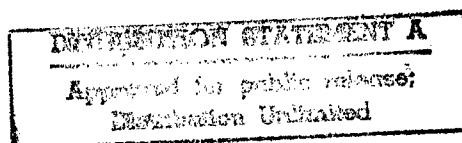




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Soviet Union

Political Affairs

PREPARATION FOR THE 19TH PARTY CONFERENCE:
PART II

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Soviet Union Political Affairs

Preparations for the 19th Party Conference:

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7 June 1988

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**PRAVDA Carries Central Committee Theses for
Conference Discussion**

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[“CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference (Approved by CPSU Central Committee Plenum 23 May 1988)”—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Our country is undergoing profound revolutionary transformations of historic significance initiated and organized by the CPSU. The CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th congress defined the party's course of accelerating socioeconomic development, comprehensively renewing Soviet society, and raising socialism to a qualitatively new level. This innovative strategy was deepened and concretized at the CPSU Central Committee January and June 1987 Plenums, during the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of October, and at the Central Committee February plenum this year. As a result, the foundations of the theory and scientific policy of the restructuring of all aspects of society's life have been laid.

The goal of restructuring is to reveal fully the humanist nature and creative might of socialism. The achievement of this goal is inseparable from the development of democracy and glasnost, people's self-management, radical economic reform, the moral cleansing of society, and the revelation of the creative potential inherent in the free and all-around development of man.

What are the first results of restructuring and what needs to be done to remove the obstacles in its path, to give a powerful new impetus to the revolutionary process of renewal, and to render it irreversible? The 19th All-Union Party Conference, which opens in Moscow on 28 June 1988, must give an answer to these questions which are of vital concern to Communists and all Soviet people.

The conference agenda is as follows: 1) progress in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the main results of the first half of the 12th 5-Year Plan, and party organizations' tasks in deepening the process of restructuring; 2) measures to further democratize the life of the party and society.

The questions being submitted for the conference's examination are of vital significance for the party and the country. It is necessary to provide a realistic assessment of what has been done, to approach what has been achieved from a position of serious critical and self-critical analysis, to investigate how adopted decisions are being carried out, to pointedly raise questions demanding priority attention, to generalize positive experience, and to define the prospects for further progress.

The CPSU Central Committee Theses are offered as a platform for discussion of these questions.

1. Restructuring has created a fundamentally new ideological and political situation in society. It has become a reality and is gathering strength, spreading in depth and breadth and embracing all strata and spheres of society's life. The Central Committee February (1988) Plenum defined the ideological essence of the processes under way as a revolution in consciousness and ideological renewal. The formation of real pluralism of opinions and open comparison of ideas and interests are a characteristic feature of our time. Thanks to this, Soviet people have the opportunity to make fuller use of their intellectual and moral potential and to join more actively in social life.

Political consolidation of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all social forces is taking place on the platform of restructuring. By their labor and social activeness, Soviet people are providing increasingly effective support for the revolutionary transformations in the country. This is today the main trend in social development and the most important result of the first stage of restructuring.

At the same time, the process of restructuring is proceeding in a contradictory fashion, via the overcoming of difficulties and a struggle between the old and the new. The vestiges of conservatism and of the bureaucratic mentality have proven particularly tenacious. The supporters of dogmatic notions of socialism are being slow to yield ground. Attempts are being made to maintain the old, coercive [nazhimnyy] methods of leadership of the economy and other spheres of life.

It is impossible to make successful progress and resolve the large-scale tasks of restructuring without overcoming these negative phenomena. It is necessary to raise the theoretical level of ideological and political work and deepen creative debate on vital questions of socialism. While supporting diversity of opinions, the CPSU Central Committee stresses that debates are fruitful only on the basis and in the name of socialism. They must not lead to political confrontation or disunite social forces, which would complicate the solution of tasks which are vital for our entire society.

This also applies to many acute questions of history, interest in which has increased exceptionally of late. The party will consistently pursue a policy of openness, glasnost, and free discussion of the problems of past and present, since only such a policy helps to improve the moral health of Soviet society and rid it of everything alien to its humane nature.

We are by no means indifferent to the question not only of the aims and values of socialism, but of the means of achieving them and the human price that will have to be

paid for them. The rehabilitation of those who fell victim in the past to unsubstantiated political accusations and lawlessness is our party and civic duty.

We need a constantly operating mechanism for comparing views and for criticism and self-criticism in the party and society. The undoubted gains of the policy of glasnost must be consolidated and augmented. Under the one-party system, which has historically emerged and become established in our country and is today organically combined with the processes of democratization, this question is vitally important. A Leninist approach is very important here. While condemning factionalism, V.I. Lenin was resolutely opposed to persecuting party comrades for thinking differently [inakomysliye] on particular issues. Constant, constructive political dialogue, culture in debate, extensive information on questions of domestic and foreign policy, and study and consideration of public opinion are called upon to be inalienable features of party life.

2. The problems of economic and social development have occupied a most important place in party activity since the Central Committee April Plenum.

It is well known that the years of stagnation brought the country to the brink of economic crisis. The extensive, essentially cost-based system of running the economy was completely exhausted. The economy's structure and technical level run counter to present-day demands. Administrative-edict management methods became a most serious brake. The growth of production, its efficiency, and the improvement of the population's living standard came to a halt. Many social questions were neglected. The country's finances were in serious disarray and the responsibility of cadres and labor discipline were slackened.

The party was faced with the complex task of extricating the country from stagnation, improving the economic situation, making development benefit the people, and developing and implementing a package of long-term measures in order to ensure the accelerated attainment of the front rank of world scientific, technical, and economic progress.

Considerable work to instill elementary order, strengthen discipline in the national economy, increase exactingness toward cadres, and eradicate the most intolerable manifestations of bureaucratic methods preventing people from working normally was launched as a first step.

The practical implementation of a new structural policy placing the emphasis on the development of scientific and technical progress and the modernization of machine-building as the foundation for improving the technical standard of the entire economy has been initiated. Specific measures of an economic and organizational nature are being implemented to promote improvements in output quality.

Appropriations for housing construction, health care, the development of public education, the strengthening of the material base of culture, and other social purposes have been increased as a counterweight to the "leftover principle" that was used in the past for allocating funds for the development of the social sphere.

The main stress was laid on the elaboration and practical implementation of a radical reform ensuring the transition from primarily administrative to economic leadership methods and the improvement of the interest of collectives and individual workers in the results of their work. The adoption of the laws on the state enterprise (association), on the cooperative system, and on individual labor activity were major milestones along this road. Large-scale work has been launched in the country to switch enterprises to economic accountability [khozraschet], progressive forms of labor organization and incentives, and self-management. They liberate the initiative of labor collectives and people's enterprise, encourage people to work with maximum effect, promote the eradication of wage-leveling in all its forms, and provide a material foundation for the democratization process.

The party has adopted a course of comprehensively revealing the potential of kolkhozes and sovkhozes via the development of diverse forms of contract and the creation of a broad network of cooperatives both within the framework of existing farms and in interconnection with other enterprises and sectors of the economy.

Of course, 2-3 years is not long enough for radical economic transformations. We are at the initial stage of those transformations, a kind of transition period. The Law on the State Enterprise and other decisions relating to economic reform came into force only this year and in any case are not working at full strength because they have been introduced in the middle of the 5-year plan, against a background of outdated prices, the absence of wholesale trade in means of production, and persisting shortages. The major programs for scientific and technical progress which have been formulated and introduced will not yield a return immediately.

Nevertheless, positive changes are taking place. The main change is that it has been possible to halt the growth of negative trends, which had been threatening to develop into a crisis situation, to break those trends, and to create definite preconditions for further steady progress.

It is a question not only of the acceleration in the pace of industrial output growth, the increase in the commissioning of fixed capital, and the improvement in other quantitative indicators. What is important is that they have been achieved on a healthier economic basis. Last year for the first time the entire increase in national income was obtained by increasing labor productivity.

The first encouraging results have appeared in the creation of examples of modern equipment and technology. The production of agricultural output has increased somewhat.

The situation has also changed in the social sphere. In the past 2 years average monthly wages for workers and employees increased by almost 6 percent and kolkhoz members' labor remuneration rose by 8.9 percent. The annual commissioning of housing increased by 15 million square meters in comparison with the 11th 5-Year Plan. The death rate fell and the birthrate increased, facts which were promoted to a considerable extent by the measures against alcoholism and drunkenness.

Positive results have been achieved, but they give no grounds for speaking of a fundamental breakthrough in the country's socioeconomic development. The structure of the economy is still "overweight" ["utyazhennyy"] with a clearly pronounced cost-based character. The targets for increasing national income and for saving resources are not being met. Machine building is developing more slowly than planned. There is still a shortage of high-quality electronics industry goods and progressive structural materials.

The failures to meet targets for the preferential growth of consumer goods production are particularly intolerable. Difficulties remain in the population's food supply. The targets for increasing the production and improving the quality of consumer goods and increasing commodity turnover have not been fulfilled. The commodity-money imbalance and state budget deficit are having an adverse effect on current production and the course of the reform itself.

The potential opened up with the start of implementation of the reform is clearly being insufficiently utilized. The conference will have to profoundly analyze the causes of that. It is obvious that, for all the difficulties of switching from one system of economic management to another, much here stems from conservatism and backward thinking on the part of some of our economic managers and whole collectives and from a desire to cling to familiar means and methods and to live and work in the old way.

One cannot fail to see that the measures to implement the economic reform are paralyzed to a considerable extent by the bureaucratic stance of a number of ministries, departments, and economic organs. The old administrative diktat essentially persists in many cases in the guise of the state order, economic norms, and other new methods of management. Restructuring at the level of sectorial ministries clearly lags behind restructuring at enterprises. In this connection, actions which distort the essence of the economic reform and which directly or indirectly undermine the Law on the Enterprise must be uncompromisingly condemned.

Life is also raising a serious issue such as the development of economic competitiveness as an antidote to monopolism, stagnation, and conservatism.

The activities of the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Gosstab, the USSR Ministry of Finance, all-union sectorial ministries and departments, republic economic organs, and enterprises and organizations must be analyzed and assessed in light of the present situation. This is particularly important in connection with the forthcoming transition of enterprises in all sectors to economic accountability and self-financing. Learning lessons from the initial stage of restructuring, it is necessary to accelerate the resolution of problems on which the complete implementation of the principles of the economic reform depends. The transition to wholesale trade in means of production and the measures to improve the credit and financial system must be implemented more rapidly, and the reform of prices and price formation must be thoroughly prepared and carried out in a timely fashion. Without this, it will be impossible to introduce really full economic accountability for enterprises and genuine autonomy for labor collectives, to develop the cooperative movement, to improve economic efficiency, and, ultimately, to boost the people's prosperity. It should be stressed that retail prices must be revised without detriment to the population's living standard.

A strong social policy is one of the main priorities in the party's activity. Therefore, in elaborating the 13th 5-Year Plan it is necessary to highlight the social thrust of economic development. Priority should be given to meeting the Soviet people's demand for nutritious foodstuffs in as short a time as possible. Alongside this should stand the questions of saturating the market with high-quality consumer goods in the necessary ranges and creating a modern service sector. It is necessary to envisage the further buildup of housing construction rates and ensure the implementation of the programs adopted for improving health care and public education.

