. However, after their accumulation, it is in no way possible to examine the more typical correlations, to understand the nature and characteristics of the negative phenomena, to discover the essence of advanced experience, and thereby to feel out that main link which, having been grasped, permits the pulling out of the whole chain.

Adherents to the taking of measures without analysis of causes become like the doctor who, wishing to rid a person of an ailment a bit faster, doesn't trouble himself with the establishment of a diagnosis, but begins at once to prescribe a medicine: If one doesn't help, he proposes another, a third....

The party demands that each new decision on one and the same question be made only at such time as previous decisions have been implemented or new circumstances of some kind have arisen. It is possible to implement only that which has been thoroughly thought out, which is clearly formulated and has a specific aim, and which has been the result of serious analysis.

To what end do I say all this? You know, we journalists don't convene forums for discussion of the problems of economic and social development, but only shed light on them. And, having encountered a formal approach to matters, we agonizingly rack our brains: Shall we write a dry, unintelligible account, or diffidently remain silent? In either case we unintentionally encourage formality. But there is yet a third way. The task of the press, as everyone knows, is not reducible to the simple reflection of facts and events. We must give them meaning, prominently show advanced experience as well as nonproductive actions and obvious blunders. And if we approach publication from such a position, then we shall be able to turn the boring style into militant party journalism and strengthen aid to party committees in the improvement of style and methods of work, promote elimination of the deficiencies which the CPSU Central Committee pointed out in the resolution "Concerning the practice of conducting party meetings in the Yaroslavl City Party Organization," and by this means participate more actively in solving the most important problems. What's to stop us? Yes, probably what Yu. V. Andropov spoke of at the November (1982) Plenum: the force of inertia and habituation to old ways.

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COLLECTIVE CONTRACT SYSTEM IN USSR, OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES EXAMINED

Conception of Collective Contract

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 14, 1983 p 12

[Article by Lev Voskresensky]

[Text]

Processes of primary socio-economic significance are taking place in the Soviet countryside. It is worthwhile to consider them against the background of the agrarian transformations that were being implemented in the country throughout the 20th century – this, I think, is the scale that should be used. We can speak now without any exaggeration whatsoever about the new stage in the development of the collective-farm system in the USSR, which is to bring about tangible changes in the primary, basic forms of labour organization and of production management. A considerable growth in the effectiveness of the economy's agrarian sector is expected as the result of these processes. That, naturally, is the main thing.

I have in mind the spreading on a mass scale of the so-called collective "podryad" (contract) system.

WHAT IS 'PODRYAD'?

The concept is rather hard to translate into other languages. The English "contract", the French "sous-traitance", or the Spanish "contrato" do not adequately convey the meaning of the old Russian word which today has become maybe the most widely used term in all discussions about the current problems of the Soviet countryside. However, for convenience we shall use the term "collective contract".

But then some explanations are also in order on the Russian term as well. Take, for example "piece work" which is an antonym for "podryad".

Modern dictionaries define "piece work" as work remunerated according to the amount of work done. It is not, however, quite clear whether what is meant is the amount of labour expended or the quantity of products made. Naturally, the two things are not identical – how much work was done or how many goods were produced? Perhaps Vladimir Dal was correct when in his famous dictionary he offered the following definition of "piece work" – **work done by chance**. This sounds very contemporary within the context of today's discussions.

Let's consider piece work. A tractor driver gets a warrant (assignment) to plough a field. He performs the work and gets paid for it, according to the current prices and tariffs, without waiting to see what effect his work will have on the harvest. Another driver gets a warrant to sow, still another – to cultivate the field, etc. In short, each one performed the work assigned him and got paid in full for it. Whereas it happens quite often that the harvest proves to be poor and the collective or state farm, after selling the produce, ends up in the red, for expenditures on labour remuneration exceeded the income. But who is to be held responsible?

Of course, the piece work system has its own assets. When there are not enough machines and operators it makes it possible to manoeuvre, and that is why a tractor driver is sent

today to one field, tomorrow – to another, the day after – to yet a third, etc. However, the shortcomings are also obvious. The piece work system depersonalizes the end result. The same tractor driver gets paid not for the amount of grain produced, but for the amount of work he performed.

And the "podryad" or collective contract is something quite different.

The land – a segment where crop-rotation is practiced – is allotted to a production collective, which performs all, or nearly all the work (except for very specialized jobs) on the land itself, naturally, the necessary machinery is placed at its disposal. Labour remuneration depends on the end result, i. e., the amount of produce and the cost of its production.

The collectives, as a rule, are not large: from 5-10 to 20-25 people. In the conditions prevailing in some agricultural areas, the contract system can be quite effective on the basis of separate families, small groups or even separate individuals. As for the areas of land allotted to the groups, they are adequately large – from 800-1,000 to 2,500-3,000 hectares. Otherwise it would be impossible to rotate the crops and to get the maximum efficiency from the machines.

The relations between the collective or state farm and the contract group (team, subteam, a mechanized group, a small group or a family) are based on the principles of profit-and-loss accounting and are regulated by a special agreement. Each side assumes certain obligations – the farm secures the machines, seeds, fertilizers, fuel, etc., for the contract group, and the group, in its turn, pledges to harvest a certain amount of produce of a certain quality on the land allotted it. During the year the group gets cash advances every month and at the end of the year, when the final results are evaluated, all the members in the group are paid the difference (in cash, and, as a rule, in kind) strictly in accord with the conditions put down in the agreement. Naturally, the pay is forthcoming only if there is something to pay for.

Sometimes we come across such terms as "task-and-bonus system", "non-warrant method" of work or "collective pay". In all these cases it is a species of collective contract.

#### THE EFFECT OF THE CONTRACT

As we know, the last four years were not so good for Soviet agriculture. Of course, we cannot ignore the caprices of the weather. Much depends on climatic conditions (and

in the USSR they are incomparably worse than in Western Europe, the USA, or Canada). But not everything. No wonder the Russian proverb says that the weather is the weather but work is work.

Look at a typical scene – the land is the same, the skies overhead are also the same, but neighbouring farms produce different yields. For example, in 1980 the yields of grain crops in the Millerovo District of Rostov Region (southern RSFSR) was 2.12 tons per hectare, whereas in the neighbouring areas it was only 1.84, 1.79 and 1.69 t/h respectively even though the production-economic conditions were practically the same. Why, then, did the yields differ? Apparently, because 80 per cent of the arable land in the Millerovo District is tilled by teams working on a collective contract basis, whereas the neighbours do not use this system.

Another example – from the Kustanai Region (northern Kazakhstan), which managed in last year's very complicated conditions to considerably overfulfil the plan for the production and sale of the grain crops, which are the most important crops in the reclaimed virgin lands.

V. Demidenko, First Secretary of the Regional Party Committee, noted, in analyzing the reasons for the success of Kustanai farmers, that production efficiency depends to a great extent on the forms of labour organization: "In particular," he says, "we devote great attention to sharing the know-how of the teams, subteams and other groups which work according to the task-and-bonus system of payment for the end result. We are now convinced that the future belongs to this form of labour remuneration."

Here are some figures that confirm this better than any words:

Interesting statistics, aren't they?

No matter what indicators we use to compare the collective contract with piece work, the contract's advantages leap to the eye. Here are generalized results for the country as a whole: the collective contract groups are systematically obtaining 20-30 per cent more produce from each hectare of land allotted them than the groups doing piece work, and, moreover, and this is especially important! – they do this with less material resources, which means at a lower production cost. Labour productivity in these groups is 15-20 per cent higher and output per unit of fixed assets – 5-8 per cent more. And this is true for **any year**, whether favourable or unfavourable for crops, **for any type of farming** –

raising crops or livestock –and everywhere: in the very fertile grasslands in the southern European USSR, the Russian non-black-earth zone, in the virgin lands, in the Volga region, in Transcaucasia and in Central Asia.

In crop farming some 32,000 different groups were working on the collective contract system by the beginning of 1983 – i. e., some 9 per cent of all the basic production units at collective and state farms (in livestock-breeding the share of such groups is even lower – about 5 per cent).

A question is in order here: why only 9 and not 100 per cent?

#### 'WHY REMEMBER THE PAST?'

Boris Mozhayev, a writer who knows the problems of the countryside as well as an economist, an agronomist and a sociologist, published late last year a collection of feature articles and essays which he entitled "Why remember the past?".

Here is an excerpt from the feature article "The land awaits the master":

"All the land, occupied by tilled crops at the Trudovaya Niva collective farm, was divided and allotted to farmers' families. Moreover, the families were also allotted the machines – tractors, sowers, etc. True, the groups were called subteams.

"Autonomy for a collective farm! This offered food for thought!

"I set off for Trudovaya Niva at once.

"The collective farm is in the village of Novoye, some 200 km from Khabarovsk across the flat Amur basin terrain."

Without going into all the details, which are expressively described in the article, I'll give the reader only the statistical result, so to speak: in equal conditions (which were, by the way, very harsh), the groups doing piece work obtained 200-300 kg of soya beans per hectare and the collective contract subteams – 800-1,200 kg.

Another testimony to the collective contract's effectiveness? Of course! But the point is that Mozhayev's article is dated 1960. Therefore, we cannot regard the collective contract as a recent discovery. As we see people were already thinking about it a quarter of a century ago and even earlier. According to feature writer Anatoly Strelyany, the task-and-bonus system of labour remuneration was used in the Ukraine as far back as the 30s, and its effectiveness was proved no less convincingly then than it has been today.

Having "remembered the past" let's go back to the same question: why today have only 9 per cent of teams and subteams gone over to the collective-contract system, why not all of them?

#### GO BACK? NEVER! NEW FUNDAMENTAL APPROACHES INDICATED

If we say that the use of the collective contract system, on a mass scale, was and is still hindered by the force of inertia, by the long tradition of doing piece work, by conservatism in economic management thinking and dogmatic fears ("And doesn't this look like a step backwards, a return to the pre-collective farm period?"), then it would be the truth. But, alas, not the whole truth.

We have yet to speak (see next issue of MN) about the objective reasons impeding the spread of the collective contract system and about the measures which are being taken today to do away with all the hindrances and obstacles. In the meanwhile, so that there will be nothing left unsaid, let us try to figure out where all this is leading. Could it really be leading us backwards?

Not long ago I had a chance to explain the collective contract system to a visitor from Australia. My colleague (a writer on agricultural topics and the publisher of several papers for farmers) listened with keen interest and then said, suddenly: "I see. The bigger the yields, the

#### GRAIN CROPS YIELDS (TON-HECTARES)

Kustanal Region (average for all the districts)	1.3
Fyodorovsky District (average for all farms)	1.57
Pervomaysky State Farm (average for all teams and subteams)	1.58
V. Shishkov's collective contract subteam	2.7
Kustanal District	1.47
Dimitrov State Farm	2.05
V. Potapenko's collective contract subteam	2.43
F. Volik's collective contract subteam	2.43
Borovsky District	1.7
Karatayevsky State Farm	2.1
T. Sartayev's collective contract subteam	2.1

greater the income. It's the same with us in Australia. But our farmers have always worked on the contract basis."

No! A farmer in Australia and a Soviet collective farmer, working on a collective contract subteam (even if it is very small and consists only of one family) are not one and the same thing.

-I don't mean that they have nothing in common. The land is the same, the grain is nearly the same, the machines look alike, and the sweat on the face of an Australian, or, let's say, American farmer, is the same as that on the face of a Soviet collective farmer. But still there is a difference, and a quite substantial one.

Let's speak about it in plain words without delving deep into the thickets of political economy.

The "podryad system" does not change anything in the ownership system. True, the land and the machinery are allotted to the group working under contract, but the land still belongs to the state and the machinery belongs to the collective or state farm. The farm pays the collective working under contract and it calls the shots, so to speak. The farm decides what is to be grown on the land (in keeping with the plan). And everything grown on the land allotted to the group belongs to the farm - a socialist agricultural enterprise. The farm disposes of the produce and sells it, again in keeping with the principles of overall state planning. As we can see, what is involved is **labour organization and the forms of labour remuneration.**

Nor does the contract introduce any changes in the system of social

protection for the collective farmer or state-farm worker. A team cannot be ousted from the land by a better-working group and be left without work under any conditions (whereas in the West a farmer's family can be). Even in case of crop failure a collective farmer will not be ruined, for the farm and the state will secure him a guaranteed payment (whereas the farmers in the West do get ruined). But, on the other hand, neither shall the collective farmer obtain a "super profit" from an unusually big bumper crop or by growing a profitable crop (a Western farmer would obtain it) because the principles of labour remuneration operating in the USSR do not allow for a sharp differentiation in the incomes of different categories of working people, and the wage fund is being rather rigidly limited.

In other words, the situation of the collective farmer and the individual farmer is not the same. And the USSR does not intend to repeat what has been done already. The question was posed as follows (at the May Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee which endorsed the Food Programme for the 80s): "...every working man should see and realize the direct, simple and understandable connection between what he has done and what he has earned."

The idea is to find ways to bring the mechanism of economic management and of labour remuneration into line with the level of development of the productive forces in today's countryside. And, of course, the idea is to find this way as soon as possible.  
*(To be concluded in the next issue)*

## Effective Collective Contract

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 15, 1983 p 12

[Article by Lev Voskresensky]

[Text]

Therefore, as we see, there are objective reasons impeding the immediate wide-spread use of the collective contract in the USSR. Apparently it will take time, and quite a long time at that, I suppose, to remove all the obstacles. In analyzing the problem, I think, it is also worthwhile to take a look at how the other socialist countries deal with it. Recently I got a letter from a reader in Czechoslovakia. To be frank it made me happy, but at the same time left me nonplussed.

The letter, as such, was very brief, a mere half a page. Ján Rysula, an engineer from Košice, wrote that his view on the USSR Food Programme coincided with mine and that he also thought that this document was exceptionally progressive - above all due to its orientation on the profit-and-loss system and the organization of labour by setting up teams. Several years ago Ján Rysula elaborated a "Draft on raising production effectiveness in agriculture" and tested it at a cooperative in Czechos-

lovakia. I might say in advance that it was the same collective contract now in use at some of our collective farms.

He sent me this Draft (26 close-typed pages) as an appendage to his letter, asking that I read it and judge how up-to-date it is.

I have never read a crime novel with as much interest as I did the Draft of the Czechoslovak engineer. The Draft very accurately and scrupulously accounted for expenditures on per unit output, and for the results of labour and its remuneration. It was supplemented with diagrams, expenditure tables, calculation sheets and samples of cards for calculating the enterprise's economic output. It was so interesting, necessary and up-to-date! But it was also far from simple. In order to be able to use drafts of this kind, the farms must have a very well organized economic, planning and book-keeping service.

As for the USSR, this means that a lot of work has to be done.

Here is what M. Gorbachov, Member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said in his speech at a conference on the problems of introducing the collective contract system, recently held in Belgorod: "This system, in spite of the obvious advantages offered by this progressive form of labour organization and remuneration, is still being introduced very slowly, on a small scale. The introduction of the collective contract system demands from the administrators of collective and state farms and agricultural organizations more carefully considered planning and economic analysis, a raising of the general standards of management and production organization, strict observance of technological discipline and strengthening and considerable improvement of the work done by economic services.

"In the meantime, this demand is not always met. The restructuring of the activities of the technological, economic planning and book-keeping services is still lagging behind."

It is not by chance that we are turning to the work of the other socialist countries in this field.

The fact that the contract system is making headway not only in the Soviet countryside, but in the cooperatives of the other socialist countries as well, is very noteworthy, because it reflects the general laws in the improvement of the agrarian sector of the economy of developed socialism. And the direction of the search is the same, the goals are similar and the problems, of course, are also similar.

For example, I had a chance to get acquainted in detail with the work done by "Silver Corn-Ear", a Hungarian agricultural cooperative in Bakša, a village not far from Pécs. It is

a highly productive, highly profitable and intensively developing farm. It has started to introduce in all of its component sectors the so-called "small group" method — something very much like our teams and subteams. The results surpassed the most optimistic expectations. The method was supported by the press and the cooperative in Bakša, which had already earned the reputation of a bold experimenter in past decades, once again became the focus of attention for Hungarian agricultural production organization specialists.

"And why is it that you have gone over to the small group method now, in the early 80s? Why didn't you do this before?" I asked the cooperative administrators.

"First of all, because we had to create a highly developed economic structure and train personnel," answered Károly Fenyvesi, chairman of the cooperative in Bakša. "A farm must 'grow ripe' for the transfer of all of its sectors to the collective contract system. It is really not so hard to introduce the system, experimentally, on the scale of a single team or even a whole sector of the farm. But we must have a well-adjusted economic planning mechanism if the small groups are to operate well in all cases."

I think the Hungarian comrades are right. Because it is a fact that the use of the contract system on a mass scale is being slowed down, not only by inertia, by the traditionalism of the deeply rooted concept of piece work, or by conservatism in economic thinking. The contract system is unthinkable without high overall standards in economic thinking at all levels of the country's economy — from the central planning organs to the rank-and-file economist, book-keeper or accounting clerk at a collective or state farm.

As for the USSR, we have got the ball rolling. However, it is apparent that it is necessary to step up the work on restructuring the economic planning service and on training and educating economists who will be capable of bold and independent thought. That is one of the more important demands in the Food Programme for the 80s.

#### THE 'HUMAN FACTOR'

Now let us deal with the same problem from the other side. The

spread of the contract system is being slowed down by the acute shortage of specialists in the more frequently needed trades – tractor drivers, combine operators, drivers and machine-milking operators, i.e., the people who are known as "agricultural machine operators" in the Soviet countryside.

Let us compare: at the outset of the 80s the agricultural enterprises in the USSR had a fleet of 2,562,000 tractors and 722,000 grain combine-harvesters, whereas the number of tractor drivers and combine operators barely exceeded 3 million. The situation is more or less satisfactory in the Ukraine (on the average there are 166 machine-operators per 100 tractors in the Republic) but in many other regions and Republics it is not only extremely difficult to organize the use of machines in two shifts, but even in 1.5 shifts. The situation is even worse with drivers – 1,471,000 drivers for 1,653,000 trucks.

Two thousand rural vocational schools (RVS) are training machine operators for the countryside. Their enrolment is some 860,000 young people and 730,000 of these will be tractor and truck drivers. The training system is good. But it is not every RVS graduate who goes to work at a collective or a state farm. As a result, the number of agricultural machine operators is growing slowly – by only one million throughout the entire decade of the 70s. And in the 80s, when we started to feel in full the effect of the "second demographic wave" (due to the drop in the birthrate after World War II which had cost the USSR 20 million human lives), the number of machine operators is increasing even more slowly – in 1981 by 33,000 and in 1982 by only 5,000. And while the number of tractors and combines on the farms has increased, the number of tractor drivers and combine operators has actually shrunk.

As we can see, the situation is not at all simple.

Major work has been done since the initiation of the Food Programme, as a result of which the growth in the number of machine operators this year will be much greater than in 1982. The latest benefits introduced for agricultural workers, and the improvement of the farmers' social situation – the acceleration of the building of housing,

clubs, kindergartens and creches, expanded road construction and work to improve the villages – are beginning to pay off.

It is expected that 75,000 young machine operators, fresh from the RVSs, will start working this summer at collective and state farms. During the winter nearly 300,000 tractor and truck drivers and machine-milling operators were trained at special courses at the farms and some of the specialists learned industrial crop farming methods in which the collective contract system produces the best results.

Generally speaking, all the material and financial resources lavishly allocated for the development of the agro-industrial complex (AIC) cannot guarantee the Food Programme's final goal without an improvement in the quality of labour. And labour quality means not only high professional skill, but also elementary discipline in production.

"The negative traits in the behaviour of the AIC workers have become increasingly obvious in the last few years," declared Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya, a well-known Soviet economist and sociologist, speaking at the joint session of the General Meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, held to discuss the problems in fulfilling the Food Programme. "The sociological research we have conducted revealed that many of them are working without any interest in the results obtained and are passive in production. Hence – rampant absenteeism, violation of work schedules, careless handling of costly machinery and fertilizers which leads to damage, etc."

In confirmation of Academician T. Zaslavskaya's conclusions, suffice it to say that 26 per cent of the tractors (i.e., every fourth tractor at the collective and state farms) are operated in violation of the most elementary maintenance rules.

Scientists are now appraising the role of the "human factor" in raising the effectiveness of agricultural production as something of primary importance. And not only scientists alone think that way.

According to a poll taken recently in 10 rural districts of Siberia, only 4 per cent of the polled administrators and 22 per cent of the rank-and-

file workers share the opinion that the greater part of the workers in agriculture are interested in their work and work as hard as they can. Of course, we cannot be sure that this is typical for the country as a whole, but even such local facts cannot but arouse apprehension.

Soviet scientists believe that given the growing use of technical equipment in agricultural labour in this country (the average cost of fixed assets per APC worker is 12-15,000 roubles, several times larger than his annual wages), it is the living labour that is now becoming the most responsible, and often, the most critical link in a complex technological system. Its inadequacy, irregularity and low quality are capable of inflicting (and do inflict!) irreplaceable damage to production. And we must add to this that with the current shortage of skilled manpower, the prospect of dismissing a poor machine operator (even if he is simply a lazy idler) doesn't scare the worker himself half as much as it does his administrator, who can hardly risk leaving a job vacant, because it is quite a problem to find a good worker to fill it.

Nothing can have a more beneficial effect on the social climate of the countryside than the collective contract. It is precisely the collective contract that makes it possible to activate colossal reserves of social education, the use of which do not entail any additional capital investments, i.e., do not make production costlier.

Social education, in a broad sense, is not just propaganda and the popularization of conscious, economically stimulated discipline, responsibility, respect for the spirit of enterprise, initiative, calculated risks and creatively intensive labour. It is also the reforming of socio-economic structures, the essence of which lies in replacing administrative management methods based on direct orders issued "from above" with economically-based regulation of production.

## THE WAY TO COLLECTIVE CONTRACT IS OPEN

The analysis of these factors and numerous experiments confirmed that the conditions for the introduction of the contract system on a mass scale have not only matured, but demand introduction without delay. The road to the collective contract system is open today and all those formidable obstacles we have spoken of will have to be removed en route.

A recent meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau considered the question of intensifying the work to introduce the collective contract system into agricultural production.

"A fundamentally new approach to the organization of production is indicated now, when the problems of effective and rational use of land, machinery and other material resources and capital investments into agriculture are acquiring a special importance," says the report on this meeting, published in the press. "The key to solving this problem is to introduce the profit-and-loss accounting system at the collective and state farms, as quickly as possible, to increase the personnel's responsibility for fuller use of internal reserves and to strengthen planning, state and labour discipline. The collective contract system is an effective means of accomplishing these tasks."

It is important that the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau stressed the need for the strict observance of the principles of forming the collective contract groups along voluntary lines, so as to avoid unnecessary hullabaloo and hastiness, and also the need to create collective contract subteams and teams corresponding to specific production and economic conditions, so that this progressive form of labour organization and remuneration can reveal its full potential.

The changeover from piece work to the contract system is probably the most effective way to accelerate the fulfilment of the USSR Food Programme for the 80s.

NATIONAL

EDITORIAL PROCESS IN LOCAL SOVIET PAPER DESCRIBED

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 5, May 83 (signed to press 11 Apr 83) pp 6-8

/Article by Natal'ya Barmina, special correspondent of ZHURNALIST: "How They Put Together the Newspaper in Azov"

/Text/ "...I thought, why shouldn't you, comrades from ZHURNALIST, put something different in your column headed "Business Trip by Letter?" Why shouldn't you tell about a non-conflict situation, about a small, friendly collective of journalists at our Azov newspaper KRASNOYE PRIAZOV'YE? About how it organizes its work, about the development of relations within the editorial office, about its attitude toward non-staff authors? I think this contains the secret of why KRASNOYE PRIAZOV'YE is popular among readers in the city and the rayon, why they wait for it to come out, why they pay attention to its opinions, and why they believe it. Tens, hundreds of people write to the paper. And not only complaints, all newspapers receive complaints, especially on matters of daily life, but rather letters and materials of a completely different kind.

I think that many readers would find it interesting and useful to learn how Editor Yevgeniy Fedorovich Rychagov organizes the work of KRASNOYE PRIAZOV'YE.

I. Popov, city of  
Azov, Rostov Oblast

They told me that once he got very angry. One of the staff members let him down by not writing the editorial for Constitution Day. This was discovered only four hours before the issue was to go to the printers. Rychagov locked himself in his office (the staff maintained a frightened silence) and four hours later he took the editorial to the printers.

Every newspaperman know how difficult it is to write such an editorial so that it is interesting to read and yet memorable. The editorial was memorable for its quiet but weighty reasoning and by the business-like, confident tone of the conversation about those advantages of socialism which have



become part of our everyday political consciousness. The article provided a broad panorama of present-day life in this surprising corner of the earth, the Azovskiy Rayon in Rostov Oblast, which has as its center a city with a 900 year history.

This event is remembered in the editorial office not because it is the only one, but because it confirmed once again that Yevgeniy Fedorovich is not only an editor, but also a creative leader of the collective. Sharp, topical editorials, reports written from official measures which take the form of problem-solving articles; feuilletons; a weekly satirical section which KRASNOYE PRIAZOV'YE has had for years and of which the editor is one of the main authors. These pieces provide the elements from which the creative portrait of the journalist Ye. Rychagov is formed, and it is his materials which determine the newspaper's level and the direction which all the others aim for.

If an editor is one of the best journalists in the collective, this, as a rule, says a lot about the creative atmosphere in the editorial office. But the editor's profession consists not only of professional skill. Skill alone is not enough for a newspaper to become an authoritative source in the rayon, the city and oblast, as ZHURNALIST reader I. Popov writes and the Rostov CPSU Obkom confirms.

About 11 years ago the KRASNOYE PRIAZOV'YE collective was considered to be one of the worst editorial offices in the oblast. The person who was the editor at that time moved to a different job, leaving behind a collective with many squabbles and arguments about fees and drunkenness. For a time the editorial office had no head, it was not easy to find anyone in that kind of collective.

At that time Yevgeniy Fedorovich was the editor of another rayon newspaper. When he was offered the chance to head KRASNOYE PRIAZOV'YE, his comrades who knew about the situation which had developed were shocked: "Where are you going!" But Rychagov was determined. The newspaper needed not only an experienced leader, but one with a strong will.

The first meetings between the collective and the editor took place in an atmosphere that was far from idyllic. One evening, when there was no one in the offices, the new editor pulled 15 bottles of different sizes from behind the newspaper files and set them out neatly on the desks of staff members who had been drinking during working hours, and he ordered the cleaning lady not to touch them. In the morning he collected everyone in the office and warned them that if they were found drinking they would be demoted to a lower position, and the next time they would be fired.

One reprimand was all it took: after this the drunkenness stopped.

It also used to happen that an undisciplined employee could yell at the editor that he, the correspondent, had been mucking about on a farm with hardly a break of any kind, and he had been given an honorarium of only 30 rubles. Rychagov believed him but checked: it turned out

that the correspondent had been to the farm exactly twice during the month. There had to be a serious tightening up on matters of expenses, the submission of stories and labor discipline.

Gradually life in the editorial office was put onto a normal footing. It is understandable that the adjustment between the personalities of the new editor and the collective, which was rather disorderly at that time, did not take place instantly. When the chief of the letters department tried to use hysterics to demand her way, the editor was capable of pounding his fist on the desk; when a correspondent suffered from an exaggerated opinion of himself, the editor could ridicule him in a rather caustic manner. And, in fact, personal relations between Yevgeniy Fedorovich and the editorial staff members are even now hardly what you would call patriarchally idyllic.

When I was in Azov I asked, among other questions, the following of several editorial staff members: "What don't you like in the editor?" The answers were "his quick temper," "the occasional lack of clarity in his demands," "many of his decisions depend on his mood," "he does not always take into account the degree of an employee's guilt when he is punishing someone for negligence. A request should not depend on the mood of a manager," "The editor is not pedantic enough about the work... He finds it difficult to constantly monitor the activities of his subordinates." In conversation with me Yevgeniy Fedorovich spoke plainly. To a question about the principles of personnel selection he answered:

"There is no one in particular to choose from. There is one principle: fill vacant positions with people who are at least capable of working at a newspaper. This relates to the discussion which ZHURNALIST had on the subject of personnel training. After all, the intelligent kids who graduate from the Journalism Department, settle in Rostov. The not-so-intelligent are not really dying to go to the outlying areas either. And you don't get much out of them anyway. You have to work with the people who are available."

And to the next question, which was about the newspaper's work norms, Rychagov said with something close to indignation that the problem of a specific number of lines had long been forgotten as KRASNOYE PRIAZOV'YE, that the departments were constantly fighting for space on the page.

And the conclusion that presents itself is that, clearly, "those who are available" are doing a very good job, and that they are not finding it difficult to work with the editor if they have forgotten about a work quota. Judging by experience, I can say that a situation like this is not frequently encountered in city or rayon newspapers. And, as a rule, it is also the result of good mutual relations within the editorial office, it is the product of a good working environment.

In trying to clarify as fully as possible how these good relations were developed, I asked several Azov newspapermen to answer this question: "Which character traits of the editor do you like?" The answers were these: "the ability to sustain an initiative at the proper time," the ability to forgive and forget," "not inclined to bear grudges," "unbiased,"

"complete trust in staff members," "gives people independence," "simplicity," "he will help in any way he can," "intelligence, knowledge of the newspaper business," "skill in writing and carefully correcting the material of others," "erudition," "breadth of views," "tolerance for human weaknesses, and, of course, "courage."

In order to confirm this judgment of the facts, I asked several staff members to talk about the most memorable incident in their experience of working with Ye. Rychagov.

L. Korobko, correspondent in the industrial department and a fifth-year student in the Journalism Department of Rostov State University (Yevgeniy Fedorovich invited her to join the newspaper after high school; they "raised" her at KRASNOYE PRIAZOV'YE):

"It is not to name the most memorable event, but, here is my view is one of the most typical. I was preparing an article on the utilization of secondary resources. The editor suggested that I could start with the city dump. I made an "on-site" visit and collected some material, and then I began to write, but for a long time the article wouldn't hang together. I felt that I didn't have enough factual material, and that I lacked knowledge about the overall picture. Days passed, and the editor reminded me several times about the article, but when he heard my conclusions, he would permit me to work on it some more and he made suggestions about what I had missed. If he had told me off for a lack of discipline, and this would probably have been quite a reasonable thing to do from an editor's viewpoint, I am sure that my mood would have been completely different and the results undoubtedly would have been as well" (L. Korobko's article "And What's on the Dump?" about when and why valuable secondary materials become garbage, was printed and aroused a significant response in the city).

A. Sarana, chief of the industrial department (after graduating from Rostov State University, he worked at TSELINOGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, returned to Azov, worked as an instructor at the party gorkom, but his soul "longed for a newspaper" and he came to KRASNOYE PRIAZOV'YE):

"For some reason the editor sent me to a session of the municipal soviet of people's deputies at which the ispolkom was reporting on the work which had been accomplished. It was also discussing measures to improve the working and living conditions of working women. After the session was over I came back to the editorial office. The folder had a mass of papers, including reports and delegates' speeches. I asked the editor how we would cover the session in the paper. Yevgeniy Fedorovich lingered for a bit and then said: "Anatoliy Alekseyevich, prepare some notes from the session. That seems to work well with you."

"I went into my office and sat down at the desk. 'Works well with you,' I said to myself, mentally mimicking the editor. After all, this isn't so easy, you have to some kind of connecting thread in this mass of papers. I sat and thought...Finally a heading appeared: "At Work and At Home." And soon afterwards notes from the session with three subheadings were published in the paper. And the genre caught on..."

V. Chumakov, correspondent in the culture and information department:

"There was this occasion. The deputy editor was on a business trip, and the editor himself was called to the obkom. The phone rang in my office.

"Please come to my office," said the editor. He always says "please" to his colleagues. I went in.

"I have to go to the obkom right now," said Rychagov. "Put the paper to bed, please. I am sure that everything will be all right."

"I confess I was pleased at the time. Now it has become a usual practice with us, but before Yevgeniy Fedorovich such trust was not shown to us. The former editor did not always trust even himself..."

A. Tupikov, deputy editor (he has been at the paper for about 25 years, today he is a veteran of the editorial office and a member of the Union of Writers):

"Soon after Rychagov was appointed editor I prepared a story called "Remote Villages," in which I used concrete data on the role of the villages (Ukrainian khutors) in the rayon's economy and conversations with the villagers as the basis for writing that the policy of eliminating the so-called 'unpromising' settlements was giving nothing but trouble. This viewpoint did not coincide with the one which was generally accepted at that time. Clouds were gathering over my head, there was talk about personal party responsibility and my explanations at the session of the party's raykom buro. But nothing happened. The editor, as they say, took the heat himself and was able to convince the then-first secretary of the CPSU Raykom of the correctness of the conclusions made in the story "Remote Villages." That was memorable."

Four different cases, and in essence four different ways of approaching people. The editor of KRASNOYE PRIAZOV'YE does not try to level the personalities and creative opportunities for staff members; on the contrary, he aspires to uncover diversity in their personalities, in their creative signatures, and in the final analysis this works to the benefit of the paper and is reflected in its content, because according to my observations, which admittedly are subjective, the personality traits of the journalists are quite clearly reflected in the paper.

KRASNOYE PRIAZOV'YE is a bold paper. It is aggressive and specific in all of its critical articles. The range of critical materials is wide--from editorials to a weekly satirical section "Permit Me To Disturb You," which was mentioned above. The newspaper does not carry pseudo-critical stories in which there is disussion of "certain" comrades. Here are the titles of recently published leading articles in which criticism is addressed to specifically named managers of services, major enterprises and construction sites in Azov, as well as kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the rayon: "Respond Energetically to Criticism," "Action in Response to Every Letter," "There is a Person Behind Every Letter," and "They Need Our Concern." Bureacratism, waste and sregard for the norms of socialist society are subjected to criticism in other sections.

The paper looks for serious replies to its sharp criticism. If the editorial board thinks that it has received a merely formal reply rather than a serious answer, it may return again and again to the same subject and force the organizations in question to adopt effective measures.

A distinguishing feature of KRASNOYE PRIAZOV'YE is the diversity of the genres which it carries. It carries practically all newspaper writing forms, from problem-solving articles and sketches to verse, and what is important, they all have a "newspaper look," because both the writers and technical employees are concerned about how the material will look on the page.

And the more complex the task, the greater are the efforts made to resolve it. Take, for example, the special purpose pages devoted to "The Best Experience." The editorial office has set itself a difficult task of filling an entire newspaper page (that would seem to be very unwieldy) with information about the best experience accumulated by one of the rayon's enterprises or farms, about its advantages, problems, difficulties in introducing new equipment or procedures and about its enthusiastic supporters. And in order to make these very necessary stories as accessible as possible for the reader, the editorial staff use all of the means which they have at their disposal, from carefully thought out composition and clear, simple language in which the stories are written, to the selection of type faces, which emphasize the most important ideas in the story.