One of the paramount concerns is to step up efforts to protect the environment and to implement a package of measures to fundamentally improve the ecological situation in the country.

The number one production task, as was decided by the 27th CPSU Congress, is the program for the accelerated development of the base sectors of machine building, electronics, instrument making, and machine tool building. It is necessary from the start of next year to more resolutely tackle fundamental changes in structural policy in the sphere of output and capital investment, with the obligatory implementation of the line of strictest economy and resource-saving.

The feasibility of scaling the heights outlined in the 12th 5-Year Plan and on the whole of raising our economic and social sphere to a new qualitative level is confirmed by the fact that there are already many hundreds and thousands of labor collectives in the country that have

been able under the new economic management conditions to considerably boost labor productivity and reach world standards of output quality. We have not just individual enterprises and associations, but sectors that are maintaining the set pace in terms of all indicators. There are oblasts and republics where a higher than average level for the country in the provision of foodstuffs and the satisfaction of the population's needs for goods and services has been achieved on the basis of better economic management. Following the example of front-rankers, utilizing their experience, eradicating free-loading, and showing personal initiative is the prime task for economic cadres and all labor collectives.

3. Restructuring presupposes the all-around development and maximum utilization of the intellectual and spiritual potential inherent in the development of science, education, and culture.

The party's economic and social strategy is founded on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and, above all, on the assimilation of the achievements of its present-day stage, which is associated with the development of advanced technology—microelectronics, robots, instrument making, information technology, biotechnology, the creation of materials with preprogrammed properties, and so forth.

Positive changes have emerged in the development of science and technology, exactingness regarding the technical standard of output has increased, and progressive new articles are being assimilated more quickly. The network of scientific and technical organizations has become more flexible and fundamentally new structural formations have appeared—intersectorial scientific and technical complexes, engineering centers, and temporary collectives to resolve specific tasks. More than 500 science and production associations have been set up in the country. Capital investment in strengthening the testing and experimental base of science has increased. The organic inclusion of scientific organizations in the system of economic accountability relationships, which has now begun, is also of considerable significance.

At the same time, there have not been any substantial changes in scientific and technical progress. As yet, effective mechanisms have not been found for engaging the interests of labor collectives in this important matter. The material base of science continues to lag behind. Many leaders have not shaken off the habit of living from day to day, relying entirely in these matters on superior bodies.

The restructuring of the economic mechanism is the principal way to influence scientific-technical progress. The economic mechanism must prompt the constant improvement of production and maintenance of output quality at modern world levels.

Life demands more resolute measures to improve the management of scientific and technical progress and overcome departmental barriers. One new organizational form is intersectorial associations, which have been removed from the direct supervision of the corresponding ministries. As a result of this, opportunities are also created for implementing an interconnected cycle: scientific research—equipment and technology—investment—production—sales—service. Labor collectives will be able to update equipment and technology more quickly, without delays and without departmental coordination.

The problems of scientific and technical progress must be viewed in the general context of social development. The absence of social appraisals of major projects can be very costly in ecological and human terms. The cost must be reduced to a minimum or eliminated altogether.

The new tasks facing society at the present stage considerably increase the role of science in the restructuring processes. Society has reached a point where a substantial breakthrough is needed in all areas of the natural, technical, and social sciences. The USSR Academy of Sciences is called upon to make an increasing contribution to this.

Today socialism cannot develop successfully without relying on scientific and technical progress. In turn, this progress, combined with socialism, is a powerful lever of the social renewal of society and its advancement.

The humanist principles of our policy are geared to ensuring the spiritual progress of society and the boosting of the people's education and culture. In the last 3 years, considerable attention has been paid to the development of education at its various stages and levels. Questions of restructuring the system of public education were examined at the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum. In many respects, our higher and secondary schools fall short of the demands of life and scientific, technical, and cultural progress. Vigorous efforts are needed by the whole of society to ensure qualitative changes in its development.

In the course of restructuring, increasingly favorable conditions are being created for the development of Soviet culture, people's intellectual and moral improvement, the uncovering of talent and gifts, and the fostering of a person's civic qualities. The intelligentsia is making a substantial contribution to resolving these tasks. The work of established and newly created associations and creative unions has been considerably revitalized. The question of the artist's responsibility for the destiny of the country has arisen with particular force.

4. The CPSU's course of restructuring and of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development has been linked right from the start with the democratization of Soviet society and the assertion of socialist people's self-management. It is impossible to overestimate the

changes which have occurred in this regard. Thanks to truthfulness, glasnost, and the development of criticism and self-criticism, the general tone of the country's political life has improved sharply, democratic processes are developing in the management of production, and an offensive has been launched against obsolete structures and stagnation phenomena. Even so, what has been done so far is just a prelude [podstup] to resolving the tremendously significant and complex task of the profound and comprehensive democratization of the party and society.

Objective analysis of what has been achieved in the economy, the social sphere, and culture over the last 3 years and interpretation of the problems which have arisen in the course of restructuring have led to the conclusion that the political system of Soviet society must be reformed. The purpose of the reform is to truly involve the broad masses of the working people in the management of all state and public affairs and to complete the shaping of the socialist legal state.

At the same time, it is a question of strengthening and developing the fundamental principles of the socialist statehood created by the October Revolution. These principles—above all, the power of the people, in whose vanguard the party of Communists marches—are an indispensable condition for our motherland's further development along the path of social progress. As a result of restructuring, the political system of Soviet society must be freed from everything associated with the consequences of the personality cult, with administrative-edict methods of management, with bureaucratism, with the working people's alienation from power, and with the retreat from Leninist norms of party and state life. It must become dynamic and capable of timely renewal in light of the changing conditions of internal and international life.

5. In light of restructuring, the role of the CPSU as the leading and organizing force in Soviet society appears in a new way.

The CPSU Central Committee proceeds from the Leninist concept of the party as the political vanguard of the working class and all working people. The party, basing itself on Marxist-Leninist teaching, is called upon to elaborate the theory and strategy of social development and domestic and foreign policy, to shape the ideology of socialist renewal, to carry out political and organizational work among the masses, and to train and place cadres.

This was how the party acted during V.I. Lenin's lifetime and under his leadership. After his death, however, a departure from Leninist principles began, the party's traditional freedom of debate was curtailed, and the principles of collegiality and internal party democracy were violated. And this flawed practice persisted to one extent or another during the years of stagnation. The lack of restrictions on holding elected office led to the disruption of the natural process of cadre renewal, and a

section of leading workers came to perceive their posts as posts for life, became accustomed to considering themselves infallible, abused power, and were inattentive toward ordinary party members and working people.

The situation which had taken shape had a serious effect on the activities of the CPSU Central Committee, the government, and local party organizations and on the activeness of Communists. Party organs increasingly began taking on the direct resolution of current tasks of economic and administrative management, supplanting the soviets and other state organs. This had an adverse effect on the exercise of the party's basic functions, led to the weakening of its political and ideological influence, and exacerbated many problems of social development.

The party has found within itself the strength to make a courageous and self-critical assessment of the situation which had been created. Having begun restructuring, it is transforming itself step-by-step and renewing internal party life. It is an urgent task to create political mechanisms and guarantees which will preclude the possibility of a future violation of the Leninist principles of the party leadership of society.

Taking account of the opinions expressed at party meetings, in labor collectives, and in the press, the CPSU Central Committee deems it expedient that the following proposals be examined at the conference:

To fully restore the Leninist conception of the principle of democratic centralism, according to which what must be ensured is freedom of debate at the stage when issues are being discussed and unity of action once a decision has been made by the majority.

To proceed in relations between the party and the state from the Leninist principles of clear demarcation of their functions. All party organizations must act within the framework of the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws. It is necessary to preclude the adoption by party committees of any resolutions containing direct instructions to state and economic organs and public organizations. The CPSU pursues its political course via Communists working in the organs of state power and in all spheres of society's life.

Proceeding from the CPSU's tasks as political vanguard and from the profound changes taking place in society, the activity of primary party organizations must be seriously restructured. While remaining the political nucleus of every collective, they must not supplant labor collectives and their organs in the performance of functions envisaged by the laws on the state enterprise and the cooperative system and other legislative acts. Acting primarily through Communists and working with people, party organizations must seek to ensure that every collective fully performs the functions assigned to it and exercises its democratic rights.

It is from this viewpoint that the role of party meetings, party committees, and every Communist in the implementation of party decisions must be reinterpreted. It is necessary to fully revive the atmosphere of openness, debate, criticism and self-criticism, party comradeship and discipline, collectivism, and personal responsibility. This is the direction in which processes in the life of party organizations are now developing. They must be supported and developed by all possible means.

Questions of the qualitative composition of party ranks and the performance by Communists of their vanguard role are being widely discussed within the party and society. In this connection, the opinion is being expressed that the practice of regulating the growth of party ranks by "quota" [raznaryadka] is contrary to the real requirements of the development of the party itself and of the whole of society.

The common opinion is that it is necessary to decisively raise the demands made on those joining the party so as to ensure that its ranks are joined by truly worthy people with lofty political, moral, and professional qualities, convinced fighters for the goals of the party program. The labor collective's opinion must be taken into account without fail when admitting people to the party.

To examine at the conference the question of the expediency of conducting a sociopolitical certification of Communists during the period before the next CPSU Congress as an effective means of the party's self-purification and strengthening. The discussion of Communists' work at open meetings of party organizations will serve to enhance their activeness and their personal contribution to the social life of their collectives and the cause of restructuring.

In light of the experience gained since the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum, it is necessary to make changes to the procedure for forming elected party organs. It is necessary for genuine competition, broad discussion of candidacies, and secret ballots to become the norm. Here the main emphasis must be placed on the ideological, moral, and professional qualities of workers, their political authority, and their active stance in the struggle for restructuring, rather than on the post they occupy. Communists have the right to nominate more candidates than there are vacancies in elections to all party committees.

Such a procedure for the nomination, discussion, and election of party committee members and secretaries could also be extended to the process of forming party organs—from party raykoms and gorkoms to union republic communist party central committees and the CPSU Central Committee.

To establish a standard term of service—5 years—for all party committees, starting with raykoms and gorkoms. Furthermore, the holding of elected office within the CPSU must be limited to two successive terms. Election

for a third successive term can take place only at Communists' initiative and requires a preliminary decision on allowing the candidacy in the election [resheniye o dopushcheniye k vyboram]. Such a decision must be passed by not less than three-fourths of party committee members in a secret ballot.

The CPSU Central Committee bears particular responsibility in establishing the party as the political vanguard. It must develop and strengthen in every possible way the principles of collegiality in its work so as to ensure that basic questions concerning the implementation of the party's political line are decided with the participation of all Central Committee members and on the basis of broad discussion. The conference will have to examine possible proposals for new forms of collegial work by Central Committee members in the period between plenums. The ultimate purpose of all this must be to enhance the role of the party Central Committee.

In order to ensure a constant influx of fresh forces, to provide for the possibility of partially renewing the Central Committee's composition in the period between congresses. Any decisions on this score must be made by a qualified majority in a secret ballot.