The appearance of the paper can provide evidence about the readers' relation to it, as well as about the newspaper's relation to its readers. Every month about 27,000 subscribers of KRASNOYE PRIAZOV'YE can read a report by the editorial board about the work with letters. For example, in a review of the mail for one month the following is reported: the editorial office received 178 letters, of which 104 were published. Fifty letters were sent on to various organizations for measures to be taken there. Thirty replies were received. The number of published letters is stable: a little more or less than 60 percent. This means that while the paper constantly reminds other agencies and organizations to pay attention to letters from the working people, the editorial office itself sets an example in this regard. And the readers, worker-peasant correspondents and friends of the paper respond to it with concern, love and friendship. I saw the issue put out in honor of its 10,000th issue: eight pages of the special issue were prepared entirely by worker-peasant correspondents and non-staff correspondents.

Incidentally, this is a carefully developed and preserved tradition at the newspaper: since the very first days of its existence, and it was born around 1922, the editorial board has devoted a great deal of attention to creating a strong group of worker-peasant correspondents around the paper. And today the paper experiences no hunger for material because its worker-peasant correspondents are not a fiction, they are not dead souls, but instead they are active assistants. It goes without saying that the editorial office carefully organizes their activities and spares no work or time on this.

The waiting room of V. Protsay, ispolkom chairman of the rayon soviet of people's deputies was filled with people from morning on. On the basis of conversational snatches it was clear that people were discussing in an interested and biased manner the article printed that day on the inadequacies of fodder at one of the rayon sovkhoses. They approved of the article, and each one of them started to think about his own problems: how will my farm make it through the winter? And who will have to share fodder with a neighbor who has run into trouble?

"That is what we want from the newspaper's articles," said Vasilii Alekseyevich Protsay, "we want everyone to think about them, and not just the people who are being written about. This, after all, is effective action."

He recalled another article which the paper printed about the urgent problem of rural youth and their departure from the villages. Two comrades-in-arms who both knew the rayon well, including its problems and troubles--Vasilii Alekseyevich and Yevgeniy Fedorovich--discussed the worst results of this process. I listened to their conversation and it seemed to me unnecessary to ask the raispolkom chairman a question about problems of the newspaper's leadership.

And I experienced the same feeling when talking with the first secretary of the Azov Gorkom of the CPSU, V. Volkov: I did not feel like asking about "problems of leadership." Because after a few days acquaintance with the newspaper and the editorial office, and especially the editor, I understood that there was leadership here. But no problems. Leadership is embodied in the concern for the living and working conditions of the editorial staff members, in the clearly coordinated work plans of the party committees and the editorial office, and in the fact that the party committees help to ensure the effectiveness of the paper's critical articles; none of those criticized can count on any special relationship, or on the protection of the party committees. Leadership is involved in the system for informing the editorial office about the state of affairs in the rayon and the city. The editor is a member of the CPSU raykom buro. A. Tupikov, senior staff member and deputy editor, attends--every week--a planning session at the CPSU gorkom. In short, the city and rayon party committees are striving to ensure that their practical work results in clear ideological-political direction for the paper, as well as unity of actions by the party committees and the newspaper.

But problems, in the sense of problems which frequently arise in other places, do not exist in Azov. There is no jealous calculation of how many lines the paper gave to the city and how many to the rayon; there is no excessive pride which interferes with the work at hand; there is no petty surveillance or monitoring which deprives the editorial board of independence and consequently creativity.

The editorial board has full rights in all creative questions, and in the organization of intra-office editorial processes. Its management itself decides how and by what means it would be best to implement an idea or instruction from the party committee.

And this is fine: the party committees are confident that the professional journalist and communist Yevgeniy Rychagov is on the job and knows how to put together a newspaper.

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REGIONAL

VAYNO ADDRESSES ESTONIAN REPUBLIC AKTIV MEETING

Information Report on Meeting

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 4 Jun 83 p 1

[ETA Information Report]

[Text] On 3 June a meeting of the republic party aktiv took place in Tallinn. Estonian Communist Party Central Committee members and candidate members, members of the Estonian Communist Party Auditing Commission, first secretaries of party raykoms, chairmen of city and rayon ispolkoms, leaders of ministries and administrations not included in the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms in charge of questions of ideological work, and the first secretaries of Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms, together with officials of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus, the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the ESSR Council of Ministers, the Estonian republic trade unions council, the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee, and the leaders of a number of ideological establishments, participated.

The question "On the Tasks of the Republic Party Organization Stemming from the Report of Comrade Yu.V. Andropov at the Ceremonial Meeting Devoted to the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR" was discussed.

The report was delivered by CPSU Central Committee member, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, K. Vayno.

The following took part in the discussion: N. Ganyushov, second secretary of the Tallinn party gorkom; E. Paap, miner at the "Estoniya" mine at the "Estonslanets" production association; A. Kyutt, first secretary of the Yygevaskiy party raykom; R. Virkus, rector of the Tallinn Pedagogical Institute imeni E. Vil'de; L. Allika, director of the Tallinn sewn goods association imeni V. Klementi; G. Kruger, ESSR minister of motor transport and highways; E. Kallas, chairman of the "Vambola" kolkhoz, Vil'yandiskiy rayon.

A resolution was adopted on the question under discussion.



Comrades A. Ryuytel', V. Klauson, A. Kudryavtsev, V. Kyao, L. Lentsman, O. Merimaa, R. Ristlaan, B. Saul, A-B. Upsi, I. Toome and L. Shishov participated in the work of the aktiv meeting.

#### Vayno Report to Meeting

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 4 Jun 83 pp 1-2

[ETA report on report delivered by CPSU Central Committee member, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee K.G. Vayno: "On the Tasks of the Republic Party Organization Stemming from the Report of Comrade Yu.V. Andropov at the Ceremonial Meeting Devoted to the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR"]

[Text] The 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR became a notable event in the life of the Soviet people and all progressive mankind. The jubilee ceremonies taking place everywhere took the form of an impressive demonstration of the historic advantages and achievements of socialism in solving the very complex sociopolitical, economic and national problems of the 20th century. They showed once again that the friendship of the peoples of our country, tempered in struggle and labor, is firmer than ever before, and that, closely rallied about the CPSU Leninist Central Committee, the Soviet people are filled with resolve to advance further, side by side, along the correct path chosen six decades ago.

The major historical dates provide a good reason for looking back, seeing the greatness of our achievements, making a serious analysis of the processes taking place today, and looking more clearly to the future. The report of CPSU Central Committee general secretary comrade Yu.V. Andropov at the ceremonial meeting in Moscow devoted to the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR was just such an all-embracing party document that has enriched the treasure house of theoretical thought.

The major practical tasks that the Soviet people must resolve both in the years immediately ahead and in the longer term were defined in this extremely laconic and scientifically modulated report.

The main propositions of this report were further developed and concretized in Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's article "The Teaching of Karl Marx and Questions of the Building of Socialism in the USSR" which was published in the March edition of KOMMUNIST. The article contained an in-depth analysis of socioeconomic problems and provided a clear, Marxist-Leninist substantiation of our society's further advance toward the goal that has been set.

All the Soviet people and urban and rural workers express their full support for the stance assumed by the CPSU Central Committee on the urgent questions of domestic and foreign policy. They receive with great interest and approval the reports on the meetings of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo that are regularly published in the press. The precise, businesslike, concrete, creative style of work, the realism in defining the tasks of the day, and the distinctive activity of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat

help the local party organs to improve their own work and focus communists and all workers on the practical realization of the party's strategic line as developed by the 26th CPSU Congress for the 11th Five-Year Plan and right through the Eighties.

Permit me to deal with some of the fundamental questions of our work to implement the basic principles contained in the report of CPSU Central Committee general secretary comrade Yu.V. Andropov "Sixty Years of the USSR" and other of his statements.

As is known, the consolidation of our material-technical base is pivotal in party policy. It is therefore quite natural that we should speak first of all about the economy.

Within the fraternal family of republics Estonia's economic potential has grown immeasurably. It has been created through the selfless labor of the Estonian people and our brother-peoples. Today Estonia is a highly developed industrial-agrarian republic. And it is our internationalist duty to augment the return from the potential that has been built up, in the interests of the entire country, and to make more complete use of the great advantages opened up by the deepening of the interrepublic division of labor.

Without especially thinking about it we have somehow become accustomed to thinking of ourselves as a small people, a small republic. But, you will agree, there is something in this kind of thinking that is somewhat detrimental, something perhaps inherited from earlier times when bourgeois Estonia found itself in the backyard of Europe playing the role of an agrarian raw materials appendage of the major imperialist states. The situation is entirely different now. True, Estonia makes up only 0.5 percent of the country's population and an even smaller percentage of its territory. But we are also great because we are an inseparable part of an enormous world power and a friendly family of equal peoples. We are also great enough because in terms of the production of many important kinds of output Estonia occupies a distinguished place within the country, as for example in power engineering, machine toolmaking, light industry, livestock and dairy farming and fishing. Neither is the contribution from our republic so small in a number of other sectors of the country's national economy. All this lays on us a great responsibility for the essential fulfillment of state plans and pledges for deliveries and for insuring an uninterrupted work rhythm in all elements of the economy.

It is from this viewpoint that we should regard our practical affairs and the tasks facing us when we assess the republic's role in the all-union division of labor and making better use of everything that we have at our disposal.

We are approaching the midpoint of the 11th Five-Year Plan, its halfway finishing point, to use a graphic expression. Before moving on to the second half of the five-year plan it makes sense to sum up some of the results and refine our predictions.

Take industry. Here the republic is outstripping the planned rates for increasing production volume, and plans for the most important kinds of

output have been fulfilled. Machine toolmaking and metalworking and the chemical, light and timber and wood processing industries have been developed at accelerated rates.

In order to meet the targets for the first 3 years of the five-year plan for production volume growth (and this is 7 percent), it is necessary to insure a growth of 2.7 percent in 1983. According to preliminary calculations it is expected to be higher than 3 percent, so industrial workers are laboring in rhythm with the five-year plan and even outstripping it. This year they have made a good start: 4.8 percent growth in the first 5 months. This is the highest indicator of recent years. Now it is necessary to consolidate what has been achieved and maintain the acceleration gained, thus creating a firm foundation for fulfillment of the five-year plan as a whole.

The contribution made by the republic's industry to the country's unified national economy has increased. Many labor collectives are participating actively in fulfilling all-union scientific and technical programs and precisely fulfilling their pledges to the enterprises and construction sites in the fraternal republics. Within the framework of these programs the production of a number of fundamentally new articles that determine scientific and technical progress has recently been started up. Air cooling equipment for compressors at stations along the Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod main gas pipeline, trench excavators for the Nonchernozem region, auxiliary boiler equipment for the Ekibastuz, Berezovskaya and Perm GRES's and the Kostroma nuclear power station are being delivered ahead of schedule.

However, the timely and complete fulfillment of pledges to consumers in other economic regions has still not become the indispensable law for all labor collectives. Thus, during the first quarter of this year, 37 enterprises and associations failed to fulfill their pledges in consideration of contracts and orders; and in the first 4 months of the year the number was 50, including major enterprises like the "Vol'ta," "Prompribor" and "Estonbumprom."

It is noted in the decree recently adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on strengthening contract discipline that given the present scales of social production and the extent of its specialization and cooperation, timely fulfillment by enterprises of tasks for deliveries in the volume and product range established is a most important condition for the further development and smooth functioning of the national economy as a whole. Observance of deliveries should become one of the main criteria in assessing the activity of enterprises and ministries. It is an important element of state discipline and it must be demanded much more strictly.

During the present five-year plan industrial workers have increased their efforts to intensify production. Output growth has been achieved entirely through labor productivity growth. However, this positive shift should not be the grounds for complacency because there has been no decisive turnaround in production intensification. As before, many economic leaders place the main emphasis not on reconstruction and retooling but on expansion. During the first years of the five-year plan about 40 percent of production capital investments were used to expand production and for new construction. Moreover,

the newly commissioned capacities are sometimes being used inefficiently and it takes years to reach the level of output intended. Thus, capacities in new shops and sections at the "Kiviyli" plant and the "Silikat," "Flora" and "Slantsekhim" associations and the Tartu ferroconcrete articles plant are being incompletely utilized.

Our future successes will depend increasingly on the consolidation and expansion of the links between science and production. It is impossible to reconcile ourselves with a situation in which tasks on the introduction of automated and comprehensively mechanized lines and progressive technological processes are not being fulfilled.

Compilation of draft plans for the 12th Five-Year Plan has now started. As they are being compiled, the republic Gosplan, the ministries and administrations and the managers of enterprises must give special attention to technical and technological improvements in production. Goal-oriented scientific and technical programs and comprehensive plans and the prospects for development in sectors and at individual enterprises must be made more precise. It is essential that these plans insure preferential labor productivity growth rates vis-a-vis growth rates for output volume.

Much work must also be done to improve product quality. It is still impossible to regard it as satisfactory even though the proportion of output receiving the state Sign of Quality in total certified output rose from 30.3 percent in 1980 to 37.5 percent in 1982.

At the 18th Estonian Communist Party Congress the task was set of bringing all newly assimilated output into the highest quality category by the end of the five-year plan. But last year only one-fourth of the new articles produced at the machine toolmaking enterprises in the republic was in the highest quality category. Many new kinds of machines, equipment and instruments are not distinguished by any radical innovation and do not match up to world standards. Individual enterprises continue to produce output of second category quality and no certified output at all within the time period established.

During the first quarter of this year the production of output with the Sign of Quality declined at the Tallinn electrotechnical plant imeni M.I. Kalinina, the "Baltika" and "Talleks" plants, and the "Estoplast" and "Tarbeklaas" plants. Last year quality declined, and 104,000 pairs of footwear and 129,000 meters of fabric were returned to the enterprises and complaints about wool and wool-mix fabrics increased.

There is no doubt about it: dozens of reasons can be found to justify the slow improvement in output quality by making reference to poor raw materials, obsolete equipment and so forth. But let them ask themselves this question at each enterprise: what have ourselves done to replace and modernize equipment, introduce progressive technologic processes, improve quality control and testing equipment, and withdraw obsolete models from production? Finally, what has been done to improve worker skills and their responsibility for their own labor, and to strengthen the quality control sections? I am confident that

if we answer these questions frankly then many of the objective reasons that are used so facilely in justification will be pushed into the background. Let us admit it honestly: we have lowered our exactingness toward quality and have started to forget the tried and tested methods and forms that were so recently introduced. We have also started to forget the Saratov method, and the system of defect-free production of output, and competition for the right to work using our own individual workers' marks; and much else besides.

Then there is the concept of the honor of the plant trademark, the honor of goods made in the USSR. Herein lies not only a technical and economic meaning but also a great political meaning. We must therefore all work seriously to make the quality and reliability of products made at enterprises in Soviet Estonia really high. This is our paramount task, our internationalist duty.

Another important question is inseparably linked with production intensification, namely economy and thrift. Our republic is a traditional consumer of raw materials. We import metals and plastics, cotton and wool, gasoline and natural gas, timber and grain. Every republic, including Soviet Estonia, uses the resources of the entire country; and herein lies its enormous advantages and its potential. But this also imposes an obligation for special thrift. It must also be taken into account that the age of cheap raw materials is gone forever, that recovery of raw materials is becoming increasingly costly. This must be remembered and taken into account.

True, the statistics constantly provide us with figures on the savings of electric and thermal power, and fuels and lubricants and metals. In 2 years the consumption of materials in production at the republic's industrial enterprises was reduced 1.6 percent, and total consumption of rolled ferrous metals was cut back 23,000 tons. But these figures and individual examples of savings are still very scant against the general background, while consumption norms are still very free and demands against excesses very timid. In terms of material input and energy input per unit of output we lag considerably behind many industrially developed countries.

It is not only raw materials that Estonia imports from the fraternal republics. We import all our machine tool equipment, mining equipment, automobiles, computers and much else. Hence the other side of thrift: better use of this rich technology and maintaining it in good condition. Here, too, there are many reserves.

Thrift and saving have become a standard in socialist management. The very essence of public ownership of the tools of labor and the means of production demands this. Unfortunately, in practice these basic truths do not take root all by themselves. The brigade form of organizing labor and cost accounting in all elements must be introduced, and influence exerted through personal interests so that saving affects earnings, directly and significantly. The introduction of long-term, comprehensive programs to save energy and materials must be accelerated. Things must be attuned to the fact that this is long-term work and a complex task. But we must resolve it. There is simply no other way.

It is necessary to speak again about the labor force, our main wealth and one that we must cherish. There are many complex problems here. And it is not only the quantitative aspect. The present level in the development of the economy and the deepening of scientific and technical progress are making increasingly severe demands on workers' professional skills and their discipline and organization. If for no other reason than today the cost of an error or of carelessness or lack of skill is much greater than 20 or 30 years ago.

Our ministries and administrations must have comprehensive programs for the work force that would precisely define ways to eliminate heavy physical and primitive labor, improve skills and the mastery of several professions, make workers redundant on the basis of new technical innovations, and create better working and everyday conditions.

But these matters, if we may put it this way, constitute long-term policy. And how much working time, of which there is already a shortage, is still being lost because of shirking, absences with administrative permission, changes of working place and internal plant stoppages. And, moreover, these losses have remained stable over many years. But this is the kind of stability that makes no one look good. We must turn more decisively to releasing the reserve that lies right there on the surface.

One decisive condition for the successful resolution of the economic and social tasks facing the republic is the fulfillment of capital investment programs and making maximum use of allocated material and financial means.

There has recently been a marked improvement in the work of many contract construction organizations. Developing business links with subcontractors and making use of the experience gained during the last five-year plan in the construction of crucial industrial and civic projects, the construction workers of the republic are completing the first half of the 11th Five-Year Plan quite successfully. More than R1.5 billion of fixed capital has already been commissioned. Important industrial and agricultural projects and major hospital complexes in Tartu, Vyrü and Yygeva, together with all the polyclinics, schools, colleges, and children's preschool establishments and all housing, more than 1.5 million square meters, have been brought into use.