To make the necessary changes in the structure and composition of the party apparatus in light of the enhancement of the party's role as political vanguard and the separation of the functions of party committees and of state and economic organs. It is necessary to implement the principle of the apparatus' strict subordination and accountability to elected party organs, and a resolute struggle must be waged against bureaucratism and communist arrogance and against unjustified secrecy in party life.

The party's cadres policy needs serious renewal in the conditions of democratization. The formal nomenklatura approach toward the selection and placement of cadres has outlived its usefulness. The basic method of party committees' work must be to organize the training and retraining of cadres, to educate them, and to recommend Communists and nonparty people alike for leadership posts. The final decision on cadre questions must be determined by election results.

It would be expedient for the conference to examine the question of improving control and auditing work within the party. At present there is the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. A proposal is submitted to have just one organ in the future, which would be elected by the party congress and would monitor Communists' adherence to the demands of party discipline and the CPSU Statutes and the financial and economic activity of party organs.

The aim of all these proposals must be the consistent observance of democratic principles in internal party life and the boosting of the party's militancy and its ability to head the processes of Soviet society's revolutionary renewal and to set the tone for restructuring.

6. The main direction of the democratization of our society and state is to fully restore the role and powers of soviets of people's deputies as sovereign organs of popular representation.

V.I. Lenin saw the soviets, born out of the experience of revolution in Russia, as a political form according with the nature of socialism. Being simultaneously representative organs of power and mass organizations of the population, the soviets organically combine within themselves the principles of statehood and self-management. Possessing tremendous democratic potential, they have demonstrated their viability and have confirmed the correctness of Lenin's discovery.

At the same time, we can see serious shortcomings in the activity of the soviets and the working people's dissatisfaction with their work. As a result of certain distortions, the rights and powers of representative organs have been curtailed and unwarranted tutelage of them by party committees persists. In many cases, ministries and departments go over their heads in resolving questions of economic and social development. Ispolkoms and their apparatus often usurp the functions of the soviets, leaving deputies merely to sanction questions which have in fact been decided in advance. It is necessary to change this situation fundamentally, to restore the soviets' real governing [vlastnyy] powers, and to refer for their examination and solution all concrete questions of state, economic, and sociocultural life without exception.

The material and financial potential of local soviets should be substantially expanded. It is necessary to ensure that local budget revenues are formed on the basis of long-term norms, the intention being primarily to expand receipts to the budgets of grassroots soviets from enterprises and economic organizations located on their territory. The complete responsibility and autonomy of local organs of power in resolving questions of the development of territories must be established, with extensive use being made of economically accountable, contractual, and other types of mutual relations with enterprises and organizations, regardless of their subordination. It is necessary to persistently eradicate interference by superior organs of power and management in the solution of questions which fall within the competence of lower-level local soviets and also to eliminate the numerous cases of unnecessary coordination.

The correct organization of relations between local soviets and labor collective councils is acquiring special significance. Here it is necessary to proceed on the basis that the soviet of people's deputies is the coordinator of the development and fulfillment of plans for the social development of enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses

and the deepening of democratic principles of production management and the protector of the population's interests against what V.I. Lenin called excessive "departmental zeal."

The change in the functions of the soviets and the need for a more thorough and competent examination of questions requires that the duration of their sessions be extended. Provision must be made for releasing a percentage of deputies from their official or production duties for the full elected term or for a period for work in the soviets, standing commissions, and electoral okrugs.

The glasnost and openness of the activity of the soviets must be expanded as much as possible. Soviet sessions must be freely accessible to citizens and representatives of the mass media and the results of sessions' work must be systematically brought to the attention of voters and the population.

It is necessary to establish the real supremacy of soviets over executive organs. It must be laid down that workers of management organs accountable to the soviet cannot be deputies at the same time. This rule must be extended to people belonging to republic Councils of Ministers and, with rare exceptions, to members of the all-union government, as well as to judges, state arbitrators, and prosecutors. Management organ officials must be appointed by the soviets, as a rule, after appropriate conclusions have been reached by standing commissions.

Provision should be made for the creation of soviet presidiums within local soviets (except rural and settlement soviets); these presidiums would assume concern for the organization of the activity of deputies, coordinate the work of standing commissions and deputies' groups, and, in the period between sessions, monitor the work of ispolkoms. At the same time, it is expedient to focus the functions of ispolkoms on economic management and executive activity.

A uniform term of office for all soviets throughout the country— 5 years— should be established to ensure greater continuity and fruitfulness in the work of the deputies.

The transfer to the soviets of full power from the bottom to the top also presupposes a cardinal enhancement of the role of the country's supreme organ of power. Its structure and activity must take full account of the accumulated experience of the functioning of the Soviet political system, including the practice that existed under V.I. Lenin of congresses of soviets and the USSR Central Executive Committee. Various options and proposals are possible here. Some of them have already been put forward during the current debate: on increasing the duration of the work of sessions of the supreme organ of

power; on the clear separation of powers and on overcoming the lack of functional identity of the chambers; on electing some deputies directly from social organizations forming part of our society's political system, and so forth.

The introduction of a rule that no person may hold elected state office for more than two successive terms, namely 10 years, must be a serious guarantee against any violation of the Leninist principles of state life. Election for a third successive term may be at the deputies' initiative and would require a preliminary decision to allow the candidacy. This decision would have to be made by no less than three-fourths of the votes of soviet deputies in a secret ballot.

The USSR Constitution's prescription that the same citizen may not simultaneously be a deputy of more than two soviets must be strictly complied with.

In view of the need to decisively enhance the role played by soviets, the electoral system should be reformed. The aim of the reform will be to guarantee the free nomination of candidates for deputy and the extensive, all-around discussion of nominations at meetings of working people and in the mass media.

Elections must be the natural result of the expression of the will of the voters, who give preference to principled, knowledgeable, energetic people capable of worthily representing working people in organs of Soviet power and expressing the entire spectrum of their social, national, and professional interests.

Under the new conditions, a greater role will be played by the Soviet Government, as the supreme executive and administrative organ of state power, in implementing domestic and foreign policy, managing the country, and drawing up and implementing plans and long-term programs of economic, social, and cultural development.

The conference must give due attention to restructuring the system of state management in light of the processes of democratization and radical economic reform currently taking place in society. The main content of the activity of state bodies must be to create the economic and organizational-legal conditions for efficient work by all organizations and institutions. The structure and size of the apparatus must be brought into line with these functions by eliminating superfluous links. Soviets, people's control, and the public must strictly monitor the activity of management organs in order to eradicate high-handed methods of pressure, bureaucracy, and red tape. Broad glasnost and openness in the work of the management apparatus are intended to serve these aims.

In the conditions of restructuring and the democratization of Soviet society, it is necessary to fully embody Lenin's ideas on the organization of control, make control effective, and ensure that it is an instrument of direct

participation by workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, and representatives of all strata of our society in the solution of state and social tasks.

In this context, it seems expedient to create a single system of social and state control subordinated to the elected organs of power. Relying on its groups within labor collectives and territorial units, such an organization could make a great contribution to implementing the tasks currently facing our people.

7. Within the framework of the restructuring of the political system, it is necessary to examine and adopt overdue measures to further develop the Soviet federation. The outstanding results of the implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy over the past 70 years since October are generally known. Tremendous work of historic importance has been done to overcome inter-nation strife, to assert the right of nations to self-determination, to revive and develop national cultures, and to accelerate the progress of formerly backward outlying national districts. An integrated national economic complex—the material foundation of the unity of the Soviet peoples—has been formed and is functioning successfully.

At the same time, life shows that constant attention must be paid to questions of inter-nation relations and the development of each nation and ethnic group. The basis for solving these questions is provided by a political course which combines the satisfaction of the interests of all nations with their rapprochement and mutual assistance and by an internationalist ideology which is incompatible with nationalism and chauvinism.

The economic, cultural, and cadre potential of all Soviet republics and autonomous entities has now increased immeasurably and a natural growth of national self-awareness is taking place. The key to the further development of nations and, simultaneously, to the strengthening of friendship between them and to the cohesion of Soviet society lies in the organizational combination of the autonomy of union and autonomous republics and other national formations with their responsibility for union-wide state interests. In this lies our strength and the guarantee of prosperity for the country in general and each and every nation and nationality in particular.

Decentralization and the maximum devolution to local level of many management functions also apply fully to all forms of our national statehood and autonomy. Strict implementation of the provisions of the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws which guarantee the rights of union and autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts and okrugs is required here.

In practical terms, it is necessary to activate those institutions of the political system through which national interests are to be revealed and coordinated.

It is necessary to ensure that nations and ethnic groups which do not have their own state and territorial formations have greater opportunities for expressing and satisfying their needs.

The CPSU Central Committee believes that the problems which arise in inter-nation relations must be resolved on a truly democratic basis in the course of restructuring. Communists of all nationalities have always been the cementing force and soul of the great socialist union of our country's peoples. They are called upon to continue to discharge this lofty and responsible mission in the future.

8. The process of the consistent democratization of Soviet society must complete the formation of the socialist legal state as the form of organization and functioning of political power which fully accords with socialism and socialist democracy. Its fundamental trait is the supremacy and triumph of law expressing the will of the people. State and party organs, social organizations, labor collectives, all people in official positions, and all citizens must act on a strictly legal basis.

In adding the concept of "legal" to the characterization of our state of the whole people, it should once again be emphasized that it is not only the citizens who bear responsibility before the state, but also the state that bears responsibility before the citizens. It is obliged to show constant concern for strengthening the guarantees of Soviet people's rights and freedoms. This concerns the further broadening and enrichment of the social rights (to work, rest, education, health care, social security, and so forth) which the Land of the Soviets heralded to the world. It concerns the creation of material and legal conditions for realizing constitutional freedoms (freedom of speech, press, and assembly, freedom to hold rallies, street processions, and demonstrations, freedom of conscience, and others). It also concerns the strengthening of guarantees of the citizen's personal rights (inviolability of the person and the home, confidentiality of correspondence and telephone conversations, and others).

It is necessary to advance further in all these areas, revealing the potential enshrined in the nature of the socialist society and resolutely eradicating the distortions and deformations resulting from authoritarian management methods alien to the socialist system and from the departure from Leninist principles of state life.

To this end, a major legal reform must be implemented with a view to radically improving the work of all organs which are obliged to strengthen legality and defend the democratic principles of state life and the rights and freedoms of citizens. The priority measures of the legal reform include the radical enhancement of the role of justice and strict observance of the democratic principles of the legal process, the adversarial competition and

equality of the parties, glasnost, and the presumption of innocence. The proposals to increase the number of people's assessors when a court tries the most important cases merit attention.

The work of the prosecutor's office must be transferred to the new regime—in accordance with Lenin's conception, it is designed to ensure effective supervision over the uniform application of the laws and firmly stand guard over the Soviet citizen's rights and interests and over compliance with state and social discipline. It is necessary to ensure that judges, prosecutors, and investigators are protected from any pressure or interference in their activity. They must be subject to the law and to the law alone.

The resolute enhancement of the militia's responsibility for combating crime and violations of public order, the broadening of the potential of state arbitration, and the increased activeness of the legal profession must serve to strengthen legality. The legal service in the national economy and the organization of universal legal education and training of the population require considerable development.