At the same time Estonian construction workers have been working far beyond the frontiers of the republic, participating in the construction of projects in the West Siberian oil complex and along the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad Link. In 2.5 years, in the very difficult conditions of Siberia, constantly outstripping plan schedules, they have commissioned 50 kilometers of hard-surface highway and raised 7 well-built residences with a total floor area of 26,000 square meters in the new city of Neftebratsk. This year they have to lay another 30 kilometers of motor highway and build 15,000 square meters of housing. First results from the work give us every confidence that the representatives of the republic will fulfill with honor the tasks laid upon them.

Work is also underway along the route of the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad Link, in the remote Transbaykal settlement of Kichera. This year the first two 12-apartment houses will be handed over, and next year a start will be made

on the construction of the railroad station buildings. Incidentally, all the design plans for the settlement were drawn up by the "Estgiprosel'stroy" institute.

In all about 1,000 representatives of Estonia are working on the major shock construction sites of West Siberia and the Transbaykal. And the entire republic is helping them in their shock labor.

Our participation in developing the economy of the Karelian ASSR--one of the most complex regions of the nonchernozem zone--is also growing. Last year land reclamation workers from Estonia irrigated and handed over to the farms of Karelia more than 150 hectares of land, laid 325 kilometers of covered drainage and carried out acid-soil neutralization over large tracts. Much agricultural equipment was also repaired. During this five-year plan, in the capacity of providers of patronage aid, we are to design and build housing and production premises at the "Yakkimskiy" sovkhos.

All this is being undertaken, as it should be, as a quite natural manifestation of our increasingly deep production and economic links and mutual aid within the framework of the country's unified national economic complex. And the republic's participation in the implementation of large-scale, goal-oriented comprehensive programs can only be a source of pride.

On the other hand, everything that has been created on Estonian soil is the fruit of cooperation by the enterprises and organizations of many republics and the representatives of many peoples. Everything in which today we take pride, the basis of our economy, has been created through the common effort. Construction of the Novo-Tallinn maritime trade port, the largest in the Baltic, has been started with the direct participation of dozens of collectives from industrial and transportation enterprises and construction organizations from Leningrad, Riga and many other cities. This is a very important construction site. It is being built in the interests of the entire country and of our maritime republic.

Maritime, railroad, highway and air arteries are all closely interwoven on Estonian territory and the volume of freight transshipment is great. And here, particular importance attaches to the coordination and agreement of actions by the various transportation organizations. Much has been done to use the experience of the Leningraders in the Tallinn transportation network. A number of enterprises have seized upon the initiative of the Muscovites who decided to dispatch all freight cars and containers in good condition. This is not only a substantial help for the railroad workers since it increases the inventory of rolling stock, but also training in thrifty attitudes toward the national property.

Transportation still remains largely our weak point, although its operation has recently somewhat improved. More than 1 million tons of above-plan freight were carried last year by the republic's transportation workers. And in the first quarter of this year freight turnover rose 6.9 percent. In terms of results for the quarter, no industrial enterprise failed to fulfill its marketing plan through the fault of transportation.

It is the task of party organizations and the managers of the transportation enterprises to focus the efforts of the labor collectives on consolidating the successes achieved and bringing model order to all elements of the transportation business. Precision and discipline are needed everywhere, but in transportation they are the prime requirement.

The 11th Five-Year Plan has laid the foundation for the Food Program, which has become a most important integral part of party economic strategy. In comrade Yu.V. Andropov's report special attention was given to this question, and the importance was stressed of the actual contribution from each republic in the uninterrupted supply of food products for the country's population.

The state of affairs in agriculture within the republic was examined not so long ago at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 10th Plenum. Following a preliminary meeting in the CPSU Central Committee, where urgent problems in the development of agriculture were discussed, the republic aktiv met, and then there were rayon meetings. So the tasks are clear. Accordingly, with reference to agriculture I shall dwell only on certain fundamental questions.

In recent years major capital investments have been directed into livestock farming, and fixed capital has been renewed. At most farms there is a good material base for the further development of livestock farming but these possibilities are by no means everywhere being realized to the full.

First of all, as is known, fodder shortages are holding us back. We must have more farm-produced fodder. There are reserves here. The variations in yield are still too great from year to year, from rayon to rayon, and from farm to farm. Efficiency in land use leaves something to be desired, especially improved land, in which, incidentally, considerable assets have been invested.

An upsurge in production at average farms remains a large reserve, but especially at lagging kolkhozes and sovkhoses, which are now accountable for about 15 percent of the decline in total gross output. It is the direct duty of the rayon agrarian-industrial associations and a matter of honor for them to utilize this reserve and bring it into play more rapidly.

At the last Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum we spoke in detail about the need to develop the collective contract in the countryside. And it must be noted that many party raykoms and rayon agrarian-industrial associations have become actively involved in introducing cost-accounting forms of labor organization. In plant growing alone 26 cost-accounting sections, 55 brigades and 108 links have been created. They have been assigned 7 percent of the area sown to cereals and 15 percent of potato and vegetable tracts. A total of 1,128 vehicle operators have been transferred to payments for final output.

In livestock farming 116 brigades and 48 links have switched to the collective contract. They have been assigned 9 percent of the cows, 4 percent of the cattle selected for fattening, and 4 percent of the hogs.

This, however, is only the start of a great amount of work. Next we must now concern ourselves with insuring that the brigades that have been created



are able to make full use of the advantages of the collective contract so that their example will argue for others in the switch to this new form of labor organization.

A few words about our current affairs. The spring sowing is complete. On the whole it passed off in an organized and qualitatively good way. The busy time of fodder procurement has started. Our task is to conduct this campaign in the best possible way, making use of last year's experience, skillfully maneuvering forces and means and flexibly taking the weather conditions into account.

This year the kolkhozes and sovkhoses have been given lower plans for milk and meat procurements with respect to the five-year plan. They are within the capabilities of virtually everyone. And accordingly these plans must be regarded as a program minimum. And the program maximum is to come out meeting the five-year plan targets. And the fodder base must also be prepared in the same way as stepped-up plans.

As of 1 June, that is, at the end of the first 5 months of 1983, purchases of livestock farming produce had increased as follows against the corresponding period last year: cattle and poultry 31 percent, milk 29 percent, eggs 8 percent. The rates achieved are insuring fulfillment of the plan for the first 6 months, guaranteeing fulfillment of the volume of state deliveries of meat, milk and eggs, and making it possible to improve supplies for the republic's population. Rural workers have succeeded in overcoming the decline and in consolidating the positive trends. Now it is possible to advance and set new targets. And the chief of these is to reach the frontiers of the five-year plan.

Summing up everything that has been said about agriculture and industry, construction and transportation, it must again be emphasized that the highest criterion for all our work should be the active participation of each city and rayon and each labor collective in solving those key problems that insure overall success. For the strength of our unified union state is in pursuing the national interests. In the final analysis this is also a reliable and tried and tested basis for the development of each republic and its achievement of new heights in its economy and culture.

With the development of socialism and the onset of the period of maturity, full internationalization not only of the economic but also the political and spiritual life of Soviet society is taking place. The objective process of the rapprochement of classes and social groups continues and the boundaries between intellectual and physical labor and between the city and the countryside are being effaced. The national question, passed on to us as it was from the exploiter system, has been resolved, finally and irreversibly. The broadest masses have been recruited into the management of state and public affairs. A unified, well-organized educational system has been created. The cultural level of the people has risen immeasurably. Profound positive changes have taken place in all spheres of life. But this in no way means that the surrounding reality automatically breeds the new man in and of itself. The formation of a communist consciousness in the people who are the builders of the new society is acquiring increasing significance as we advance. And

ahead of us lies much difficult and complicated work that requires from each person high responsibility and a high morality. The training of awareness in all citizens is one of the party's main concerns.

Today the need for such training is also determined by economic factors. The level reached in the development of the national economy and the deepening of scientific and technical progress are placing new and growing demands on workers' strictly professional training and their assiduity and sense of organization, their ability to work within the collective, and labor discipline in general.

Thus, our further economic construction is linked in the most direct way to improvement in ideological work. And the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee gives this its serious attention. On the whole, the ideological situation within the republic is healthy: the absolute majority of workers are applying all their knowledge and efforts to solving the tasks set by the party and are working creatively and with initiative. The creation of this kind of businesslike atmosphere is largely the result of the ideological work carried out.

The task now, however, is to raise ideological-political work on the whole to a qualitatively new level, make it more efficacious and content-filled, and link it more closely with the resolution of national economic questions and fulfillment of five-year plan tasks. It is precisely on this that the latest party documents and the instructions of comrade Yu.V. Andropov focus workers on the ideological front. In the spirit of the demands of the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum, in our republic, as throughout the country, much is being done to strengthen discipline and order and organization in all spheres of life. And this means that the center of gravity in propaganda and agitation work must be carried more boldly right into the broad masses and a more active influence exerted on their labor activity, and specific matters be properly attuned.

In our republic, common political days have become an effective form of propaganda work among the masses. Next Wednesday will be our 46th political day. This means that we can already talk about an established tradition. As major political actions, each time involving almost half of the republic's workers, the political days concentrate attention on urgent questions in the life of the republic and the country.

Like any other form, the practice of holding political days requires improvement. Leading communists still rarely meet with young people and rarely visit the schools and technical and vocational schools. And, indeed, the rising generation is our future. Some leaders prefer to speak only to large audiences and ignore the small collectives, and sometimes completely avoid informal meetings. Meanwhile, living contacts between leaders at all levels and the labor collectives should become a standard in our lives, an important method for studying public opinion and purposefully shaping it.

Taking into account the specific features, the mass information media also have their place here. Leading workers at ministries and administrations

appear in the newspapers and on radio and television and it has become the practice to hold "open letter days." The main thing is to talk with people frankly so that the logic of the discussions and the nature of the arguments match the present level of people's thinking; and to reply competently to the topical issues and avoid idle talk and an overly official tone.

Instilling the very important qualities of the citizen in a socialist society, namely patriotism and internationalism, remains at the center of attention in the republic party organization.

From the ideal of a handful of communists standing at the cradle of our party, internationalism has been transformed into a profound conviction and the standard of behavior by Soviet people and all nations and nationalities. And this is a truly revolutionary transformation in public awareness. However, in the conditions of a mature socialist society, internationalists are not born but formed. And progress in this formation should be directed by the party committees.

It can be stated with satisfaction that of late positive shifts have taken place in the internationalist education carried out within the republic. The press and radio and television conduct this work more professionally and inventively, and theoretical problems of Leninist national policy and the formation of internationalist awareness are being studied more consistently in the system of political education. The party raykons and gorkoms have started to discuss questions of internationalist education at plenums and bureau meetings more frequently and with greater attention to the subject.

But of course, we must not flatter ourselves about what has been achieved. Since they are in a state of constant development, national attitudes generate new problems and tasks. And they must be kept in sight. Under the conditions of the national republic there is no aspect of party-political work that does not to some degree or other touch on the problem of internationalist education.

Culture plays a special role in the formation of an internationalist awareness in people. It is precisely in the rapid development of the national cultures that our party's Leninist national policy has been so strikingly reflected.

We are rightly proud of the achievements of Estonian Soviet culture and that the representatives of the artistic intelligentsia in our small republic have created works that have become an object of pride for our entire great country. The rising cultural level of the Estonian people is seen in the mass attendances at the theaters, concert halls and art exhibitions and in the enormous sales of the books and periodicals published in the republic. And what is particularly pleasing is that our people are now familiar with the cultures of the fraternal peoples, while in turn, Estonian culture has moved well beyond the threshold of the republic.

But on this sector too, and comrade Yu.V. Andropov reminds us of this in his report, "it is necessary to seek out new methods and forms of work that match today's requirements and make it possible to make the mutual enrichment of

the cultures even more fruitful, and to give people even greater access to the best that each of our cultures has to offer." This is a concrete instruction, not only for the organs of culture but also for the entire republic party organization.

The primary party organizations of the creative unions and of cultural and scientific establishments must set right those who have a one-sided understanding of national policy and they must create a real barrier to prevent any ideologically or artistically immature work from seeing the light of day; and they must do this in good time and tactfully, but with a sense of party principledness.

When organizing party ideological work it is essential to take into account the sharply deteriorating international situation and the kindling by our political enemies of a psychological warfare of unprecedented scale against the Soviet Union, including Soviet Estonia. The strategic line of hostile propaganda here is focused on nationalism and the aspiration, using any means, to inflame nationalist and chauvinist attitudes even among individual Soviet citizens and thus weaken the unity of the peoples of our country. Accordingly, the unmasking of ideological sabotage and opposing it with truthful and convincing information about the life of Soviet society should make up the content of our activity against this propaganda.

The party gorkoms and raykoms and all ideological workers must reinforce the combative character of our actions and engage in all ideological activity in an uncompromising and purposeful way.

In the report to the ceremonial meeting devoted to the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, a special place was given over to questions of CPSU international policy: "The Soviet Union will do everything needed to insure for present and future generations a calm and peaceful future," comrade Yu.V. Andropov emphasized. "This is the goal of our policy and we shall not abandon it."

Communists and all the workers of Soviet Estonia fully and warmly support this line of our own party and are doing everything needed so that through their stepped-up creative labor they may help to strengthen the economic and defensive might of the motherland. At the same time we must be more active in revealing to the broad strata the true essence of the political machinations of the imperialist powers and in explaining the content of the Soviet peace initiatives. In short, we must strengthen the propaganda of the peace-loving foreign policy of the CPSU and Soviet government and be more active in recruiting the ideological aktiv for explanation of this policy--a policy which meets the most vital and fundamental interests of our people and all mankind.

The great and noble goal toward which the party leads is also embodied in reality in concrete deeds, in improvements in our lives, in the involvement of the broad masses in the management of production. This goal rallies the representatives of the different nationalities in friendly collectives, makes them comrades in common labor, and instills a sense of participation in the

joys and the concerns of the entire nation. As was noted in Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's report "Sixty Years of the USSR," as a result of natural migration each republic, each city, each collective is becoming more multinational. This is a regular, objective trend in the development of our union state that is seen in all spheres of life, including in the makeup of the republic party organization.

The Estonian Communist Party now unites the representatives of 70 nationalities and peoples working in all fields of economic and cultural life. Making up the primary party organizations and the political nucleus of the labor collectives, and elected to the party and soviet organs, they directly resolve questions of internationalist education and pursue Leninist nationalities policy.

The Estonian Communist Party strictly observes the principle of internationalism in its cadre policy and in selecting and advancing to leading work in the various ranks the representatives of all nationalities in accordance with their business and political qualities. Their proportional representation has been mainly achieved within the republic in the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs. Concern for further improving the qualitative makeup of leading cadres, great tact and attention to their placement in multinational labor collectives, and consideration of the processes of the further internationalization of public life should henceforth also be under the constant attention of the republic party organization.

In all the labor collectives it is necessary to create the kind of conditions and the kind of atmosphere in which a worker of any nationality feels that he is truly an equal, active member of the collective, and not only in the labor process but also in cultural and sports activities--in short, in any sphere of the collective's social life.

A few words about the style of work by our leading cadres--one of the decisive factors in our advance. The CPSU Central Committee now attaches paramount significance to matters of improving the style of work. Comrade Yu.V. Andropov has repeatedly spoken on this matter. Both throughout the country and here in the republic a favorable atmosphere has now been created, the number of various kinds of meetings has been reduced and there is less "creation of paperwork." Exactingness toward cadres is growing and public discipline is being improved in all spheres of life. This has the workers' general approval and has created better conditions for lively, creative organizational work among the masses.

However, not all leaders have yet managed to restructure their style of work and not all party committees and bureaus of primary party organizations have rid themselves of formal methods; and the old stamp and verbiage of adopted decisions are still encountered.

The party gorkoms and raykoms must must rid themselves decisively of the "telephone" style of leadership. Visit the primary organizations more often, resolve questions directly in the labor collectives, take counsel with people, and listen to the opinions of specialists and rank-and-file workers.

Attitudes toward specific matters and a creative approach to the resolution of the tasks that arise constitute an indispensable condition for the effectiveness of all our work.

During the course of preparations for the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, rich experience was gained in organizational and political work. Today the task is to consolidate this experience, maintain an atmosphere of high political and labor enthusiasm, and direct the energy of the masses to the successful realization of the tasks of the third year of the five-year plan.

Permit me to assure the CPSU Central Committee that the Estonian republic party organization, guided by the program positions contained in comrade Yu.V. Andropov's report "Sixty Years of the USSR," will bring the tasks facing the country to the awareness of every worker, and that the communists of Soviet Estonia will make a worthy contribution to implementation of the 26th CPSU Congress decisions and to strengthening the economic and defensive might of our motherland, the USSR.

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REGIONAL

OBKOM OFFICIAL VIEWS WORK OF RAPO COUNCILS, PARTY RAYKOMS

Moscow SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN' in Russian 2 Jun 83 p 2

[Article by A. Gudkov, first secretary of the Kursk CPSU Obkom: "Under New Conditions"]

[Text] Beginning in the present year, new organs for administering production in rural areas--councils of agro-industrial associations have commenced operations. There are 28 of them in our oblast. They are striving to bring about an optimum combination of centralized management with the independence of kol-khozes, sovkhozes, and their partners, the territorial and the sectorial principles of administration.

In solving these problems during its own period of emergence the RAPO Councils have received daily aid and support from the party raykoms. They have been concerned, above all, that the personnel should be reinforced not only in the rayon units, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes, but also at enterprises of the repair-technical center, the electrical-engineering, agro-chemical, and reclamation services, as well as at the procurement, processing, and construction organizations. In the process of re-structuring the administration in this oblast about a thousand of the administrative-management personnel have been cut back or eliminated.