Great work must also be done to improve the codification of Soviet legislation. It is necessary, on one hand, to repeal obsolete laws and many departmental instructions which run counter to the demands of the reform of the economic and political system and have become part of the braking mechanism. On the other hand, a package of new laws must be created which accord with the needs of society and with the interests of the working people and their organizations and collectives. When renewing legislation, it is necessary to abide strictly by the principle that everything is permitted that is not prohibited by law.

9. The political system of socialism cannot function fully without relying on an extensive network of public organizations through which the interests of various social, professional, and age groups of the country's population are expressed and realized.

Trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperatives, other public organizations, scientific associations, and creative unions are called upon to play an active part in all restructuring processes and to restructure themselves, reinterpreting their positions and role, and to reveal more fully their potential in the new conditions.

During restructuring, new associations have emerged, groups of women and veterans, the Soviet Culture Foundation and Children's Foundation, and numerous self-motivated public bodies. They are the product of working people's patriotic feelings and their desire to make a direct contribution to the revolutionary transformation of society, to expand opportunities for gaining access to the valuable products of Soviet and world culture, and to help improve our people's life and protect nature and historical monuments.

At the same time, one cannot help seeing that formalism and bureaucracy have by no means been eradicated in the activity of public organizations. There are also attempts to limit their independence and order them around. To the detriment of the development of the principles of self-motivated activity, public organizations are being statized and the line of inflating the size of their staff apparatus continues.

Self-motivated, creative participation by working people themselves and the development of initiative and self-management—this is the main way to improve public organizations. As well as developing democracy inside public organizations, measures to increase their role in the political process must be thought out. They must make real use of the right of legislative initiative, have representatives in organs of power, and be partners of the state in the implementation of social programs and in the solution of problems of housing construction and public health, labor, social security, education, leisure, provision of amenities, trade, everyday life, and so on.

There is a need in the immediate future to define the legal basis of the activity of public organizations, voluntary societies, and self-motivated associations. There is just one political criterion here—any public activity that is carried out within the framework of the Constitution and does not contradict the interests of the development of the Soviet socialist society deserves recognition.

10. Restructuring in the USSR is a factor of international significance. While possessing an inner force of positive influence on the world, it needed a foreign policy that would properly express its humanist nature and demanded the democratization of our international links and a different position for the country in the worldwide division of labor.

A critical analysis of the past has shown that dogmatism and the subjectivist approach have also left a mark on our foreign policy. It was allowed to lag behind the fundamental changes in the world and new opportunities for reducing tension and for greater mutual understanding between peoples were not fully realized. In seeking strategic military parity, we did not always exploit opportunities in the past for safeguarding state security by political means and, as a result, allowed ourselves to be drawn into the arms race, which was bound to affect the country's socioeconomic development and its international status.

New thinking, consistently scientific and free from historically outdated stereotypes, was established as the foundation of foreign policy. It reflects the realities of the contemporary world—multifaceted and contradictory, with global threats to the very existence of the human race and, at the same time, with enormous potential for coexistence, cooperation, and the political solution of acute problems.

The new political thinking has made it possible to put forward a number of major ideas that have gripped the imagination of a troubled world. The chief ones are: a program for the stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, a system of all-embracing security, freedom of choice, balance of interests, a "common European home," restructuring of relations in the Asia-Pacific region, defense sufficiency and a doctrine of nonaggression, international economic security, strengthening of national and regional security by lowering the level of armaments, willingness to mutually terminate the presence of foreign forces and bases on foreign territories, confidence-building measures, and the idea of directly involving the authority of science in world politics.

This is our foreign policy credo. We have declared it without trying to impose any conditions or dogmas on anyone, but invite everyone to pool their ideas and conduct a joint quest, taking into account national and general human interests.

In the disarmament sphere we have proposed far-reaching solutions and have displayed a willingness for profound compromises. This has made it possible to achieve such major breakthroughs in world politics as Geneva and, in particular, Reykjavik, which imparted real momentum to the negotiating process and had a substantial influence on the entire international climate.

The entire style of our foreign policy activity has radically changed. Dialogue has become a distinctive feature of it. The unprecedented abundance of contacts at Soviet leadership level with the outside world—from heads of state to ordinary citizens—has essentially meant a "rediscovery" of the Soviet Union. For us it means feedback, the chance to know and understand the world better and make our policy accordingly, and to promote the formation of modern, civilized international relations.

In the priority area of relations with the socialist countries, we, along with our friends, have begun in a comradely manner to clean away the accretions of formalism and ostentation and have actually linked the principles of equality, independence, and noninterference with objective reality—the diversity of national forms of socialist society. Our internationalist links are built on the basis of mutual benefit, a balance of interests, and common responsibility for the fate and prestige of socialism and for enhancing its role in world development.

During the years of restructuring, relations have improved or have been established for the first time with a large number of states—neighboring and very distant. And relations have not been spoiled with anyone.

Mutual relations have been placed on a new footing with such influential forces in the world process as communist, social democratic, and other political parties, the Nonaligned Movement, and intellectual circles personifying the authority of science and culture.

Events have demonstrated that the new political thinking has correctly reflected the pressing needs and imperatives of the modern world. It has given hope, it has paved the way for a radical qualitative change in human consciousness, and it is increasing the real weight of world public opinion.

The incorporation of new thinking in international politics has been marked by major practical results—the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was concluded and the withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan began on the basis of the Geneva agreements.

The definite improvement of Soviet-American relations, as symbolized by the summit meetings, makes it possible to hope for a fundamental turn toward the elimination of the nuclear threat. The multilateral negotiating process which we have been actively stimulating is bringing a ban on chemical weapons closer and creating an opportunity for easing the dangerous confrontation between the two most powerful military alliances—NATO and the Warsaw Pact Organization—and cutting conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe.

We are not disregarding the militarist danger inherent in imperialism. This determines Soviet defense building, whose effectiveness must henceforth be ensured by primarily qualitative parameters with regard to both hardware and personnel. The influence of the realities of the modern world and the possible modifications of a number of objective factors that have given rise to war make it possible to think that the safeguarding of the security of states will increasingly move out of the sphere of the correlation of military potentials into the sphere of politics, the primacy of law, and common human morality in the fulfillment of international commitments.

The radical economic reform and the new approach to foreign economic ties have brought about the beginnings of the country's more effective inclusion in the world economy.

On the basis of the first 3 years of restructuring, the main question which concerns our people and all the peoples most of all—has it been possible to diminish the threat of war?—can undoubtedly be answered in the affirmative. The direct threat of a war involving the major powers

has diminished. The international position of the Soviet Union has notably improved, and not through a building up of strength but by increasing trust in our country. The situation in the world has become more stable and predictable. The prospect of curbing the arms race with all its consequences—including the reduction of the burden of military spending—has become more realistic.

Possibilities are opening up for opposing the threat to peace on a broader social and political basis than before and creating the grounds for resolving mankind's global problems through the joint efforts of the world community. The CPSU will act vigorously and persistently for the sake of these goals.

The path toward a qualitatively new state of Soviet society and a new face of socialism lies through revolutionary restructuring, the democratization of life in the ideological, political, economic, and social spheres, and the transformation of the political system.

It is necessary to revive in all their profound significance the principles of scientific socialism, in which man—in deed rather than words—is the major factor of material and spiritual development and its goal.

The party will build its policy by clearly basing itself on the humane principles and goals of socialism and seek to achieve the implementation of its policy by humane and democratic means.

Real life and the dialectics of social development will, of course, contribute much that is new to present-day ideas about the paths of socialist transformations and enable us to refine and enrich them. On a number of questions it will be necessary to make amendments to the USSR Constitution and legislation and to make certain decisions at party congress level.

In submitting these considerations for discussion, the CPSU Central Committee counts on the active participation of Communists and all working people in the discussion. This will make it possible for the 19th All-Union Party Conference to make well-thought-out decisions whose implementation will accelerate our resolute progress and make revolutionary restructuring irreversible.

Historian Explores Possibility of Multiparty System

18000348a Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 10, 5-11 Mar 88 p 8

[Question from reader B. Bashkov, Nikolayev, answered by Yu. Malov, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] [Question] In connection with the preparations for the 19th Party Conference these questions are frequently asked: Why do we have a one-party system of government in our country, and how did this form of political leadership come about?

[Answer] We need to note first of all that establishment of a particular concrete form of political leadership is determined by the particular features of historical development and by the relationship among political forces in a given country.

In our country, as is well-known, the one-party system of government did not take shape all at once, but went through a number of stages before it took on the form we know today. We might mention in this connection that in preparing for the 2nd All-Russian Congress of Soviets, in the interests of broadening the political base of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Bolsheviks deemed it desirable that all leftwing forces supporting the platform of the power of the Soviets should be part of the future government. (See AIF, No 5, 1988)

Does this mean that the one-party aspect is a kind of inevitable pattern in the building of the new society, as our ideological opponents like to argue? It does not mean that at all. For instance, as the particular form of political leadership took shape in some countries, there was a reduction in the number of nonproletarian parties (for example, Poland and Bulgaria), in others they completely disappeared (USSR and Romania), while in still others, on the contrary, their number increased, as, say, in the GDR, where after the revolution the two that already existed —the Liberal Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Alliance —were joined by the Peasant Democratic Party and the National Democratic Party. That is, there is no rigid "law or pattern" here at all, nor can there be.

Would it be possible to have more than one party in our country today? In principle, as we have seen, socialism does not reject that possibility. After all, the question is how necessary and warranted it is to have more than one party from the standpoint of domestic sociopolitical conditions. There are objective conditions for the multiparty aspect of the bourgeois political system, for example. They consist of the existence of social classes which are opposed in their political objectives and their interests. That kind of multiparty aspect needs to be distinguished, it is true, from the multiparty aspect that serves as a method of forming a government of the social forces that are dominant in capitalism, whose purpose is to create the appearance of "competition" of political

parties which are of the same type from the class standpoint and which safeguard the bourgeoisie against workers' assaults on its economic and political privileges.

It is a different matter under socialism, which is free of political antagonisms and class hostility. In this case there are no classes or social groups which would have an interest in carrying out some kind of alternative policy fundamentally different from that being conducted by the Communist Party.

However, this view has nothing in common with the versions widespread in the West about ignoring the existence and the specific interests of certain social groups.

Today, in the context of democratization of every aspect of the life of society and the growing political and production activity of the workers, it is especially important not simply to note, but also to authentically take into account in political practice that aside from the basic classes in Soviet society there also exist separate strata and groups within them. These groups, which are defined in terms of production, geography, nationality or other criteria, represent specific interests in socialist society, interests which sometimes may not coincide, and at times may even come into contradiction with one another.

We might cite as an example the relations that arise between those who are self-employed and consumers or between opponents and proponents of the command-administrative methods of leadership. But these relative contradictions are not antagonistic in nature, and in the end they do not extend beyond the limits of the general and fundamental class objectives, and consequently, they do not require an organizational form for their expression such as creation of an independent political party.

In Soviet society there are enough other opportunities for expression and advocacy of specific interests through the various channels of direct and representative democracy. Today the thing is to make full use of those channels.

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PRAVDA Reviews History of Party Conferences, Party Democracy

18000319a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Apr 88 p 3

[Interviews with Vasilii Yakovlevich Bondar, doctor of historical sciences and head of the Party Construction Department under the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and Mikhail Ivanovich Malakhov, a delegate to the 18th Party Conference; interviews conducted by N. Demidov and A. Petrushov: "Pages of History: Party Conferences"]

[Text] The June 1987 resolution by a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the convocation of the 19th All-Union Party Conference has aroused

tremendous interest among the Soviet people. They know that it will open on 28 June. The closer this date approaches, the more inquiring letters there are in the mail received by our editorial offices. What is the difference between congresses and party conferences? Is there a difference in their status and powers? Why have general party conferences not been held for such a long time?

Pondering the role that should be played in the life of our country by the upcoming All-Union Party Conference, readers have asked us to tell about the historical origin and relationship of these two forms, the congress and the general party conference, and to discuss their fundamental importance in the development of party strategy and tactics.

Of course, the following article cannot fulfill every request, for there have been 18 general party conferences, including seven prior to the October Revolution and 11 in the post-revolutionary period. Each of them was a landmark in the history of the party, and each considered a wide range of problems pertaining to domestic and foreign policy.

The purpose of this article is not to present an outline of events at all the conferences (several issues of this newspaper would not suffice for that), but rather to attempt through them to shed light on a single issue which has been the subject of collective discussion at virtually every conference: the nature of party democracy, its development, and deviations from it.

Participating in discussion of this topic will be V. Ya. Bondar, doctor of historical sciences and head of the Party Construction Department of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and M. I. Malakhov, a delegate to the 18th Party Conference.

"The Party Is Set Up Democratically"

[Question] Vasilii Yakovlevich, the history of our party, as was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, is not merely an echo of the glorious past. It can teach us a great deal, and without it there is much in the complex modern world which we could not understand.

As is well known, a CPSU congress is the supreme, most authoritative party organ. It sets the party's general course and defines basic orientations in policy, strategy and tactics. A congress hears and ratifies accounts by the Central Committee, the Central Auditing Commission and other administrative organs, and reviews, amends and ratifies the Party Program and the Party Charter. It also resolves highly important issues concerning domestic and foreign policy and communist construction. In short, its powers and functions are broad and important. But what role is played by party conferences? What is their place in the functioning of the party?

[Bondar] The Institute of Marxism-Leninism also receives quite a few questions like these in its mail. PRAVDA's readers and the people who write to us are aware that no general party conference has been convened in 47 years. Why is that the case? First and foremost it should be borne in mind that the charters approved by the 19th and 22nd party congresses did not make any provision for the conducting of such conferences. The 23rd CPSU Congress deemed it necessary to amend the Charter to include the provision that in the period between party congresses the Central Committee could convene an All-Union Party Conference to discuss pressing issues of party policy as needed. However, even since that time no conferences have been held. Why?

The January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum acknowledged that at the end of the 1970's and beginning of the 1980's party organs did not devote adequate attention to strict compliance with Leninist principles and standards of party life. There were violations of the principle of collective leadership of work, and the role of elected organs was reduced. For a number of years there were quite a few problems of concern to the party and the people which were left off the agendas of party plenums. On more than one occasion Central Committee Plenums were conducted in a brief, formalized manner. Many members of the Central Committee did not get an opportunity to participate in debate or even make suggestions during their entire tenure in that body. Naturally all this also had an influence with regard to the question of whether to hold party conferences.

In short, such conferences are a form of collective discussion of urgent problems of party policy and of pressing problems of party work between congresses. Prior to the October Revolution the basis for holding them was a resolution passed by the 3rd Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party. The first conference was held at the height of the December Armed Uprising of 1905 and discussed party tactics during the first Russian Revolution. It was held in Tammerfors (Finland), and was chaired by Lenin. "That was the very peak of the revolution," recalled N. K. Krupskaya, "and each comrade was gripped by tremendous enthusiasm; everyone was prepared for a fight. During the breaks they learned how to shoot."

Some general party conferences were held at decisive moments in the revolutionary struggle and made decisions just like congresses did, elected the Central Committee or made changes in its membership. One such conference was the 6th (Prague) All-Russian Conference (1912), which was the culmination of the Bolsheviks' long struggle against hostile tendencies within the workers' movement; that conference strengthened and unified the party. V. I. Lenin wrote to A. M. Gorkiy concerning its results: "Finally we succeeded — in spite of scum intent on liquidation — in bringing about a renaissance of the party and its Central Committee. I hope that you will take the same delight in this as we do."

The 7th (April) All-Russian Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Bolshevik), held in Petrograd in 1917 after the victory of the February Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution, which overthrew the tsar, was also equivalent to a congress. The party had come out of the underground and for the first time could legally hold its most important forum in Russia. Lenin's famed April Theses served as the basis for that conference. The conference was conducted under the direct leadership of Vladimir Ilich. He was elected honorary chairman of the conference, addressed it 30 times, and wrote almost all its resolutions. The April Conference set the party's general course toward victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, and a Central Committee with Lenin at its head was elected by secret ballot.

[Question] Vasily Yakovlevich, I would like to return to the subject of the Tammerfors Conference. It was the one which opened up a new page in the history of the party, and therein lies its timeless historical significance. What can you add to what you have already said about it?

[Bondar] That conference was the first to officially proclaim democratic centralism to be the party's organizational principle. Allow me to read from a resolution entitled "Reorganization of the Party": "Recognizing the principle of democratic centralism to be indisputable, this conference deems it necessary to conduct a broad electoral undertaking, with the elected centers being accorded full authority in the areas of ideological and practical leadership and also subject to removal, the broadest possible glasnost and strict accountability concerning their activities."

Even now there are both abroad and even here in our own country those who claim that democratic centralism was allegedly imposed by the Leninist majority in the party for the purpose of suppressing "dissidents." But the facts say otherwise. And that should be remembered.

According to Lenin, democratic centralism involves electability of all party administrative organs from the highest to the lowest levels, periodic accounting by party organs before their own party organizations and before higher organs, strict party discipline and submission to the majority by the minority, and the absolutely binding nature for lower-level organs of all decisions made by higher-level organs. That is to say, the principle of democratic centralism does not preclude but rather assumes freedom to criticize and an opportunity to express and defend one's opinion; however, after discussion is concluded and a decision has been made all communists have an obligation to carry out that decision. Therein lies the party's strength, and that is precisely what displeases some people.

[Question] As V. I. Lenin liked to say, our "party is set up democratically." However, as is clear from that very resolution by the first conference, some deviations from, for instance, the principle of electability have been permitted: co-option (direct acceptance) onto party committees.

[Bondar] Lenin regarded this as permissible only in the case of unsurmountable obstacles and in exceptional instances for which special provision was made. One should not forget that during the pre-October period the Bolsheviks' struggle took place under conditions of severest police repression, surveillance and persecution. And in the case of the arrest of Central Committee members, for example, the Prague Conference granted the Central Committee the right to co-opt new members into itself by a simple majority vote. But this was an exception to the rules. Generally the Central Committee always presented its accounts and was elected at congresses. And from the very foundation of the Bolshevik party these elections were conducted using a secret ballot. Lenin resolutely combatted efforts to convert elections into an empty formality. In his opinion, the only one person who is worthy of the title of communist and party leader is "...someone who carefully studies, ponders and independently resolves the issues and future of his party."

[Question] This is a thought that comes from V. I. Lenin: democratic centralism assumes integral unity of two inseparable aspects — centralism and democracy, which are dialectically interrelated and are to be applied in accordance with the historical situation and are undergoing a constant process of development, enrichment and improvement.

[Bondar] Allow me to cite two conferences to illustrate that: the 8th and the 9th, which were held in December 1919 and September 1920, respectively. At a time when the country was surrounded by enemies and had been transformed into an armed camp the 8th All-Russian Conference of the Russian CP (Bolshevik), which followed the 8th Party Congress, particularly emphasized the role and significance of the strictest centralism and the strictest discipline within the party. This even left its mark on the new Party Charter adopted by the conference. After the conclusion of the Civil War the issue of the development of intraparty democracy was on the agenda once again. The following lines are from a resolution of the 9th Party Conference entitled "On The Next Tasks of Party Construction": "Differentiating among party members only on the basis of their conscientiousness, devotion, endurance, political maturity, revolutionary experience and readiness for self-sacrifice, the party opposes any and all attempts to draw distinctions between party members on the basis of any other characteristics, e.g. status as members of the upper or lower class, intelligentsia or working class, on the basis of ethnic distinctions, etc."

In order to combat all types of abuses and to strengthen party control, the conference acknowledged the need to establish a Central Control Commission, elected by the party congress, and party commissions attached to provincial committees. The reregistration of party members was an important event in the functioning of the party. For the first time in the history of the party those who had undergone reregistration received a uniform party

card. A resolution also outlined practical measures to combat bureaucratism in soviet and economic institutions and to intensify work with regard to the upbringing of young party members. The conference recommended that general meetings of party members be convened as often as possible, and that responsible workers be required to do party work among the masses on a regular basis.

"Unity of Action, Freedom of Discussion"

[Question] Vasilii Yakovlevich, from the vantage point of the present day it is easy to weigh the forms of methods of party work, the errors and distortions, the level of democracy at various periods in our history. One thing is clear: that level has always depended upon prevailing circumstances. Our readers have asked for a more detailed account of the last party conference attended by Lenin.

[Bondar] 1921. The country was making the transition from war to peace. The situation was difficult. Due to a shortage of fuel and raw materials the majority of enterprises were shut down. Workers were fleeing to the countryside to save themselves from hunger. Peasant dissatisfaction with the food distribution system was growing. There was a petit bourgeois wave sweeping over the country. Yet nevertheless the 10th Congress of the Russian CP (Bolshevik) adopted a firm course toward development of intraparty democracy which would guarantee "all party members, even the most backward, active participation in party affairs, in discussion of all matters submitted for the party's attention and in the resolution of those matters, as well as active participation in party construction." Let us note that the Russian CP (Bolshevik) itself was far from unified; various factions and opposition forces were still active. The very heated discussions and the party purge which followed the congress attest to the crisis situation existing in those years. And yet democracy continued to exist, helping light the way through complex labyrinths of unforeseen problems.

The 10th Conference of the Russian CP (Bolshevik) was convened two months after that congress. This early convocation date of the "not completely regularly scheduled" conference, as Lenin called it in his opening address, was dictated by the need for additional study of the principal issue of that period: the food tax.

From V. I. Lenin's Report on the Food Tax

"For me personally the submission of this matter for discussion at this party conference was unexpected in the sense that I personally have no materials regarding the need to bring up this matter; however, very many comrades who have visited local areas, Comrade Osinskiy in particular, have reported to the Central Committee following their trips to a number of provinces that — and this has been confirmed by several other comrades — at the local level the policy set with regard to a food

tax remains to a tremendous extent unclarified and at times often completely uncomprehended. And in view of the exceptional importance of this policy additional discussion at this party conference would seem so essential that the decision was made to convene the conference ahead of schedule."

[Bondar] The documents from that conference, which played a major role in the life of the party are well known. It is more important that we study its lessons and catch the spirit of conviction and the essence of party influence. Then not only will succession and the traditions which are at the foundation of the party itself be defined, but we will also find much in common with those problems which concerned Bolsheviks in the 1920's and which concern us, the communists of the end of the 1980's. Then as now our country's economy was at a major turning point. Of course, it is difficult to equate these stages, just as, incidentally, it is difficult to equate the circumstances which created them, yet nonetheless we do make the comparison as we look back at those distant events.