The party committees have adopted a course aimed at stabilizing the personnel in agriculture but only those who furnish a fruitful activity in the section of operations assigned to them, those who carry out the tasks set by the Food Program. At the same time, there are those who have simply been incapable of being re-structured, who have not understood the entire depth of the economic and social changes which are now occurring in the rural areas. The determined replacement of such managers by young, creative workers, as we have been convinced on several occasions, has facilitated improvements in the state of affairs.

The allotting to the apparatus of the RAPO administration of broader rights and obligations in comparison with the agricultural administrations has upgraded their organizational role and responsibility for the status and further development of agriculture and the entire agro-industrial complex.

Of interest here are the first steps of the Sudzhanskiy RAPO. Attempts were made right away here to upgrade the responsibility of the partners for carrying out the main task--to increase the production output of field

cropping and livestock raising, as well as to improve its quality. Full responsibility for the use of chemicals on kolkhozes and sovkhoses has been assigned to the raysel'khozkhimiya. Its agronomists ensure the uninterrupted work of their own as well as the kolkhoz units for introducing anhydrous ammonia. The raysel'khoztekhnika is held strictly responsible for the technical condition and utilization of the machine-tractor pool on kolkhozes and sovkhoses. The managers of the butter-making combine have begun to be interested in the marketability of milk on the farms, supplying them with a substitute for whole milk. In order to upgrade the quality of products being delivered and to ensure the transition to direct ties, the farmsteads have been equipped with laboratories. The meat combine has organized the acceptance of livestock directly on the farms. The cannery has concluded agreements with the kolkhozes to accept vegetables directly in the fields. These steps were not immediately adopted by the managers of the servicing and processing enterprises and organizations. And here the CPSU raykom uttered its own weighty word. A principled conversation was held with those who were attempting to continue operating in the old way.

Particular concern has been evinced by the CPSU raykoms to exclude any and all attempts to shift the functions of the departmental organs of administration to the RAPO, to avoid the examination of current problems. It must be confessed that certain economic managers, inclined to be overly cautious, have understood the matter in such a way that the creation of the association councils has hardly freed them from personal responsibility, the need to show initiative, to find independent solutions. In turn, the party raykoms themselves and their agricultural departments have attempted to avoid petty concerns and the replacement of economic managers. In this regard, our line is precise and firm--each one is to be concerned with his own matters and fully responsible for them.

Deserving of attention is the experience of the Oboyanskiy CPSU Raykom. Upon its initiative the RAPO Council formulates, examines, and approves the plans for enterprises and organizations servicing agriculture, and it monitors the fulfillment of these plans. As a rule, at the sessions of the association, discussions are held on the prospective problems of carrying out the Food Program. In conjunction with scientists from the All-Union Scientific-Research Institute of Agriculture and Soil Protection from Erosion, the council has examined from all angles the problem of developing a soil-protection system of agriculture. The first few steps have already been taken with regard to carrying out the measures which have been outlined. The raykom is persistently striving to obtain a situation whereby the responsibility of the new organ is upgraded for the highly effective utilization of land, material-technical means, and labor resources.

The Shchigrovskiy CPSU Raykom nipped in the bud the attempts by the association's council to replace the solution of prospective problems with those of secondary, current importance. They focussed central attention here on the introduction of cost accounting and the brigade-type of contract. In order to organize this work and to vitalize the activity of the Bureau of Economic Analysis, specialists have been sent to the farms not only from the rayon administration of agriculture but also from the raysel'khoztekhnika, raysel'khozkhimiya, and other partners.



At the April conference in the CPSU CC on the problems of developing agriculture and implementing the Food Program it was emphasized that now, when agro-industrial associations are operating in the rural areas, charged with the responsibility for solving economic problems, the party committees must significantly raise the level of organizational and political work in the rural labor groups. There are 795 primary party organizations in the subdivisions of this oblast's agro-industrial associations. They contain almost 38,000 Communists. The CPSU raykoms have evinced systematic concern for strengthening party influence and improving the structure of the party organizations included within the RAPO. Some 2500 party groups are now actively functioning. Engaged in current field operations this year are one-third more Communists than last year; the number of temporary party groups has grown from 880 to 1,155.

The present-day structure of the party organizations, their quantitative and qualitative composition have allowed us to ensure party management of economic and social processes in rural areas at a high level. A detailed conversation on these problems took place at a recent oblast-level seminar-conference of the secretaries of the kolkhoz and sovkhoz party organizations; they examined the problems flowing from the CPSU CC decree on the work of the party organization of the Road to Communism Kolkhoz of the Fedorovskiy Rayon, Kustanay Oblast.

In certain rayons joint common meetings have been held among the Communists of the raysel'khoztekhnika, raysel'khozkhimiya, processing enterprises, and other sub-divisions of the APK [Agro-Industrial Complex]. At these meetings detailed conversations were held on the fulfillment of plans and socialist pledges for the present year. The decisions adopted were directed at strengthening the inter-action among all the association partners in achieving the main goal--the increased production of food products.

The new conditions of management require more improved organization of production and labor. During the current year in our oblast the conversion of a group of kolkhozes and sovkhozes to the workshop structure of production administration is being carried out. Special commissions have been created for more active work with regard to introducing the brigade-type contract in rural areas. They have been headed up by the first secretaries of the CPSU raykoms, while the oblast-level commission has been headed up by the secretary of the CPSU obkom, who is in charge of agricultural questions. The party committees have examined the proposals made by RAPO concerning the setting up of base farms for the purpose of familiarizing personnel with the experience of introducing the brigade-type contract. At present in every kolkhoz, sovkhoz, rayon, and the oblast as a whole comprehensive programs have been drawn up for improving soil fertility. A scientifically grounded system of agriculture has basically been approved and recommended for practical use. The important thing is to introduce this work much more actively, on a larger scale, and with better quality.

At the same time, it must be said that there are still many shortcomings in the work of the new administrative organs. Far from all the problems are

being solved as we would like them to be. The party committees still have a great deal of work to do in order to fully staff all the RAPO sections. In the first place, this pertains to the planning and economic services. Because, of course, they have been charged with the particular responsibility for the well-qualified, well-founded working out of plans for the economic and social development of the groups, comprehensive plans for the specialization, concentration, and cooperation of production; these are measures which must ensure within the next few years the profitable operation of every kolkhoz and sovkhoz.

The party, Soviet, and managerial employees in the localities have expressed the desire to speed up the adoption of statutes, instructions, and other normative acts regulating the economic and legal inter-relationships among the RAPO partners. Furthermore, the presence of numerous organs of the collegial administration on the rayon and oblast levels has often led to excessive speechifying and paperwork. In our opinion, it is completely possible to avoid, for example, the councils of inter-farm formations, since their functions have been completely transferred to the RAPO councils.

In the rayons of this oblast there are 17 creameries of the RSFSR Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry, 7 distilleries of the RSFSR Ministry of the Food Industry, and 7 hemp plants of the RSFSR Ministry of the Textile Industry. According to the Standard Regulation, they cannot be included within the RAPO, and this has hindered the genuine coordination of their activities. Obviously, it is high time that this question also be examined.

During the third year of the five-year plan the rural laborers of this oblast will have to make great gains. They have pledged to give the Motherland 960,000 tons of grain, more than 4 million tons of sugar beets, 137,000 tons of meat, 602,000 tons of milk, and a great deal of other output. The results of the first few months of this year testify to the determination of the APK workers to keep their word with honor. Field operations are proceeding in an organized, well-coordinated manner; the quarterly plans for the sale of livestock-raising products to the state have been fulfilled; moreover, the level of procurements is higher than during the corresponding period of last year.

2384  
CSO: 1800/1371

## REGIONAL

### SIBIRIAN LITERARY-POLITICAL JOURNAL PRAISED ON 60TH ANNIVERSARY

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Jun 83 p 2

[Article by Vadim Dement'yev: "The Light Seen From Afar"]

[Text] "Fire-lovers" is the nickname of the authors of the magazine SIBIRSKIYE OGNI [SIBIRIAN FIRES]. The accurate designation expresses better than anything else could the uniqueness of the literary talents who display their works in the pages of the Siberian monthly which has grown up in our country, last year celebrating its 60th anniversary.

The fire is the symbol of Siberia. Lit from the spark of the Decembrists and preserved by generations of Siberian workers, it now shines with the reflection of electric welding in the gigantic constructions of the five-year plan and is breaking through the age-old frost and granite ranges with the fires of BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline]...

The "fire-lovers" of the Siberian literary journal, whose size and circulation is not inferior to kindred publications in the capital, can be proud of yet another "torch-bearing" task, which A. M. Gor'kiy formulated as follows: "SIBIRSKIYE OGNI will ignite the cultural life of Siberia." The prophecy of the great proletarian writer has come true.

The jubilee of a magazine, especially a major and significant one like this, serves also to sum up the results of its work. SIBIRSKOYE USKORENIYE, which is so significant in our days, also discussed the monthly magazine: thanks to SIBIRSKIYE OGNI, Soviet poetry (and we shall speak of poetry as a barometer of the writer's view of reality) "discovered" and brought into a wide sphere the names of Leonid Martynov, Pavel Vasil'yev, Sergey Markov, Vasilii Fedorov, Yelizaveta Styuart, Aleksandr Smerdov, Leonid Reshetnikov...

In short, SIBIRSKIYE OGNI has laid the foundation of a unique tradition of continuity of Siberian literature, to which the spirit of provinciality and secrecy is foreign and which has always been at the very peak of the country's social life.

Let us begin our discussion with the verses of the venerable Siberian poetess Yelizaveta Styuart (No 3, 1982). Characteristic of her lyrics are a keen sense of the path traveled, reflections about it, and a philosophical

interpretation of the times. Today she has the right to say: "I need courage more from day to day, I need it more than in the beginning." This is the courage of the "sublime pain" of poetic inspiration, the boldness to bring to the reader one's deeply considered and heartfelt word. The poetess's motto can be seen in lines such as: "I help the blind man become sighted, the dumb man master his muteness." Indeed, the voice of Yelizaveta Styuart, by its original poetic culture and participation in the causes of her countrymen, serves as a tuning-fork for all the poetry of the "fire-lovers", although she sometimes gives in to excessively nostalgic phrases ("my sorrowing soul is weary.")

In the same issue, Leonid Reshetnikov presented verses from his new book, "Zastava" [The Outpost]. The voice of the poet, widely known in our country, is distinguished by the resonance of civic spirit. "Outpost" is a weighty symbol, in which the author sees his land as an outpost, the front line of our native land. His verse is light, natural; by its free breathing it reminds one of the lofty poetry patterns of Aleksandr Tvardovskiy.

From the Golden Horn Bay to the waves of the Gulf of Ob'--such is the poetic geography of the journal. It has become a tradition to feature in its pages individual oblasts and towns of Siberia, such as, for example, the selection "Tomsk Poetry" (No 6, 1982). That is a good thing--there are many poetic young people here. Of interest are the poems of A. Kazantsev, V. Petrov, and S. Zaplavnyy. Of course, it is difficult to judge some young poet as a whole on the basis of one or two poems. But now in our poetry it is important to make a good start, to find your own voice in the somewhat monotonous chorus of modern lyrics. I will allow myself a small digression in this regard.

Last year I had the chance to participate in the work of a gathering of young writers of Siberia which was organized in Novosibirsk by a local writers organization and the journal LITERATURNAYA UCHEBA. Dozens of beginning talents passed before the leaders of the seminars--primarily young critics and poets who have already "solidly" established themselves in literature. And so?...I speak from my own observations: the level of poetic mastery in the young Siberians was so high that the poems needed only a certain "cosmetic" polishing, while the content, the themes...The keen ear of the writing could not hide the sometimes scanty life experience--in general, "flaws" which are characteristic today of all our young poetry as a whole. It was something else which caused the ears to prick up--indeed, aroused alarm: Siberia was not in the poems. As early as 20-30 years ago it was possible to speak of the "Siberian" poetic tradition, of the taking root of a unique and original view of this ancient land, but now, now that we have more than one generation of Siberian poets (widely printed, especially in the pages of SIBIRSKIYE OGNI), now that definite traits of the Siberian school have emerged, though this is relative, we note with surprise that this very "green" young generation, the changing of the guard, so to speak, of Siberian poetry, is rather neglecting the tradition of poetic interpretation of its native land the the people who live there. No, one must not look for some abstract heroic feats off to the side of the examples "right next door"--the heroism of the builders of BAM; one cannot admire the distant palms

without feeling the coolness of one's native cedar!... And the sense of history, which is so vital in the land of Siberia (and which so inspired the poetry of the young Leonid Martynov), cannot be replaced by dry examples gotten from reading books.

But these observations, these disturbing tendencies, it seems to me, are well known to the workers of SIBIRSKIYE OGNI, which has its hand on the "pulse" of the poetry in the region, including young people's poetry. And what is more reassuring, the level of most of the journal's poetic publications is marked by a high-quality mastery and a lasting interest in what is truly contemporary.

But you cannot help but pay attention to the selection of poems by Roman Solntsev (No 2, 1982), or rather, one poem by the name of "Misfortune." What theme does the famous poet and dramatist expound?...In the winter, the darling of the lyric hero "languishes" in the hospital. "She waited, waited for the knife, as for deliverance, as for salvation..." (he means, apparently, the surgeon's knife). In order not to see these agonies, the hero begins to "create a prayer" in honor of "the man with the knife" (that is, the surgeon). In it are the following lines:

Oh master, man with the knife,  
with the gleaming scalpel raised--  
spare her...the atom of love  
aches when it lives in the living,  
  
save her...save her...  
ask her yourself whether she is alive (?!)  
But if she says "No..." then  
you will drive your knife into your own breast! (?!)

Which is the most outstanding in this long poem--the incomprehensibility, the tastelessness, or the journal's lack of discrimination in the items it publishes?...As early as the 3rd Congress of Soviet Writers, R. Solntsev was criticized for "false claims to philosophy," but the criticism, though just and given in a comradely spirit, obviously did the talented literary figure no good.

The particular theme of our discussion is the journal's publishing of writers of the fraternal nationalities. In Siberia there are more than 30 nations and nationalities, from the smallest in the country, such as the Dolgans or the Yukagirs, numbering a few hundred people, to the largest, which have their own highly developed literature, such as the Buryats and Yakuts.

SIBIRSKIYE OGNI has always had the reputation of a multi-national journal, giving the all-union reader the first translations of poets of multi-lingual Siberia, such as the Mansi Yuvan Shestalov, the Yakut Semen Danilov, and the Altay Pavel Kuchiyak...It is gratifying that in recent years the journal has closely followed the development of new and young literatures: it gives broad coverage to works of Altay writers (there was even a special issue devoted to Gornyy Altay), Yakuts (also honored with a special issue of the

journal), Buryats, and representatives of the small nationalities of Siberia (for example, the second book last year printed a selection by the Nenets Leonid Lapsuy).

Another interesting tradition of SIBIRSKIYE OGNI's is its publishing of folk tales of Siberian peoples. This began in recent years, although even before that the journal was not stingy with translations of the best works from the oral poetic heritage.

The interesting thing about this is that the translators of these olonkho tales, heroic epics, songs, and so forth are the Novosibirsk poets Aleksandr Plitchenko and Aleksandr Romanov. They are well acquainted with the specifics of Siberian life and its everyday realities. They drank in with their mother's milk, as they say, a love for its distant prospects and horizons. Siberian poets are continuing the Gorkian tradition of mutual enrichment of Soviet literatures and translations of original sources in folklore which bear the stamp of folk wisdom.

Actively participating in cultural and social life, SIBIRSKIYE OGNI has established writers' posts at the construction sites of the Novosibirsk subway (the first in Siberia), in the oil-producing Ob' region, in the BAM, in Akademgorodok...It is difficult even for the writer's gaze to take in the entire panorama of a Siberia which is building, young, working. "Now on the wings of song it soars," as one of the journal's authors says. Let this song continue to ring, delighting with its light and warming with its heat the hearts and minds of Siberian people, yes, and all the readers in our country.

12255

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REGIONAL

SHORTCOMINGS IN PERFORMANCE OF UKRAINIAN CP NOTED

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 29 Apr 83 p 2

/Article: "Progress in Fulfilling the Organizational-Political Measures of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party for Implementing the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 26th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party: Information of Politburo Member and Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party A. A. Titarenko at the 26 April 1983 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party"7

/Excerpts7 Just slightly more than two years have passed since the 26th CPSU Congress, reported A. A. Titarenko. Events have shown the correctness of the political program that was developed by the congress. The consistency and continuity of the program were confirmed at the party plenums that were held in November of 1982. The Communists and workers of the Ukraine, and of the entire Soviet Union, warmly embrace this program and the purposeful action taken by the Central Committee of the Party and the Politburo headed by General Secretary Yu.V. Andropov to implement it. With their selfless labor they strengthen the economic and defense power of the fatherland.

The organizational-political measures, which were approved at the March (1981) Plenum of the Central Committee, served as the basis of the organizational work of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the republic's party organization to implement the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 26th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party. These measures were made more specific and augmented in connection with new tasks that were put forth in the decisions of the May and November (1982) plenums, in other decrees of the Central Committee and in Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's speech entitled "60 Years of the USSR".

Members of the Central Committee are regularly brought up to date regarding the progress in implementing the planned measures and the work of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

A.A. Titarenko noted that the full gamut of political, social and economic and ideological-educational tasks are always at the center of the attention of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. These tasks were put forward by the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. In organizing the execution of these tasks, the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee are focussing on further strengthening the ideological and organizational unity of the party ranks and increasing the party's influence, on improving discipline, increasing the extent of being well organized and order in all links, and in the subsequent execution of the party's national and cadre policies, improving the communist education of workers and improving the style and methods of management.

In accordance with the decisions of the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, several steps have been taken within the republic to strengthen labor, production and technological discipline and to bring order in the working regime at the enterprises, institutions and organizations that are engaged in providing services to the general population. But in some instances attention to these matters has already begun to wane. This is incorrect and intolerable. Everyone must understand that the job of maintaining a high degree of discipline at the required level in the production sphere is not being solved in an all-out campaign, but through painstaking, daily work and the creation of an uncompromising attitude toward loafers, those who are absent from work without official approval and workers who frequently change jobs.

While organizing to carry out the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 26th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party, A. A. Titarenko continued by saying that the Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat attach special importance to the fact that all activity of the Ukrainian party organization was imbued with a high degree of exactingness, business-mindedness and intransigence toward shortcomings. The work of the party committees and the primary organizations is analyzed from this perspective; and the work of the management cadre is evaluated from this point of view. Following the party congresses, the Central Committee departments studied the style and methods of the work of many rayon and city party committees. To organize the execution of specific decisions and to render assistance to the party committees, the Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members make regular trips to the localities.

It is clear that in the work of the party committees there is now more specificity, initiative and sense of importance than before. The analytical, systematic and long-term approach is being used more extensively. To a large extent the measures to improve the style and methods of management, which are being implemented in accordance with the directives of the CPSU Central Committee, are responsible for this. However, shortcomings in the style of work



of individual party committees, ministries and departments, council and trade union and Komsomol organs have not been fully overcome. Several party committees are still replacing the council and housekeeping organs infrequently, simultaneously neglecting matters having to do with the work with the cadres and primary party organizations. In some quarters there is still a predilection for paper shuffling and speechifying, which does not help at all but distracts people from doing a good job of organizing. The UkSSR Ministry of Agriculture and the UkSSR Ministry of State Farms are the recipients of many reprimands in this regard. The managers of these ministries, M.V. Khorunzhiy and N.A. Korzh, must ultimately establish order in this matter.

Primary attention must be given to raising the quality of organizational work, business-mindedness and tightening the control and checking of execution, which still remains very weak for the most part. Recently the Central Committee Secretariat discussed the report of the Chernigov Oblast Party Committee about the fulfillment of the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party regarding strengthening the struggle against law breakers. The discussion demonstrated that the oblast party committee and the oblast executive committee had done a poor job of organizing their work. Steps were taken to remedy the situation.

The top managers - the oblast party and executive committee secretaries and ministers - must daily and carefully study the organization and monitoring. The role of the oblast party committee secretaries in these matters must be increased. The study that was made by the Central Committee departments in Ivano-Frankovsk, Cherkassy and other oblast party committees and in the Kiev City Party Committee demonstrated that the secretaries are still not giving enough attention to strengthening executive discipline.

Questions having to do with the work with the cadres take up a considerable amount of time in the daily, practical work of the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat. Consequently steps are being taken to strengthen the responsible sections of the work with politically mature, trained and energetic workers. The Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat are sharply reacting to instances of the improper conduct of individual workers and their failure to fulfill party decisions and for violating the party Bylaws. When evaluating personnel the specific results of their work and their capability to implement the party decisions are the first things to be examined.

The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party sees its task as being in the future to steadfastly carry out the policies of the CPSU Central Committee to strengthen party and state discipline and to eradicate all violations and abuses. The Central Committee demands this approach from all party committees and managers of state, economic, trade union and Komsomol

organs. Unfortunately, not everyone fully understands the importance of these measures. In several sections there are still people who are unable to handle their responsibilities; however, no recommendations have been made to replace them.

We must also speak about the fact that liberalism and a lack of principles can still be found among officials who use their position for personal, mercenary purposes. The Odessa Oblast Party Committee deserves criticism on this score. Serious shortcomings in work with personnel have been permitted to occur in the Ternopol Oblast party organization. Within the UkSSR Ministry of Rural Construction instances of unscrupulousness and permissiveness toward plunderers have been discovered; in connection with this the Central Committee has punished several managers of the ministry.

A. A. Titarenko paused to discuss matters having to do with the further strengthening of the party ranks and raising the quality of the work of the primary party organizations. Following the 26th Party Congress, he noted, more than 240,000 were accepted as candidate members of the CPSU. Of this number 58 percent were workers, nearly 15 percent were kolkhoz workers, and approximately 25 percent were representatives of the intelligentsia. On the whole the selection into the party of the new members is carried out in accordance with the essential regulations of the 26th Party Congress.

The measures to improve the work of the primary party organizations and to increase their influence upon the lives and actions of the working collectives, which were approved by the 26th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party, are now being implemented in a logical manner. In noting the heightened militancy of the party organizations, one must not forget that some of them are still not performing well. Some party members are not fulfilling their responsibilities as they should and are not serving as an example to others. There are also those who are conducting themselves in an unworthy manner.

Of course, in cleaning our ranks of those who violate the rules, the party organizations are only securing their authority. And this line must be pursued with even greater conviction, while being governed by the requirement of the CPSU Central Committee that within the ranks of the communists there must be no tolerance for any manifestations of dishonesty, self-interest, and irresponsibility and that those who discredit the honor and authority of the party must not receive leniency.

Now as we strengthen our efforts to raise labor, production and public discipline, we must place the question of discipline among communist party members at the top of the list.

It is also necessary to improve the selection into the party of outstanding workers, particularly the cadre workers, and to strengthen the working cell in the party, to improve the placement of party forces, to raise the party's influence in the key sectors, particularly in the production brigades and among the workers engaged in raising livestock and machine operators, and also among workers on science, education, culture, the press and other sectors of the ideological front.

It is important to improve the work in educating communists and in this matter to increase the role of party training and party meetings, especially open and general meetings of communists in the large party organizations, and to do a better job of disseminating party orders.

Briefly, the task is to make the life of each party organization more significant and substantive and active. The recommendations outlined in the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee regarding the party organizations of the production association Dneproshina, "Put' k kommunizmu" Kolkhoz in Kustanay Oblast and the Belorussian State Academic Theater imeni Yanki Kupaly, will undoubtedly serve as beneficial assistance in this regard. Toward this end it is also necessary to make extensive use of the materials from the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference that was held in Tbilisi.

In the second half of this year regular reports and elections will take place within the party organizations. These will be followed by rayon, city and oblast level party conferences. While preparing for these sessions it is necessary to thoroughly analyze the changes that have taken place in the work of the party organizations following the 26th CPSU Congress and to take additional measures to improve the style and methods of their work. Special attention must be given to further improving the composition of the party aktiv, particularly the secretaries of the primary and shop party organizations and the party group organizers.

Matters of an ideological and political and educational nature take up a considerable amount of each day's work within the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat. The Central Committee has heard reports on these matters from several oblast party organizations and city party committees, the party committee of the Lvov State University, and from the UkSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the UkSSR Ministry of Education, and the UkSSR State Committee for Cinematography. Measures have been taken to strengthen the ideological and class tempering, the patriotic international education of workers, to raise the efficiency and professional quality of the means of mass information and propaganda. Positive advances have been made. However, we cannot be satisfied with what we have accomplished, especially as regards the efficiency of the ideological and educational work in certain sectors.

Additional measures to make propaganda more militant, aggressive and result-oriented are required from the party committees, ideological ministries and departments, the party aktiv and all of our cadres. Particular attention must be given to the complete use of the educational opportunities of the labor collectives, the role of which will increase even more in connection with the forthcoming passage of the Law regarding labor collectives.

It is also necessary to expand the ties of management cadres with the masses and to improve the work with the letters of workers and the organization of the personal contacts with citizens.

At one of the plenums the Central Committee members learned about the progress in fulfilling the critical comments and recommendations that were made at the 26th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party and at the party conferences that preceded it. While preparing for the present Plenum these questions were analyzed a second time. The majority of the comments and recommendations have already been realized or are now being implemented. The party committees, soviet organs, ministries and departments, as a rule, are taking a responsible attitude toward this matter.

At the same time it is necessary to comment that not everyone is showing the needed concern for dealing with these comments and requests and the persistence in eliminating the shortcomings. In particular this is true of the UkSSR Ministry of the Light Industry, the UkSSR Ministry of Agriculture, and the UkSSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources.

At one of the Central Committee plenums the UkSSR Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises was criticized for shortcomings in the construction of facilities for agricultural machine building. Unfortunately, these shortcomings have not been fully eliminated and Comrade G.K. Lubenets [the Minister] could find nothing to do except send a note to the Central Committee. It was necessary to point out his incorrect actions to the minister. Such an attitude toward criticism cannot be tolerated.

All that has been said in the final analysis boils down to the need to raise the quality of party work, i.e., to use the words of V.I. Lenin, to make use of the means, ways and methods of work which can "with the least expenditure of forces produce the greatest and most durable results."

In this matter the work of the Leninist CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo is an example for us. The party aktiv and communists with deep satisfaction note that the CPSU Central Committee, while logically and persistently implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, regularly inform the party about their work.

In connection with the 80th Anniversary of the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party the CPSU Central Committee decree states: "The CPSU attaches importance to the total confirmation of the Leninist style of work - a creative style that ensures a scientific approach to all public processes and constant reliance upon the masses, a high degree of business mindedness, specificity and exactingness, intolerance toward any manifestations of formalism, bureaucratism and ostentation.

In conclusion A. A. Titarenko expressed confidence that the party aktiv and the republic communists will do everything within their power to implement the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

8927

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REGIONAL

TBILISI SEMINAR DISCUSSES JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Tbilisi VECHERNIY TBILISI in Russian 1 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by V. Kaishauri: "Youths Among Us--Responsibility for Every One of Them"]

[Text] "The Methods of Fighting Juvenile Crime"--this was a topic of the conference-seminar that took place a few days ago in the Red Hall of the Tbilgorsovet ispolkom [Tbilisi City Council Executive Committee]. It was organized by the juvenile problems city commission headed by N. A. Zhvani, deputy chairman, Tbilgorsovet ispolkom.

The commission is known for its good work. For example, it convinced the city ZhEKs [Housing-Operation Office] that it was necessary to organize children's and teenagers' free time in residential communities. The commission also arranged for patronage of learning institutions including Tbilisi Pedagogical Institute imeni Pushkin and Zemo-Avchal' labor-educational juvenile detention center. Furthermore, the commission pioneered the social educator movement among educators employed in production to deal with difficult youths and initiated youth interest clubs. There are many cases in which due to the commission's efforts the youths that had problems with the law in the past reformed and at present are achieving success in their work or studies.

However, the analysis of the juvenile crime causes shows that there is room for improvement concerning the commission's very difficult work. In many cases the work of section representatives needs improving. Much is being done in our city to raise the pedagogical culture level of the parents. However, many parents still do not have a proper, pedagogically sound concept of raising children. This is the view of Professor A. Gabiani, director, Georgian SSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Scientific Research laboratory and N. Rogav, Doctor of Psychology, director, the republic's AN [Academy of Sciences] Institute of Psychology laboratory expressed at the seminar-conference. All parental concern is often concentrated on their children's material needs, and the most important aspect of parental care--moral upbringing of the future member of our society is all but forgotten.

The data shows that a girl's--a 10th grade high-school student's wardrobe costs twice as much as that of her mother's on the average. Many will say: "What is wrong with that? People live better now, so they dress better." However, the problem is that in many families those advantages are not appreciated by teenagers. This is very disturbing.

The study conducted by the Georgian SSR MVD sociological laboratory shows that 18 percent of juvenile delinquents come from broken homes, 23 percent have either no parents or only one parent, and 2.3 juvenile delinquents have parents who themselves are in prison.

Those youths need special help from adults. However, every other of those youths is left to his own devices. Neither the school which he attends, nor the collective of either the enterprise or the office in which his parents are employed undertake the youth's care.

"The school alone ought to become the methodological center for educational work with teenagers", said A. Matitaishvili, chairman, microrayon council and director of the 15th school. He shared with us his experience.

The Lenin rayon is divided into 26 microrayons. Every microrayon is headed by the microrayon council. Its members include educators, employees of enterprises and offices who have had experience working with children, retired sportsmen, and representatives of administrative bodies. The council carefully watches upbringing of children in their families, and when parents have difficulties the council offers help. The council is also responsible for organizing children's and teenagers' free time in residential microrayons. The 15th school's teachers are the main driving force behind most of those activities. There are about 100 of them--this is a considerable force!

The conference-seminar decided to introduce those activities to other city rayons.

The conference participants included chairmen of the rayon juvenile affairs commissions, section inspectors, and the ROVD [Rayon Department of Internal Affairs] juvenile affairs inspectors. It also included directors of schools and education administration bodies and raykom komsomol secretaries. Every useful initiative concerning work with children was taken advantage of, as a result of the conference. For example, in Zavodskiy rayon clubs named after well-known sportsmen became popular. They are led by outstanding experts and sportsmen. In Gldanskiy rayon summer work-and-recreation camps are organized for those youths who especially need care of experienced educators, according to S. Batsiashvili, secretary, raykom komsomol. In Kirovskiy rayon universities for parents who lack proper parenting skills in educating their children became very popular. All the initiatives have one objective--to help parents master the art of parenting and help children get on the right track.

However, the school and the police still do not always know everything they should concerning the juvenile with behavioral problems. Sometimes, for reasons of prestige, school directors and juvenile affairs inspectors cover

up negative facts, and do not wish to "air their dirty laundry." As a result, "childish pranks" often grow into antisocial behavior, hooliganism, and delinquency.

Last February D. Gelovani, G. Sadoyev, and T. Smoyan, students of 172nd and 92nd schools in Vazisuban<sup>1</sup> were stopped by the police for stealing a car. During the investigation it became clear that this was not Gelovani's first participation in a car robbery. Last July he was convicted for antisocial behavior, and on 5 August it was decided to discuss his behavior at a rayispolkom imeni 26 commissars juvenile affairs commission meeting. However, this problem was tackled by the commission as late as 15 October. The commission adopted a formalistic approach and displayed unjustified leniency. Seeing that his deeds go unpunished, D. Gelovani committed robbery of state property, and then he and his friends stole the car.

"If D. Gelovani's behavior was supervised from the time of his first infraction, this would never have happened", emphasized D. Mikadze, deputy director, Tbilgorsovet ispolkom UVD [Administration of Internal Affairs]. "At present the role and the responsibility of internal affairs bodies concerning prevention of juvenile delinquency has grown tremendously. This means that it is necessary to continue improving preventive measures."

The same view was expressed by S. Nanitashvili, prosecutor, city of Tbilisi, who emphasized the necessity of increasing the role of prosecutors in monitoring the legality of preventive measures and investigations concerning juvenile delinquents. Doctor of Law T. Shavgulidze, deputy director, the Institute of Economics and Law at the Georgian SSR AN [Academy of Sciences] called on legal experts and representatives of administrative bodies to pay closer attention to educational institutions and assist them in conducting courses on ethics and moral education and the basics of law.

The concluding remarks were made at the conference by N. Zhvaniya, deputy chairman, the Tbilgorsovet ispolkom.

The conference decided to work out methodological recommendations concerning prevention of juvenile delinquency, and that more active participation of administrative bodies, juvenile affairs commissions, and social organizations in the educational process is needed. The formalistic approach should be avoided when a juvenile's future is at stake. The duty of the educator and the citizen is to take responsibility for everybody.

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REGIONAL

TWO VIEWS ON FATE OF SIBERIAN VILLAGES

Consolidation of Villages Urged

Moscow SEL'SKAYA NOV' in Russian No 12, Dec 82 (signed to press 19 Nov 82)  
pp 27-28

[Article by G. Kirilyuk, agronomist, Novosibirsk: "Who Needs an Old Village?"]

[Text] An article by Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya and Candidate of Philosophy R.V. Ryvkina, entitled "The Siberian Village: a Social Portrait," was published in issues 10-12 of SEL'SKAYA NOV' for 1981. It discussed, among other problems, questions related to the resettlement of the rural population.

We are going to discuss this subject in today's issue. Agronomist G. Kirilyuk and architect L. Fuks continue the discussion of this subject, which is a permanent subject in our magazine. It will not be difficult for the attentive reader to see that they "confess" to having different views on the principles underlying the resettlement of the rural population and on the fate of the small villages, although they are in agreement (as are the authors of the article "The Siberian Village: a Social Portrait") on one thing--that living conditions in the rural area should not be inferior to urban conditions.

We hope that the extensive and frank discussion will help us to correctly resolve the difficult questions pertaining to the rural population's resettlement and to work out a truly well-based approach to rayon planning, to the determination of the proper size and structure for the communities. We invite the readers to join in the discussion and express their point of view.

I consider to be incorrect the position taken by the authors of the article, "The Siberian Village: a Social Portrait," in defending the "right to life" of the small villages, the so-called villages without a future. My many years of experience, almost a half-century, as an agronomist and economist give me the moral right to take exception to the authors' opinion.

I shall attempt to explain my objections.

Let us begin with the fact that the first kolkhozes and sovkhoses were formed at a time when animal draft was the main "source of energy" in agriculture. Manual labor dominated in agriculture. The tractor and the combine made their appearance, and it became necessary to consolidate the cultivated plots of land. Mechanization of the work reduced the number of workers required. People began to leave for the cities, where they were needed. In Novosibirsk Oblast the number of rural residents decreased by 20% during the 20 years between 1939 and 1959. The villages remained, however, albeit with smaller populations, since animal draft and manual labor still accounted for a large portion of the work and it was still necessary to be able to reach the fields on foot.