From V. I. Lenin's Concluding Remarks

"Here the Central Committee has been reproached for not providing local experience. Yet we do not have it, we are steering a course exclusively through decrees. The majority of us are caught up in this unpleasant job, and therefore we cannot gain local experience. You must bring it to us."

"...Decrees you may read, and it would not be worthwhile to convene here today in order to discuss decrees; but it is worthwhile to convene in order to discuss how 3,000 poods of wheat were obtained in the Donbass and whether our comrades in Volynya or Tambov could not do even better."

[Bondar] Vladimir Ilich listened attentively to the speakers. To him it was important both to defend the party line and to strengthen the unity of the party through its attitude toward the peasantry.

What was required for successful implementation of the new policy were changes in the content and style of work by party and soviet organizations. Congresses, conferences and meetings, said Lenin, should work to generalize of practical experience. Particular attention was devoted to economic construction tasks. When studying the events of those years one realizes once again that unfortunately traditions exist not only in creative work. Why is it that innovations are still having a hard time taking root, are drowning in a whirlpool of paperwork? What is hindering resolution of clear, urgent tasks which have been approved by the people and by the party? Bureaucratism.

From V. I. Lenin's Concluding Remarks

"Formerly, when there was an army, comrades complained that everything was being done through military power. Now that there is no army and no war one must make inquiries of the center; one comrade said that now they have the 'Yuzhbum' and that they are struggling against this 'Yuzhbum', yet when I asked to which office he had directed his complaint against the 'Yuzhbum', he replied that he did not know, yet that is very important."

"He was unable to name the office to which he had sent his complaint concerning the 'Yuzhbum'. I do not know what this 'Yuzhbum' is; probably it is an office which suffers from the same bureaucratic distortion as all our other soviet offices... Are you opposed to this comrades, are you fighting it? You think that you can subjugate this 'Yuzhbum' and the like with your bare hands. When we were at war with Denikin we did not approach him with our bare hands, but instead with a well armed and well organized army. And here sit supreme bureaucrats who now see the interests of their class in annoying us, who think that they are saving culture and preparing the Bolsheviks for a fall, who know the business of officialdom 100 times better than we do. For where would we have learned such business? We must fight them with every means at our disposal..."

[Bondar] Again and again we leaf through the yellowed pages of the archival documents. In them collective reason fights and lives, democratic centralism takes action.

From a Report by V. P. Milyutin, Deputy Chairman of the All-Russian Economic Council

"The second matter pertains to the bread tax. It is unclear whether certain groups of peasants should be exempted from the tax or not. Here on the commission I was the only one who defended the principle that they should not be exempted, but instead at least a minimal tax levied on them. But a majority of the commission took the other position and decreed that those who own less than one desyatina of cultivated land are exempt from the tax. As a result what we have are two major measures relative to the bread tax that were issued in the form of decrees."

One can gauge the heat of passions from the surviving texts of speeches delivered by delegates to that conference. The work of clarification and persuasion proceeded with difficulty. But, as the saying goes, truth was born of those stormy debates.

From V. I. Lenin's Concluding Remarks

"In conclusion I would like to touch on those conclusions which, it seems to me, were quite rightly outlined by Comrade Osinskiy, and which are the general outcome of our work. Osinskiy cited three conclusions. The first conclusion: 'Seriously and for the long term.' I think

that he is completely correct. 'Seriously and for the long term' — we truly need to have our noses rubbed in this and to mark it well, for through force of tattletale habit rumors are being spread that 'politics' are being made here, i.e. political intrigues; the rumor is that everything is being done with no thought for tomorrow. That is untrue."

[Bondar] Vladimir Ilich spoke seven times in defense of the draft resolution on the NEP. Seven times... And Lenin's resolution, despite all the dissenting opinions, was unanimously adopted by the conference delegates.

The deeper one penetrates into the atmosphere of those years, the more clearly one realizes that no matter how difficult things were the party never lost the historical initiative; through its political will and its courage renewal of social practice has been carried out at critical junctures in our history. Today as well the party has taken upon itself the initiative in the search for new approaches to finding solutions to urgent problems. Events force us to return to one of Lenin's most brilliant discoveries: the doctrine of socialist cooperatives. As you are aware, cooperatives first flourished in our country in the 1920's. It was precisely the cooperative movement which to a great extent helped prevent hunger and devastation after the Civil War and aided in instilling a sense of proprietorship over production and the entire country in working people. Unfortunately, afterwards, with the growth of command methods of administration and restriction of democratic principles, the very idea of the cooperative was scorned, its role reduced and its diversity of forms lost.

[Question] Vasilii Yakovlevich, as we have already said, the 10th Conference was the last attended by V. I. Lenin. He was absent from the others held during his lifetime on account of illness. These were the 11th (December 1921), the 12th (August 1922) and the 13th (January 1924). Did Lenin's absence have an effect on the functioning of those conferences and on the decisions made by them?

[Bondar] These conferences, as well as the 12th Congress of the Russian CP(B) and a number of other party forums which were held in the initial years following Lenin's death, were conducted in the Leninist spirit and on the basis of Leninist traditions. The party continued to seek forms for developing intraparty democracy, strengthening and expanding contacts with the masses and intensifying ideological and political educational work. At the 12th Party Conference it was once again pointed out that democratic centralism was the organizational principle of the Russian CP(B) from the lowest to the highest level.

The 13th Conference also considered matters pertaining to improvement of party work. The resolution entitled "On Party Construction" noted the danger of the new NEP incarnation of some party workers. The focus of attention at the conference was on a discussion which

had once again been forced on the party by the Trotskyites. The conference resolution summed up this discussion: "In the current opposition we face not only an attempt to revise Bolshevism, not only an outright deviation from Leninism, but also a clearly expressed petit bourgeois tendency." Reading the stenographic records of the penultimate conferences — the 15th, 16th and 17th — we can see the dramatic nature of the party's struggle to develop correct strategy and tactics for the building of socialism.

"Is in Direct Contradiction to Those Traditions"

[Question] The 1930's were a combination of enthusiasm and spiritual uplift on the part of the people building a new society and, as we now know, tragic cases of repression and a long period of predominance of strict centralism over democracy, centralism which gave rise to administrative-command methods of leadership. How was this reflected in the work of party conferences?

[Bondar] The "great breakthrough," as the results of the 1st Five-Year Plan were called in those days, was achieved to a large extent through the use of "storming" methods, which took the place of economic methods of managing the economy. However, the need for economic methods had objectively increased. Constant attempts were made to combine enthusiasm and innovation with personal self-interest and economic reckoning, but the sphere in which administrative-command methods were being applied expanded even faster. And the results of this quickly became evident. The flaws of reliance on extensive development of production began to show. Enterprises were unwilling to introduce progressive technology into production, the percentage of defective goods was high, and the shortage of skilled cadres became acute.

In short, by the time the threat of war had really intensified the party had become more and more aware of the poor condition of our country's economy, particularly in the areas of heavy industry and transportation. A discussion concerning one-man command and the rights of directors which began in PRAVDA in September 1940 following a letter from four directors of major Leningrad enterprises attests to this. The majority of those participating in the discussion supported the authors of the letter in their criticism of the existing system of industrial management, which "did not help the administrator of an enterprise, but, on the contrary, served to complicate his practical work." In the course of this discussion a divergence was discovered between the views of enterprise administrators and those of the responsible workers of people's commissariats; a powerful barrier of resistance was already in place on the road to fundamental change.

These were the circumstances under which the final, 18th Conference of the All-Union CP(B) met in February 1941. At first glance it seemed to be dealing with tactical matters, i.e. ways to improve the functioning of

industry and transportation in view of the intensifying threat of war. In actuality it made one of the first attempts to interpret the contradictions created by the mechanism of a command economy. When we stop to think about it, it analyzed many of the same problems which our society is facing today and which should be the subject of the upcoming conference.

[Question] Mikhail Ivanovich, you were one of 456 delegates to that conference. Tell us about it.

From the Recollections of M. I. Malakhov

[Malakhov] I, at that time secretary of the Kolomenskiy Party Gorkom, was given the honor of being not only a delegate to the conference, but also of speaking in debates following a report by G. Malenkov on behalf of the Moscow party organization and being a member of the Commission for the Development of a Draft Decision.

As I recall those days I would like to stress that at that time we all felt the growing threat of war very acutely. Therefore no one was surprised by the harsh tone of the report: "...I shall speak mainly about shortcomings in the work... of party organizations and people's commissariats in the areas of industry and transportation, about the reasons for these shortcomings and about measures to eliminate them." And further: "People who attempt to hide shortcomings are doing the party a disservice."

I remember the speeches given by A. Kuznetsov, second secretary of the Leningrad Party Gorkom and Obkom, A. Kosygin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of People's Commissars, and others. The delegates appealed for an end to "the thoroughly indifferent attitude toward financial-economic matters in the operations of enterprises" and criticized the imperfection of the planning indices which were being used, the emphasis on production volume in particular, and proposed that enterprises be given greater independence.

I devoted my speech to the development of the Soviet diesel locomotive industry. I cited the reasons we were lagging behind: bureaucratism, poor monitoring of the way decisions were implemented, lack of attention to matters pertaining to labor organization and the design and manufacture of new equipment. I sharply criticized the people's commissariats of heavy industry and railways.

[Bondar] Of course, the mere fact that there was critical evaluation of existing methods of administration was an important step forward. It allowed participants to realize the inefficiency of an economy functioning under administrative methods and to understand the need for economic methods.

It is significant that the delegates completely ignored the subject of "wrecking": this was their way of expressing their disapproval and condemnation of the mass repressions for which the party and state leadership was at fault.

Yet during the conference there was of course evidence of the Stalinist personality cult, and this led to flagrant violations of the standards of intraparty democracy and flaunting of Leninist leadership principles. All this was in direct contradiction to Leninist traditions. Himself beyond criticism, Stalin single-handedly decided many issues, including organizational matters. Even Central Committee plenums were convened irregularly, and no congresses or conferences were held at all in the 11 years following 1941. And in my opinion the problem did not lie solely with his increasing arrogance and disdain for others' opinions. This is my hypothesis: Stalin feared revelations while he was still alive. And a party forum could become a podium for such revelations, because the Victory had helped many people free themselves from the "cog" mentality and they had begun discussing "forbidden subjects" more boldly. Only in 1952 was the 19th Party Congress convened, a congress whose hallmark was praise for the "leader of all peoples." But only a little while would pass until the inevitable outcome ensued. In February 1956 the 20th CPSU Congress told of the reasons for the origin of the personality cult, its essence and the nature of its manifestations.

[Editor's note] Our editorial offices continue to receive an unending stream of letters containing thoughts on the upcoming party conference. The problems which are to be the subject of collective discussion are well known. They were listed in a speech by M. S. Gorbachev at the February 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Above all discussion will center on restructuring of the political system, with the objective of introducing qualitatively new structures and elements into that system and lending it new content and dynamism. Of course, one of the most important issues will concern ways to increase the role of the CPSU at the present stage of restructuring. The conference must reveal what now needs to be changed in the forms, methods and means of the party's work so that they will be in line with new requirements, what specific paths should be followed in democratization of intraparty affairs and public affairs in general. Also on the agenda are matters pertaining to culture, the spiritual life of society, and national-state construction. And, undoubtedly, attention will be focused on the implementation of radical economic reform, upon the success of which will depend whether or not we will ascend to the heights of social and economic progress.