The scientists predicted that the acceleration of technological progress would lead to a further consolidation of the cultivated areas, and they named the factors which would contribute to this development: 1. an increased level of mechanization of the production processes and improvement of the machinery; 2. acquisition of modern means of transportation and communication by the farms; 3. a rise in the general educational level and the occupational skills of the workers; 4. the erection of large settlements with conveniences.

These predictions proved to be accurate. In recent decades animal draft has practically been completely supplanted in the agricultural process. The use of manual labor has been substantially reduced. Pedestrian access to the fields has lost its former importance. The general educational level and the occupational skills of the farmers have risen. This is why the agricultural enterprises are being consolidated. This is why the former system of distribution of the rural population has fallen apart at the seams.

When the scientists worked out the optimal sizes for agricultural enterprises at the beginning of the 1960s, they foresaw the inevitability of these changes. Among other things, they maintained that it was necessary to establish a lower limit of population concentrations for the sovkhoses and their subdivisions.

We have to admit that recommendations with respect to the need to consolidate enterprises were more or less followed in most regions, but the matter of a lower limit for population concentrations, as a rule, was not taken into consideration. In the rayon plans, the prospective populations were established on the basis of the labor balance for each production subdivision. The planners did not worry about whether a community had 200 or 2,000 residents. For the small settlements it was impossible to plan municipal services, cultural institutions, public health, schools and so forth, which would meet the modern requirements. In Novosibirsk Oblast, for example, schools for fewer than 50 students were planned: 58% of the schools in Kargatskiy and Ubinskiy Rayons, 53% in Baganskiy Rayon and 49% in Maslyaninskiy Rayon.

We can illustrate what became of this with the following example alone. The 12 August 1980 issue of PRAVDA stated: "Recently, one of the farms in Kolyvanskiy Rayon lost its best machine operator and its best milker at the same time. No sort of persuasion on the part of the administration had any effect. The family sold their home and moved to another oblast. The parents wanted their children

to receive a complete formal education. This was impossible in their native village." The same article stated that only one of the 15 8-year schools in the rayon had more than 100 students. The student body in the others ranged from 30 to 50 students. The correspondent commented that teachers will not accept employment in schools such as these.

A similar situation developed in most of the rayons in Novosibirsk Oblast. There have been exceptions, however.

The rayon plan for the Proletarskiy Sovkhoz left three communities. The directors, however, developed only one and gradually resettled the workers in the various sections there. The settlement now has 1,700 residents. There is a 10-year school, a cultural center, a combined children's center, a hospital, a dining hall and a store. It is planned to build a sports center with a swimming pool. The library has 16,000 volumes. The school teacher, who has taught 20 years in a rural school, wrote in the oblast newspaper: "I can say without exaggeration that it (the settlement--G.K.) is just like a small part of a large city.... The children of the Virgin Land developers stay here, acquire families and link their lives once and for all with the sovkhos.... The cultural center becomes crowded at the end of the workday...."

The Bol'shevik Kolkhoz is well known far beyond the borders of Novosibirsk Oblast. Far from everyone knows that it was formed by merging 12 separate farms, however. The kolkhoz has a population of 1,850. Only 10 years ago there were not enough workers there. When we mentioned this to the chairman, he answered: "There would still not be enough, if we had not assigned 20 to 30 cows to a milker, when at that time... if we had not built a livestock complex... if we did not have a rural city on the farm."

The farm now has 50 specialists. The kolkhoz accepts practically no new members. All of the operations are performed without outside help. Each year 10 to 15 graduates of the local 10-year school remain on the kolkhoz. Around 300 apartments have been built in the rural city. A cultural center with seating for 400, a consumer service facility with a capacity of 28 work stations, a kindergarten, a trade center and a cafe have been built. The residential area has been built up with various types of houses, with all the conveniences and municipal services. The kolkhoz workers still living in the old settlements are in no hurry to move to the city. They know that they will eventually receive apartments in the rural city, which are not inferior to those found in the city.

This has only been possible, however, where the sovkhos and kolkhoz leaders understand that scientific and technological progress, while raising the level of the productive forces, requires that the agricultural enterprises be consolidated, and this means consolidating the rural communities as well.

The example of the Mil'tyushikhinskiy Sovkhoz in Cherepanovskiy Rayon illustrates this very well. The rayon plan, with the sovkhos in its "mainstream," was depicted at the Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy of the USSR. Despite the fact that the overall plan was approved, it was altered three times. "Mil'tyushikhinskiy" was depicted in the exhibit with five divisions and five communities with plans for their development. In the fourth version, it turned

up with seven divisions and seven communities. The largest of the division communities had 400 residents.

Later, the Center for Scientific Organization of Labor under the Siberian Department of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin developed a plan for the social and economic development of this sovkhov, which retained for the future three divisions and one community. It was planned for mobile brigades to service two of the divisions. One cannot agree with everything in this plan. The interesting thing is that after it was promulgated, the youth began to settle on the farm. The reorganization "exercises" with this sovkhov did not end there, however. It has now been reorganized in smaller units.

Unfortunately, there are many such examples in Novosibirsk Oblast. I believe that the main reason for this is a subjective one--being out of touch with reality. Who was it that came out in the press against classifying the villages as being with or without a future? These were mainly people little acquainted with agriculture--writers, architects and sociologists.

As previously stated, the plans for the rayon development ordinarily took into account prospects for the development of production. The size of the villages was based on the size of the labor force. This was unquestionably not enough to go on. Several years ago T.I. Zaslavskaya correctly stated: "...enhancement of effectiveness in the agrarian sector of the economy and the acceleration of social development for the village are two sides of the same coin"(PRAVDA, 20 May 1978). Strangely enough, she and R. Ryvkina are now departing from that correct position and considering the social development of the village in isolation from production, that is, also from only one side. (In this and certain other cases G. Kirilyuk has somewhat arbitrarily and imprecisely interpreted the viewpoint of the authors of the article "The Siberian Village: a Social Portrait"--Editor). Furthermore, the authors state: "The sovkhov and kolkhoz leaders were the first to express a negative opinion of the combining of the settlements. It was difficult for them without the small village."

The cases cited above, in which the farm leaders even went so far as to violate the rayon plan in their efforts to eliminate the small villages, show that this is not so. Many of the managers attempted to reduce the number of settlements left in the rayon plans for the future. At one of the conferences conducted in Akademygorodok, the former chairman of the Bolshevik Kolkhoz (he is now director of the Institute of Feeds) stated: "We should leave for the future one settlement with 20,000-30,000 hectares of land." This is exactly what they are doing on the Bol'shevik Kolkhoz and the Proletarskiy Sovkhov. On the Mil'tyushikhinskiy Sovkhov, which has 33,000 hectares of land, the director agreed to have one settlement instead of the planned seven, even with the servicing of two divisions by mobile brigades. A large number of other such examples could be mentioned. I believe that the cases cited are sufficient to prove that the farm leaders are not grieving over the small village. In Kolyvanskiy and other similar rayons, the farm leaders are now longing for consolidated settlements. How are they to eliminate the little villages, however, if they have been listed as having a future and when some things have already been built there over the past 20 years.

I am convinced that with the industrialization of agricultural production the small villages can only remain intact--and then, only temporarily--on small suburban vegetable farms, where a great deal of the work is performed by hand. The Proletarskiy Sovkhoz mentioned above is 160 kilometers from the oblast center and 60 kilometers from the rayon center. Despite this, the settlement's social development is well above that of Kolyvanskiy Rayon, which is almost adjacent to the oblast capital.

The authors of the article "The Siberian Village: a Social Portrait" mention a half-dozen types of Siberian villages with various degrees of urbanization. While fighting for the preservation of the small village, however, they fail to notice major flaws in the resettlement of the rural populations in Kolyvanskiy and other rayons in the oblast. For this reason, not all of their recommendations with respect to social protectionism for the small village hold up under criticism.

Something has to be done, however. It would be desirable to have well substantiated, optimal sizes for the agricultural enterprises placed on an industrial footing. Some things have already been done. The reader will find the following paragraph in the methodological recommendations issued by the Siberian Department of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin for compiling a comprehensive plan for the social and economic development of a sovkhoz (or kolkhoz): The overall dimensions of the prospective communities are determined in accordance with local conditions, the size and the distribution of production and the optimal development of the service situation. For Western Siberia with its greatly scattered communities, settlements with a population of 1,500-3,000 people are optimal."

We could hardly go wrong if we applied the lower limit of 1,500 residents for concentrations of population for other regions as well. In Western Siberia such a settlement would have approximately 700 able-bodied people, who make up the most important group for urban development. As such, it should have permanent work at the site. Otherwise, the settlement loses its ability to survive and the farm loses cadres. This is what we see in Novosibirsk Oblast, where there has been a process of breaking up the farms into smaller units for the past 2 decades, where a situation like the one which developed in Kolyvanskiy Rayon is being created. Therefore, if the production subdivision cannot be provided with the necessary number of jobs--permanent jobs!--it should be consolidated. The examples cited above confirm the fact that farms of this size function well, while the level of services and amenities provided for the settlements fully measure up to the modern requirements. And the people do not run off to the city.

Naturally, it would not make any sense to restore the former boundaries for the smaller farm units. Specialization and concentration of agricultural production are being developed, however. The May 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee adopted a decision to create rayon agroindustrial associations. We need to begin with these. All the more, since the methodological recommendations issued by the Siberian Department of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin state: "A special feature of intrafarm specialization lies in the fact that it is carried out over the entire rayon, which is regarded as a single economic entity."

In connection with this we should recall V.I. Lenin's recommendation with respect to the need "for the exemplary development of a small unit--not a single farm, not a single branch of a farm, not a single enterprise, but the sum total of all management relationships, the sum total of the entire economic turnover within even a small territory."

This is clearly not something which can be accomplished within a year. If the Proletarskiy Sovkhoz was able to accomplish it with the overall trend toward a breakdown of the population into smaller units, however, if it was enough to announce a plan aimed at breaking up the settlement into smaller units, to retain the youth in Mil'tyushikhinskiy, and if people are not leaving the old settlements on the Bol'shevik Kolkhoz for the city (although they know that according to the rayon plan, the village has no future), then what is preventing us from doing the same thing on all of the oblast farms?

The authors of "A Social Portrait" group the population according to criteria which have no boundaries. According to the number of residents, the Proletarskiy Sovkhoz and the Bol'shevik Kolkhoz should be placed in the urbanized group with a developed economic structure. There are no non-agricultural enterprises on their territories, however, no subsidiary farms, no plants, interkolkhoz organizations, trade schools, and so forth. The level of services for the population is fairly high, however. It includes a cultural center, a consumer service center, a cafe, a store and even a swimming pool. So just what kind of settlements are these, urbanized or non-urbanized? Do they have a developed or an undeveloped economy?

T. Zaslavskaya and R. Ryvkina express regret that the "amalgamation of the small villages and the closing of small schools and medical facilities are having a negative effect upon the way of life of the villagers." Which ones? Those who have been moved together? This depends upon the circumstances. Naturally, better conditions need to be created for those being resettled than those which existed at their old place of residence. In this case there will be no negative effect.

Furthermore, the way of life of the machine operator, the milker, the teacher, the bookkeeper and the sales clerk is not the same, and their interests are not homogeneous. Uniformity will not be achieved here. Does this mean that in order to achieve a harmonious village way of life we need to remove all the machinery from the village and return to the wooden plow, the scythe, the sickle and the hoe?

It is time to understand that the old village and its way of life are an anachronism today. No one needs it. Create the proper conditions, and any elderly woman will be willing to move to the new, well developed settlement....

Party decisions call for the consolidation of large and small villages and their conversion into urbanized settlements. The specialization and concentration of agricultural production are becoming more and more extensive. We need to combine these two processes into one, and then everything will fall into place.

## Viability of Siberian Towns Substantiated

Moscow SEL'SKAYA NOV' in Russian No 12, Dec 82 (signed to press 19 Nov 82) pp 29-31

[Article by L. Fuks, architect, Novosibirsk: "The Future of the Siberian Town"]

[Text] When asked what the village should be like, the rural resident will first tell you what his home and his job should be like. He will talk about a school for his children. A school is needed in this town (selo), of course. He will say that it is time to build a bridge and to establish a bus line, without which it is difficult to get to the store or to the doctor. The village is not a large one, however. Schools are not built in villages like this one. The family is being advised to move to the central farm settlement. If they have to move, though, it will be to a neighboring rayon, nearer to their city relatives.

The farm manager will say that the equipment situation is improving, but that there is a shortage of workers. A few more families are on the verge of leaving. After that, you might as well shut the town down. What if the town had its own 10-year school, however, a new club in the remote town, tolerable roads and most importantly, a few more dependable people capable of operating the equipment? The problem would be solved. There will be a school in time, of course, and there will be roads. About the people, though--there are fewer and fewer of them in this rayon deep in the interior. There is hope, however. Houses have just been completed there for people from a neighboring oblast.

The planner and the economist, with figures in hand, will demonstrate the advantages of a large farm, the effectiveness of large service establishments in a populous town. They will demonstrate that the village and small farm, to which the chairman still clings, has no future. They will specify the lowest acceptable size for a town: 1,500 to 2,000 residents (G. Kirilyuk calls this the bottom limit). They will prove that the standard of living in a large town is higher, and that losses of the population are therefore smaller than in the small towns. It follows, then, that the future lies with the large urban-type agricultural settlement.

Here we have three different answers. Three concepts of the town. The ordinary town resident will say, as an example, what the village of Ol'khovka, where his family lives, where his father and grandfather lived, should be like. When the kolkhoz chairman speaks of the "town," he has in mind the entire farm, with several settlements, small specialized farms and thousands of hectares of land. He is concerned about the shortage of workers, but in this case he does not care where the replenishments come from. Let them come even from an adjacent farm, an adjacent rayon or oblast, although there is a shortage of workers there as well. For the economist and the planner the "town" is not one or several towns, but the rural locality in general. They are primarily concerned about the effectiveness of the entire sector of the national economy, the entire service sphere, and not the fate of the individual settlement.

Each of them is right in his own way. The answers taken together, however, do not provide an integral picture of the fate of the village. The main thing is

not clear, however: Just what should the village be like? The conflicting opinions on the optimal sizes for the settlements or ways to consolidate them are also disturbing. Today, this is just about the main problem involved in the restructuring of the rural area, although the matter of consolidation might appear to be absolutely clear at first glance.

Proof is presented to show that the large towns lose relatively less of their populations than the small ones. Consequently, by consolidating them, we can resolve the problem of reducing the movement of people out of the rural area. In this case, the rate at which the number of workers is falling will coincide with rates of growth for labor productivity. It is felt that consolidation of the towns will improve living conditions and raise the level of public services for the population. This, in turn, will reduce the exodus of the population from the village. G. Kirilyuk and certain other specialists speak out for consolidation, and this position is understandable. Just how realistic is it, though?

In actuality, repeated attempts to achieve the optimal size for the towns has invariably been accompanied by the mass dissociation of communities of all sizes, even the large ones. The population in Western Siberia is losing around two thirds of the central farm settlements. The already inadequate populations of the agricultural areas are being reduced more and more markedly there. Attempts to create grouped systems of dispersal, whereby the towns attempt to "catch up" with a nearby city with its roads and its service system, frequently accelerate the "unraveling" of the resettlement fabric, the rarefaction of the network of towns and the drop in the size of the rural population.

One of two things has occurred. Either the wrong means were selected for achieving the objectives, or the objectives themselves were not realistic. Both of these are true, a result of our inadequate knowledge of the town, of its patterns of development. This is why many forecasts pertaining to the number of towns and the size of the rural population greatly diverge from the actual changes occurring. Consequently, despite our apparent understanding of the town and of the processes involved in the rural dispersal, the matter is not at all as simple as it appears at first glance. Further studies are needed.

Let us take, as an example, Parabel'skiy Rayon, one of the rayons in Tomsk Oblast. Can the consolidation of settlements achieved by gathering the residents from the small villages into the so-called villages with a future be applied to it? More than 60% of the entire rayon population lives in the towns, which are the centers of the rural soviets. And the centers of the rural soviets account for 98% of the population in half of the rural soviets. Their average size is 240 residents. The towns are far apart. Even in the most populous parts of the rayon there are no more than or six per 1,000 square kilometers. The rayon average is only slightly more than one town per 1,000 square kilometers. We can see that there is almost nothing and almost no one to consolidate.

The social and economic possibilities for consolidating the towns, then, are not identical. And this is not simply because no two villages are the same, as T.I. Zaslavskaya and R.V. Ryvkina correctly note. Possibilities for developing the towns are also determined by the dissimilarity of their environments. In our case, the dissimilarity lies in the degree to which the territory is settled, the density of the settlements and roads, the proximity to a city....



An attempt was therefore made to study the territorial characteristics of the dispersal, using the example of Western Siberia. I shall attempt to demonstrate what the study produced.

The zoning of our territory is based on the simultaneous consideration of numerous characteristics of the dispersal process: the multidimensional classification of the hypothetical territorial units into which Western Siberia was divided. The general principles for the multidimensional classification of complex social entities were developed by Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya and Candidate of Technical Sciences I.B. Muchnik.

A total of seven zones were formed. The first three, the most highly developed, are hypothetically called urban zones. All of the largest cities and almost 80% of the population are in these zones. Although these zones occupy only slightly more than one tenth of Western Siberia's territory, more than a third of the rural population lives in them.

Let us hypothetically call the most densely populated zone, that with the most accessible centers and a developed network of towns, "No. 1." It is not a large zone, occupying only 4% of the entire territory. In this zone, however, lives 65% of Western Siberia's urban population. The cities and rayon centers are densely distributed, one for every 1,000 square kilometers. This zone has the greatest density of roads and settlements, 25 towns per 1,000 square kilometers. The towns are relatively large, with an average population of 556. The service facilities are built primarily in the large towns, the idea being to "embrace" not only their own populations, but also those of small surrounding towns. Overall there is close linkage with the city in this zone.

Zone No. 2, a densely populated zone with accessible centers and a developed network of towns, girdles Zone No. 1. It is similar to the former with respect to total area, the specific portion of its total population residing in towns, the density of its roads, towns and cities, and rayon centers. The towns are smaller here, however, averaging 375 residents. The local cities are greatly inferior to neighboring cities in Zone No. 1 with respect to size and level of development. The rural residents rarely travel to cities in their zone, going more frequently to the adjacent zone.

Zone No. 3 is also densely populated, with accessible inter-rayon centers and a developed network of towns. It occupies 2% of Western Siberia's territory. In this zone live 4% of the town population and 5% of the city population, however. The cities are small, with 40,000-50,000 residents. Remote from the large cities, they have become inter-rayon centers in the agrarian rayons. Almost one tenth of the rural population visits these cities each day. This zone is larger than the others, excluding Zone No. 1. There are few large towns, and the settlements have an average population of 329.

The next three zones, typical rural zones, occupy 57% of Western Siberia's total area. Most of the agricultural land is located here. These zones account for two thirds of the entire rural population and the same portion of the towns, but only 11% of the region's urban residents.

Zone No. 4 has a population of medium density, with accessible centers and medium density for the distribution of the towns. It is relatively near cities, and its more highly developed areas are not far from railways. The zone has almost no cities, however. The rayon cities are far apart: only two for every 10,000 square kilometers. The rural residents rarely visit them. The density of the towns is half that of zones in the "urban" group. There are more large towns here than anywhere else. The settlements have an average population of 555. The central rural soviet settlements contain the largest portion of the population of any others in Western Siberia--59%. The service establishments are therefore located mainly in the large towns. Only towns with populations of 500 or more residents have schools and clubs.

Most of Zone No. 5, with average population density, with accessible centers and a little-developed network of towns, is located away from railways. There are relatively few cities and rayon centers: four per 10,000 square kilometers. This zone embraces one fourth of Western Siberia's territory. A third of the entire rural population and 39% of all the towns are in this zone. The density of towns is so much greater here than in Zone No. 4: 14 per 1,000 square kilometers. They include many small towns. The average population of the towns is 358. Because of the relatively small density of the towns and their relatively small size, all the towns with populations of 100 residents or more have stores, those with 200 residents have schools and towns with populations of 500 or more have clubs.

Zone No. 6, medium- to sparsely-populated, with centers of medium access and with a medium- or little-developed network of towns, is located on the edge of the populated territory, on one fifth of Western Siberia's total area. There are almost no cities here. There is one rayon center for each 10,000 square meters of land. This zone is separated by an average of more than 100 kilometers from the railways. It accounts for one tenth of the rural population and the towns. Settlements are far apart: four towns per 1,000 square kilometers. Their average population is 373. The situation with respect to stores, schools and clubs is the same as that of Zone No. 5.

Zone No. 7 is separated from the other towns. It is thinly populated or unpopulated. The centers there are difficult to reach, and the existing network of towns is little developed. It covers 29% of Western Siberia's territory, but has only 1% of the rural population. There are almost no rayon centers. The road network is not developed. Towns are far apart, one for each 100 square kilometers, and small, averaging 283 residents. The service establishments in the large towns are difficult to reach for the residents of surrounding towns. Therefore, all of the towns with 50 or more residents have stores, those with 100 residents or more have schools and clubs.

The policy for restructuring the towns must take into account differences in the types of towns, including differences in their locations. Simple measures--the consolidation of settlements to reduce the migration of rural residents, as Comrade Kirilyuk proposes--are not adequate for this. This is apparent from the following example alone. The average size of the towns is the same for Zone No 1 and Zone No. 4. The rates at which the size of the rural population is dropping, however, is almost four times higher for Zone No. 4 than for Zone No. 1.

In order for the towns to withstand the migrational "erosion," they therefore must also have developed ties with developed surroundings.

The rural population proved to be far more mobile than it was considered to be 10 or 15 years ago. The number of people migrating from all types of villages during the five-year period ordinarily amounted to more than one third of their residents. Far from all of those leaving the towns go to a city. A significant portion of them settle in other towns. For example, 40% of the population of settlements with from 2,000 to 5,000 residents left during the five-year period, while the number of people moving in amounted to 32% of the population. A total of 37% of the populations of towns with 100 to 200 residents left, but the number moving in equaled only 16% of the population. It is apparent that people prefer to move to the larger settlements. The flow of migrants runs through the towns, overflowing into the cities. It has been determined that in the zones with towns located far apart, the departure of the population from rural areas occurs more rapidly, while people rarely move from one town to another when the towns differ little in size and level of development. We have established the fact that the migrational flow passes through the widely separated towns as though through a coarse-mesh sieve, little restrained on its way to the city. This results in more rapid disintegration and rarefaction of the towns.

And so, a town simply must have close proximity and ties with other settlements. This keeps the "flame" of active life burning. The flame goes out without this closeness, just as the scattered sticks of a campfire stop burning. This same flame lighted up with a different brightness the process of consolidation of the towns, which is inevitably followed by rarefaction of the network of settlements, a weakening of the ties linking them together and accelerated migration. The greatest possible density of towns is needed for the very existence of a rural area. When we restrain the consolidation of the settlements, we also restrain the rural area's transformation into an unsettled area.

So just how many towns do we need, and what should they be like? It is not so simple to answer this question. If it were, the question would have been answered long ago.

The need to improve public services in the towns is ordinarily cited as the justification for consolidating the towns. Today's standards are such that the type and size of cultural and personal service facilities, schools, kindergartens and hospitals depend upon the number of residents in the settlement. A large town can have more stores, a more diversified assortment of goods and services. And stores are not planned in general for towns with populations of less than 300. It is recommended that kindergartens and primary schools be built in towns with populations of at least 500-700 residents, and 8-year schools in towns with at least 1,000 residents. Is this the correct approach, however?

Let us assume that all of the towns with populations of less than 200 residents are eliminated and their populations moved to other settlements. How much larger will the average town be? It will grow to an insignificant degree. After all, the small towns in Western Siberia account for approximately one tenth of the entire rural population. With the massive elimination of these towns, a part of their residents--a considerable part--would inevitably move to the city. Even

if they all remained in the rural area, however, the average town population would only increase from 414 to 737 residents. It is doubtful that the average service level would rise markedly as a result, although almost half of the towns would have to be consolidated to achieve this. A more impressive consolidation of the settlements would require the elimination of an even greater number of towns, many of which still have perfectly suitable houses, public buildings and farms.

Even this sort of minor consolidation is impossible, however. We have studied a perfectly unrealistic, ideal situation. We have assumed that the total number of rural residents would not decrease. We have assumed that the flow of the population out of the consolidated towns would come to a halt, that the birth-rate would not fall. All of this is highly unlikely, of course.

The main thing, however, is the fact that the consolidation would not halt the exodus of the population from the village. After all, all of the towns, no matter what the size and no matter what zone they are located in, are growing smaller, and the examples cited by G. Kirilyuk are only exceptions to this rule. Zone No. 1, the most highly developed urban zone, for example, has lost more than a fourth of its large settlements (1,000 or more residents). In the least developed or undeveloped zone three quarters of the settlements with the same population have disintegrated, that is, they have lost their residents. There were far fewer large towns with growing populations everywhere than towns with diminishing populations. The difference was 4-fold in some of the zones! Despite the fact that the number of towns is being constantly reduced by a process of elimination of the smallest, the average population of the settlements is therefore increasing not at all or almost not at all.

The experimental/demonstration settlements, large and with a developed service system, the populations of which are stable or are even growing, are frequently cited. However, we cannot expect the creation of similar conditions in the other towns (not an immediate prospect in itself) to lead to the universal consolidation of the population and increase the sizes of all the towns. The growth of the experimental towns is a result of the fact that they were temporarily placed into an advantageous position and caught up with neighboring communities in the development of their culture and personal services and their housing construction.

In general, we cannot halt the disintegration of the towns, because to do so we would first have to halt the attenuation of the entire rural population. No local measures will help this situation--not the improvement of the towns themselves not the upgrading of all the zones to the level of the most highly developed zone. The number of rural residents is dropping in all types of towns and zones.

Just because we cannot save the village from the attenuation of its population, however, does this mean that we should not try to preserve the large towns as they are today? Could we not "channel" the migrational flow so that it sweeps only through the small settlements?

This also turns out to be impossible. We cannot count on obtaining the additional workforce required for the new industrial enterprises, construction projects,

gas pipelines and mines from the small towns with no future. There are not enough people in the settlements. If we recall, they account for only one tenth of the entire rural population. In the second place, many small settlements simply cannot be eliminated. Their residents are employed in servicing the roads or they work in the lumber enterprises or the mines and oilfields. In addition, the average age of the residents of small towns is higher and they have less education. This means that only a relatively small part of the people could move to new developments. Once again, it is apparent that we cannot count on the small settlements. Continued migration from the villages and the disintegration of the large towns are inevitable, no matter how G. Kirilyuk and other comrades campaign for their preservation.

Small towns are a natural part of all the rural communities. Small towns represent the future of many of today's medium-sized and even large settlements. It is only a matter of time. In our opinion, G. Kirilyuk is making a mistake in advocating their absolute elimination.

The forecast for Western Siberia to the year 2,000 confirms the possibility of continued existence for the small towns and a reduction in the absolute number of large and medium-sized towns. Although the total number of towns may be reduced by almost half there, there will still be a relatively large number of small communities: around half with a population of less than 200. This is even somewhat larger than the present average population. According to the forecast the towns are expected to become smaller in all the zones.

This does not mean, of course, that the task of reforming the dispersal process no longer has any meaning. No, it does not mean that, but the task has become immeasurably more complex.

In the first place, we need to reject the universal consolidation of towns and the elimination of small communities, since this only accelerates the migration from the rural areas. We must maintain the population densities of the settlements at the present level, and to increase it wherever possible. We also need to consider the fact that the rarefaction of the network of settlements is making it difficult to cultivate the farmland, that production costs increase and new difficulties emerge in the social area. These consequences result from the consolidation of towns not in Siberia alone. For example, an extensive inverse dependence has been found between the density of the towns and basic production costs in Uzbekistan's cotton-producing and stock-raising regions. This is due to the increased transportation costs, which exceed the amount saved by building in large towns.

There is no question that a reduction in the density of the towns stimulates more efficient management in limited territories near the remaining communities. Does this compensate for losses incurred by the premature reduction in the amount of land in use and the elimination of remote farms left in the deserted towns, however? G. Kirilyuk maintains that there is an inseparable link between production and social problems. But do the authors of "A Social Portrait" really disagree with this?

Hero of Socialist Labor Ivan Ivanovich Leunov, director of the Berdskiy Sovkhoz, who is well known in our oblast, described the compensation of losses very well

in one of the television programs. Perhaps his opinion will be an adequate counterbalance to the examples cited by G. Kirilyuk.

Two settlements--Ryabchinka and Aleksandrovka--of five settlements on the Berdskiy Sovkhoz were declared to have no future. Ryabchinka alone had an output totalling 800,000 rubles, however. I.I. Leunov believed that this production could only be restored in ten years, and at a price difficult to predict, but definitely a high price! They won the battle for Ryabchinka, and it soon began producing goods worth more than 1 million rubles. Young people appeared, and it was unnecessary to close the school and the kindergarten. The settlement began to justify its existence not just economically, but socially as well. They also saved Aleksandrovka. And they are not sorry.

One cannot but feel great respect for the Berdskiy experience. The attitude toward the towns without a future changed, and the production and personal service base was built up. The total number of residents in Ryabchinka and Aleksandrovka grew by 6% during the five-year period beginning in 1970. We have to bear in mind, however, that this growth rate for the population would have been impossible without being "subsidized" with migrants from outside, from other rayons and towns.

This approach to the development of the settlements was discussed at the beginning of the article. Growth for the other small towns in the oblast cannot be achieved except at the expense of other oblasts. And how are they any worse than our Novosibirsk Oblast?

The development of intra-rural migration is one means of retaining the population in the village. It is presently not adequate and is smaller than migration from the town to the city. It is especially weakly developed in the sparsely populated rayons with a low density of towns. I disagree with G. Kirilyuk on one other matter. The intra-rural migration should be developed not just from the small towns to the large, but rather in the opposite direction and between towns of approximately the same size.

The present system of creating grouped local dispersal systems orients the rural residents primarily toward the rayon centers and the cities, with respect to transportation, cultural and consumer services, and labor ties. This orientation frequently accounts for the decision to leave the rural area and move to the city. In light of this, we need to rebuild the road system among the towns, primarily in the typically rural zones. Well "traveled" roads will help the rural residents to better orient themselves and to select a new place of residence (if this is necessary, of course).

We cannot ignore one other matter, on which there is no uniform opinion among the sociologists, economists and production workers.

Is it possible to create an effective system of services for the rural residents, if the future of the towns is one of gradual disintegration, if many of the small towns cannot be eliminated, if ties between the towns and the centers involved in the population dispersal are most frequently weak as a result of low density of roads and the small populations of the communities? We answer yes to this question. The key to the resolution of the problem is provided by a study of the territorial peculiarities of the service process and the existence of service

establishments in relatively small towns. It is far from a rare thing to find stores in towns of even 50-100 residents, although these stores are frequently little suited to serve as such. They are housed in converted premises and have only the most primitive of equipment. There are no designs for such stores. There are also no suitable designs for public buildings in the larger towns, however.

Western Siberia has numerous 8-year schools with fewer than 30 students. And the largest "capacity" of the 8-year schools ordinarily does not exceed 95 children. This is half the capacity of the smallest standard 8-year school. Most of the secondary schools are filled to only one-half or two-thirds capacity. And this is not true of Siberia alone. In the Ukraine one frequently finds only 200-300 school children in rural secondary schools with a capacity of 640 students.

Why do we have no standard-design schools for the enrollment numbers we encounter in reality? It is all because of the unfounded calculations for the consolidation of the towns, the assumption that many of the school children from other towns will study in boarding schools. Because of this the capacities in secondary schools is two- to three-fold greater than the total number of students enrolled just in towns of 200-250 residents in Novosibirsk Oblast, 3-fold larger in the 8-year schools and 3- to 10-fold larger in the primary schools, depending upon the zone! The gap would be even greater if not for the construction of nonstandard buildings and the establishment of schools in premises not adapted for this purpose.

It is apparent that the entire planning system for the town needs to be improved. For towns whose future is in doubt, we need new types buildings for schools, stores and other establishments: relatively temporary or mobile container-type buildings and buildings which can be assembled and dismantled. It is advantageous to build nonpermanent buildings in the larger settlements with unstable populations as well.

We also need to improve the principles underlying the organization of the service system. At the present time, as we know, the standards call for a more highly developed service system for the large towns. This does not mean, however, that the decrease in a town's population must entail "rolling up and putting away" the service establishments. Unfortunately, this is precisely what is done in reality. A town loses part of its population, and along with the people it loses now a dining hall, now a store, or the 8-year school is converted to a primary school. Before you know it, they have closed down the school entirely. After all this, more and more of the residents begin thinking about moving away from their town. And so, instead of retarding the outflow of the population from the village, today's standards encourage it.

Naturally, we cannot build secondary schools and pools in every town. However, we absolutely must lower the minimum population for towns, which serves as the cutoff point for determining whether to build certain cultural and personal service establishments.

The backwardness of village life in the agrarian zones, compared with the urbanized zones and the cities, has been caused to a considerable degree by the lack

of development for local rayon centers. This is why migration out of towns in the agrarian zones is especially great. Many of those moving are going to zones with a higher level of development, to the suburbs of large cities or to the cities, but not to their rayon centers. This robs the poorly developed rayon centers of their last possibility for growth. In one of the rural zones the overall increase in the populations of the rayon centers from new arrivals was 58(!) times less than the loss from rural residents moving out of the zone. It is clear why the rayon centers are not growing and why the rural population is being drawn to suburbs near the large city metropolises.

It is apparent that the process of enhancing the social and cultural possibilities of Siberia's rayon centers cannot be linked to a mandatory, significant increase in their populations. We should not take the path of extensive growth of public services based on the acceleration (essentially, absolutely unrealistic) of the growth of the populations of rayon centers. We need new methods and new standards of development for the service sphere, which take into account the specific characteristics of each zone. We can then expect a reduction in the outflow of people from the towns. The departure of people from the agrarian zones will also decrease, since most of the migrants from the surrounding towns will settle in the more highly developed rayon centers.

One other problem, as yet unresolved, emerges in connection with the elimination of the small settlements. Many of them have farms and other production units. It is not possible to "close" these or to transfer them to the extant communities. This means we cannot avoid hauling in workers from the "living" towns.

The distances over which workers will need to be transported to the farms and agricultural lands may be considerable. We must therefore begin right now to create on-duty agricultural settlements, arranging for people to be delivered to the work sites as the occasion demands. These people would live there for a certain period of time and then be replaced by new workers. The on-duty agricultural system would be especially good for involving urban residents in seasonal work in the country. During the lulls in the farm work, some of these on-duty agricultural facilities located in the more attractive environments could be used as vacation spots.

The agricultural on-duty settlements could be located in abandoned towns, taking advantage of the empty houses there. It would probably be better, however, to build settlements of houses which can be assembled and dismantled, with an adequate degree of comfort.

All of this is not so simple, of course. We will require new standards for the production, the construction and the servicing of these on-duty agricultural settlements. It will be necessary to create base communities and centers for servicing the on-duty agricultural settlements. All of this would simplify the use of remote lands and farms, however.

Naturally, our forecasts and proposals should not be considered to be indisputable. It is clear, though, that the village has a future, that there are many untapped possibilities for its development.

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