As we can see, many problems have accumulated. And every communist and every Soviet citizen can and must make his or her contribution to discussion of those problems. It is only in the day-to-day practice of restructuring that we can find specific answers to the questions that have been posed by real life.

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PRAVDA Reviews Lenin's Teachings on Democracy

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[Round-table discussion conducted by V. I. Desyaterik, doctor of historical sciences, and PRAVDA special correspondent V. Yegorov, under rubric "PRAVDA Fridays": "More Democracy"]

[Text]

Pages of History: By Reading Lenin.

What was Lenin's vision of the process of democratic reforms under socialism? Wherein lie the causes of the difficulties that hampered the development of democracy in our country? What problems continue to await their resolution today? Those questions were discussed at the latest "Page of History" that was prepared jointly with the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, attached to CPSU Central Committee. The discussion was conducted by V. I. Desyaterik, doctor of historical sciences, and PRAVDA special correspondent V. Yegorov.

From the First Days of October

[Question] At the present time, on the threshold of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the editorial office has been receiving a large number of letters, the authors of which have expressed their opinion on those problems that will become the object of discussion at the forthcoming forum of Communists. Even a cursory analysis of the letters to the editors indicates that the readers are genuinely upset and concerned about the democratization that is occurring in all spheres of our life. Their letters are distinguished by a genuine self-interestedness in the irreversibility of this vital process, and by the warm, and one might even say passionate, support of that which, to use the definition provided by A. Pegov of Orenburg, is the "difficult but, for real people, I believe, happy cause that is called perestroyka." And there is something else that attracts one's attention involuntarily as one reads the letters: in almost each of them there are quotations from statements made by V. I. Lenin. "Let's leaf through Ilich's works again," Ye. Palinov of Kaluga Oblast writes, "and link his instructions directly with our everyday life. Then the democratization will occur more rapidly and more effectively."

It is from this point of view, as suggested by our readers, that we shall conduct the discussion. Where would be the best place to begin?

[Answer] Probably from the October days of 1917 — the point of departure for the socialist state system. Let us attempt first of all to define the new features that the Great October Socialist Revolution introduced into the very concept of democratism.

By undermining the economic base of the exploiter system and by granting political rights and freedoms to the workers, that revolution created the real prerequisites for carrying out true democracy for the nation, for its overwhelming majority. This "is the sole step to equality and democracy in fact," V. I. Lenin wrote, "not on paper, but in life, not in a political phrase, but in economic reality."

A factor of exceptionally great importance for understanding the first democratic reforms of the Soviet authority is Lenin's conclusion to the effect that the forms and institutions of democracy are not something that is a given once and for all, that do not remain frozen, but, rather, with every new turning point in history, with the sharp breaking of socioeconomic relations, take on different quality, and, in a completely natural manner, develop into previously unknown institutions. By creating for the workers and the village poor a democracy that was much higher and broader than all the previous democracies of the world, the Bolsheviks thus set for themselves the goal of bringing the masses of millions of people more rapidly to historical creativity, of developing in them the need for social self-government.

[Question] Many lances have been broken during the 70-year history of the Soviet state in arguments about the dictatorship of the proletariat. To what extent is that dictatorship of the proletariat incompatible with democracy?

[Answer] In this instance it will be fitting to recall the principle stated in "Manifesto of the Communist Party" where K. Marx and F. Engels said, "...The first step in the workers' revolution is the conversion of the proletariat into the ruling class, the conquest of democracy." As we can see, both tasks have been placed alongside of one another. It was stated of democracy that it must be won. By what means? By means of the conversion of the proletariat into the ruling class. In other words, by means of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

During the years and months preceding the October Revolution, V. I. Lenin engaged to a particularly large extent in interpreting the problems of the proletarian state and proletarian democracy, and their dialectical unity. He meditated on their correlation with the democratic traditions of the bourgeois republics, and on the paths of development as one got closer to communist social self-government. In early 1917, in one of his letters to I. F. Armand, Lenin recommends to her that, in the review that had been proposed, she reveal in more detail the very important question of the interrelations between the dictatorship of the proletariat and democracy. "I definitely advise...", he wrote, "that you augment the review with a paragraph about revolution..., that is, about **how** the revolution can occur; exactly what

is the dictatorship of the proletariat?; why is it necessary?...; why is it completely compatible with democracy that is complete and universal? (despite the vulgar opinion)."

Vladimir Ilich himself repeatedly debunked that vulgar-bourgeois point of view according to which the concepts "dictatorship" and "democracy" are mutually exclusive. Relying on the conclusions of the founders of scientific communism, he taught that one should always ask the direct question: "...democracy **for what class?**" And once October proclaims democracy for the proletarians and the have-not classes, then, the violence on the part of the state of dictatorship of the proletariat during this transitional period is aimed only against that bourgeoisie, that is, the minority of the population.

[Question] All this is so. But one of our readers, discussing the "inevitability of the cult of personality," also quotes... Lenin. In particular, he cites at length Vladimir Ilich's work "The Next Tasks of the Soviet Authority," where he states the following principles: "there is definitely no fundamental contradiction between Soviet (that is, socialist) democratism and the application of the dictatorial authority of individual persons," and "...revolution...requires the *unquestioning obedience* of the masses to a single will...."

[Answer] Excuse me, but reading Lenin in that way is a typical form of dogmatism. One ought not to pull individual words or phrases out of Lenin. Outside the context of the entire work, outside the context of the time when it was created, those words or phrases can take on meaning that is opposite the one that the brilliant author put into them. Lenin is profoundly and completely dialectical. He is not only a great strategist, but also a flexible tactician. He is a brilliant, merciless polemicist — it is necessary to keep all of this in mind as one reads his works.

We might recall when "The Next Tasks of the Soviet Authority" was being written. April 1918. The degrading but vitally necessary Brest-Litovsk Treaty had just been signed. In the country that had been lacerated half to death by the war, utter ruination, unemployment, and starvation prevailed. It was during those days that Lenin wrote a work that poses the task of taking advantage of the breathing spell, which unfortunately proved to be very brief, for the most rapid restoration of the national economy and the upsurge of the economy. He viewed questions of establishing nationwide monitoring and accounting, of increasing labor productivity, and organizing a competition. And Ilich's rigid, categorical words about the dictatorship of individual persons, about the "unquestioning obedience to the will of the Soviet manager, the dictator" appear when he is discussing the fight against crimes, hooliganism, bribery, speculation, outrages of every kind, and the need for the strictest labor discipline.

The words concerning "unquestioning obedience to the will of the Soviet manager, the dictator" can seem to some to be practically the "theoretical substantiation" of the rigid administrative methods that received priority during the years of the cult, as well as during the period of stagnation. But the quotation, so to speak, was interrupted midway, because further on Lenin emphasizes: "*during work.*" Thus, if the quotation were expanded, there would be a different idea of Lenin's: "...the task of the party of Communists (Bolsheviks)... is to head the masses that have been exhausted and that are wearily seeking a way out, to lead the masses along the true path, along the path of labor discipline, along the path of coordinating the tasks of holding meetings about the working conditions and the tasks of unquestioning obedience to the will of the Soviet manager, the dictator *during work.*" As we can see, Lenin is talking about combining the holding of meetings — this certainly is democracy, isn't it? — when working out a decision with the strictest discipline of execution after it has been made. You will agree that this requirement can by no means be interpreted as an argument in favor of the cult of personality.

And there is yet another place in "The Next Tasks of the Soviet Authority" to which — and this is most regrettable — the reader has not turned his attention. These are the very precise and well thought-out words with which Vladimir Ilich ends the last chapter: "The more decisively we now stand in favor of mercilessly firm authority, in favor of the dictatorship of individual persons **for definite work processes** and for **purely executive** functions at definite moments, the more variety there must be in the forms and methods of monitoring from below, in order to paralyze every slight possibility of perversion of Soviet authority, in order to eradicate repeatedly and unceasingly the weeds of bureaucratism."

One can only regret that monitoring from below, in its Leninist sense, was destroyed during Stalin's time and that led to crude perversions of the principles of socialism.

The Party and the Soviets

[Question] It is well known that, from the first days of the revolution, the political management of all the processes of socialist building was assumed by the Leninist Bolshevik party. But, when referring to history, certain readers of PRAVDA raise the question: didn't there occur, at a definite stage in the development of society, an unjustified substitution of the party agencies for the soviets as the chief link in the political organization of our socialist state system?

[Answer] I would like first to discuss the first part of your question. Actually, the party of Bolsheviks, after the victory of October, emerged as the chief motivating force in the entire political system that was developing in the

new society. But the mandate for the formation of the first government of the workers and peasants was given to it by the 2nd All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

Replying to reproaches addressed to the Bolsheviks as allegedly being implacable and uncompromising and not wanting to share the authority with other parties of, as they called themselves, "revolutionary democracy," Lenin wrote: "This is untrue, comrades!" The Bolsheviks proposed to the leftist Social Revolutionaries that they enter the government, that they be ready to share the authority with the minority of the soviets, but "under conditions of the loyal, honest pledge of that minority to subordinate itself to the majority and to conduct a program **approved by the entire** All-Russian 2nd Congress of Soviets and consisting of gradual, but firm and undeviating steps toward socialism."

Here I would like to emphasize several factors. As we can see, Lenin not only does not display any intolerance of the existence of other parties, but also does not preclude cooperation with in the agencies of authority, inasmuch as those parties reflect the opinion of definite segments of society. Lenin was not frightened by the inevitability of variety, or, as we would say today, the pluralism of opinions when developing political steps to administer the socialist republic. This only dictated the necessity for the more forceful work of the Bolsheviks among the masses, in order, in the ideological confrontation with the other political forces, to convince the masses of their rightness, to win their trust.

"The Soviet authority," Lenin said in January 1918, "was created not in accordance with someone's decree, not in accordance with a resolution issued by some party, because it is above the party, because it is constructed on the basis of revolutionary experience, on the basis of the experience of millions of people..."

The very form of the soviets — agencies that were engendered by the revolutionary creativity of the masses — is typified by such a degree of democratism that it is precisely that which makes it possible in the best manner to reveal the will of the majority of the nation, to define who is its true spokesman. Soviet authority — and here, once again, let us refer to Lenin's words — is higher than parliamentary forms of democracy, "it provides the opportunity to the workers, if they are displeased with their party, to re-elect their delegates, to transfer the authority to another party, and to replace the government without the slightest revolution."

History has proven that the party of Communists won the nation's trust, confirming its right to be the political vanguard of Soviet society.

As yet there has been no thoroughgoing scientific analysis of the entire arsenal of forms and methods that the party employed during the period to exert an ideological influence upon the broad masses of the workers. The only thing that can be said with entire definiteness is that

V. I. Lenin put in first place precisely the method of convincing the masses, of offering to them the opportunity to be completely aware in their independent selection of various paths and directions for moving ahead, in choosing from any, including alternative, versions of resolving a problem.

Unfortunately, subsequently those principles in the relationships between the party and the soviets were not completely realized. The factors that had an influence in this regard included the conditions of the civil war, the fierce struggle against counterrevolution and the interventionists, and the crude perversions of the Leninist norms of party life and the crimes that were committed by Stalin.

At the February 1988 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which dealt with the need for the restructuring of our political system, emphasis was placed on the importance for primarily the cardinal increase in the role of the soviets as the pivot of the political system of society, and its state embodiment. It is in them that the democratic principles of socialism must be realized first of all. That is, we are dealing today with the rebirth of the authority of the soviets in its Leninist sense.

[Question] These questions will be discussed at the forthcoming party conference. The very fact of that conference's being conducted is perceived as a return to Leninist norms of party life. Shouldn't we now speak more concretely — about how Lenin recommended to the party that it construct its interrelationships with the soviets.

[Answer] As early as the years of the first Russian revolution, after receiving abroad an issue of *NOVAYA ZHIZN*, in which one of the authors, in an alternative form, posed the question, "Soviet of workers' deputies or the party?", Lenin immediately picks up his pen. In his polemically imbued response he defines the soviets as agencies of the revolutionary uprising, as the embryo of the provisional revolutionary government. But with regard to the dilemma which, in essence, was posed in the newspaper article, he says in a definite and unambiguous manner, "...both the soviet of workers' deputies and the party. The question — and it is an extremely important one — consists only in how to divide and how to combine the tasks of the soviet and the tasks of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party."

This dialectical approach is typical of Lenin after the victory of October also. Lenin spoke repeatedly about how it is possible only through the intermediacy of the soviets that Communists will be able to reinforce many times over the scope of their work among the masses. In practice, however, for example, in order to conduct the party line at all-Russian congresses of soviets, Communist factions were formed from among the delegates, and it was those factions that had imposed on them the duty, in the course of the discussion, of expressing the party point of view.

But one cannot fail to say that already by the time of V. I. Lenin there began to be alarming instances when certain party members exceeded their authorized powers and in an unjustified manner interfered into the soviets' activities. "Our Communists," he stated bitterly, "still show only a slight ability to understand our real administrative task: not 'by ourselves' to attempt to do 'everything,' overstraining oneself and failing to complete anything, undertaking 20 jobs but finishing not a single one. Rather, it is check the work being performed by dozens and hundreds of assistants, to establish the proper checking of their work from below, that is, by the real masses..." And as early as the eve of the 11th RKP(b) Congress, when making recommendations concerning the need to differentiate much more precisely between the functions of the party and those of the agencies of Soviet authority, V. I. Lenin persistently recommended, "...We must leave to the party the overall management of the work being performed by all the state agencies together, without the interference that occurs today too frequently — interference that is irregular and frequently petty." That was V. I. Lenin's approach. That is what our party is oriented to today as well, during the period of renovation and restructuring.

[Question] You mentioned Lenin's idea concerning the universal participation of the workers in state administration. Involuntarily there came into our mind the catchy phrase about the cook who is charge of state affairs. All the links in our soviets, one can say boldly, contain representatives of all occupations. However, the benefit derived from the presence of certain deputies at the sessions, as is attested to, once again, by the letters to the editor, is not great. During a recent business trip I had a chat with I. A. Chub, leader of a brigade of milling-machine operators at the Arsenal Plant in Kiev. Ivan Aleksandrovich was a deputy to a rayon soviet, and had been elected to a city soviet for the third time. Needless to say, he is a socially active person, with a social streak. He told me regretfully that we currently have a rather large number of, as it were, honorary deputies who are there only for representative purposes, and nothing more. And at the Proletarskiy Plant in Leningrad I recorded in my notebook the following statement made by one of the workers: "We've got 'representatives of the working people' sitting in the Supreme Soviets, but no one knows what their job of deputy consists of. The only thing they do is raise their hands..."

[Answer] This concern is understandable: it is a completely reasonable protest, the reaction to many of the misfortunes that have already become ossified in our practical life. Of course, if you see a rather large number of deputies who during their entire prolonged term — and even very prolonged, as compared with the term that was in effect under V. I. Lenin — for the execution of their duties in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR or one of the republics, in an oblast or city soviet, do not utter a single word, but express their will only by raising their hand during a vote, then, naturally, that is depressing.

But this situation does not have anything in common with Lenin's idea either about the role of the soviet and the paths for forming all the representative agencies in the Soviet organization, or about the place that the people's elected representative has in it.

According to data provided by statistics and sociological studies, one can discern an extremely comforting picture: at the present time practically one-half the workers to one degree or another, more or less frequently, participate in carrying out definite functions of social administration. However, it is still a long way to the fulfillment of the task posed by V. I. Lenin concerning the involvement of absolutely every individual in this work. And if one takes not the formal aspect, not the numerical one, but rather a qualitative cross-section of this real-life situation, then a rather considerable part of society either takes a completely indifferent attitude toward this constitutional right of theirs, or for various reasons fails to use it.

[Question] But how many of our people are deputies to several soviets, or members of several committees?

[Answer] Most frequently, this combining of duties, in and of itself, is unproductive: a person is incapable of executing a large number of social duties in a manner that is beneficial to the matter at hand. In addition, because of those people carrying out combined duties, thousands of other Soviet citizens are unable to attend the soviet school...

Learning How to Administer

V. I. Lenin repeatedly emphasized in his works that "the ability to administer does not fall out of the heavens, nor is it bestowed by the holy spirit." He also stated that that it does not follow from the fact that "the given class is an advanced class, he is not made immediately capable of administering." As for the cook, he wrote — incidentally, even before October: "We are not Utopians. We know that any unskilled laborer or any cook is incapable of immediately administering the state."

Today as well, by no means all the workers are ready to undertake administration. During the first years of the Soviet authority the workers were simply "shy" about engaging in this job that was new to them. Other influencing factors were the fact that for many centuries the workers had been estranged from the functions of administration, and the low level of culture and education among the broad masses. And the cultural level cannot be subordinated to any law, V. I. Lenin noted sadly, and he added, "This low cultural level makes a situation in which the soviets, which, according to their program, are agencies of administration **through the workers**, are actually agencies of administration **for the workers** through the advanced segment of the proletariat, but not through the working masses."

Administrative skills and the need to participate in the resolution of affairs of the state develop and become stronger in the process of social activity itself. "Are we really to believe that there can be another path to teaching the nation how to administer itself...," Lenin asked, "than the path of practice? than immediate access to actual popular self-government?"

By the development of a universal system of people's control, by the workers' school movement, and by the organization of a broad network of practical studies programs in Soviet institutions, the Leninist party sought ways to accelerate the training, from among the workers, of those persons who were capable of assuming the execution of administrative functions.

[Question] In this regard, ought we not to discuss the specific peculiarities of the electoral system of the first postrevolutionary years?

[Answer] The 27th CPSU Congress posed the task of introducing the necessary changes into our present-day electoral practice. When working out the new model for Soviet organization, the principles of its formation, as well as the structure itself, it would seem to be desirable to take into consideration the experience of the electoral system that was introduced with the direct participation of V. I. Lenin. It is completely obvious that it is impossible to transfer mechanically to today's situation the forms of representative democracy that prevailed at that time. However, it would be desirable to study in the most careful manner a large number of valuable lessons from that practice which were subsequently lost.

Lenin considered to be a very important mechanism for linking the soviets and the masses the production principle of forming the new system for electing people to the agencies of workers' and peasants' authority. The substantiation for this approach to the determination of the basic channel for revealing the political will of the majority of the nation is contained in the draft of the Party Program that was written by V. I. Lenin: "...The primary electoral unit and the basic cell of state building is, under the Soviet authority, not the territorial district, but the economic, production unit (plant, factory). This closer tie that the state apparatus has with the associated... masses of advanced proletarians, in addition to creating higher democratism, also provides the opportunity to carry out profound socialist reforms." Similar arguments in favor of carrying out elections by plants and factories, and by occupational associations, are repeated frequently. It is precisely at enterprises that the workers "...can most eagerly elect and keep an eye on those who are elected." And the opportunity of "greater ease in electing and recalling" was viewed by Lenin as the manifestation of more complete democratism.

The production collective, essentially speaking, was the basic link of the entire political system of society. Wherever the citizens worked and were consolidated by common interests, they also demonstrated their political will.

When the new USSR Constitution was being developed in the 1930's, territorial districts became the foundation for the electoral system.

[Question] At the present time, when the Law Governing the State Enterprise (Association) has gone into effect, the labor collectives are viewed as a very important link in the process that is under way in democratizing the administration of production. In letters addressed to the 19th party conference, the writers suggest thinking a bit also about how to intensify the role of the labor collectives when forming the agencies of state administration.

And there is yet another facet of the electoral system that was in effect during Lenin's life, and that attracts careful attention. This is what S. Glazkov writes from the distant settlement of Chilchi, Amur Oblast: "For a long time we have not had congresses of soviets, but that was a very effective agency for the sovereignty of the people under V. I. Lenin. Why not, in addition to renewing the practice of conducting all-union party conferences, revive once again the congresses of soviets, with people's representatives from all the social organizations, including the informal ones? That would be a very strong blow at bureaucracy.

[Answer] The PRAVDA reader poses an interesting question. Naturally, if one accepts that recommendation, it will be necessary, we must say, to remodel the congresses of soviets with a consideration of the new level of the state of society. But Lenin placed a high evaluation on the importance of that form, which granted the opportunity to a considerable number of citizens to graduate from the school of administration at the most varied stages of state activity. The congresses of soviets were a democratic forum where delegates sent by the labor collectives gave a realistic evaluation of the processes or phenomena occurring in society. The discussion of all questions at the congresses of soviets developed, as a rule, into thorough discussions. And that was maintained by Lenin.

It might be recalled that in his last works, reflecting on the introduction of substantial changes into the political system itself, V. I. Lenin, specifically at congresses of soviets, recommended that no time be spared in carrying out a thorough and complete discussion of the questions. "Sessions should be a bit longer. Discussion should be a bit more careful. Verification should be more thorough," is the way he posed the question.

Associates at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, attached to CPSU Central Committee, are preparing an interesting document for publication. It is Lenin's memorandum to the Politburo of the RKP(b) Central Committee, dated 2 December 1921, which deals with a long letter from T. V. Sapronov, secretary of the Urals Bureau of the RKP(b) Central Committee, and member of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK). Sapronov had expressed a number of recommendations for reinforcing the Soviet state system

as applicable to the conditions of the new economic policy. V. I. Lenin expresses his agreement with the proposal made by the author of the letter that there should be a broad representation in the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the peasantry — "the bearded muzhiks," as Sapronov calls them. That letter was written before the 9th All-Russian Congress of Soviets. In that letter the author also recommended that the delegates be invited to the congresses for more prolonged periods of time for a thorough discussion of the vitally important questions confronting the republic. "The session system should be changed," Sapronov wrote, "in the direction of **convoking a session of the VTsIK twice a year for a period of one to two months each time.**" The emphasis made by V. I. Lenin indicates that this posing of the question had attracted his attention.

It should be stated that V. I. Lenin carried out numerous discussions with Sapronov, Osinskiy, Ignatov, and a number of other comrades both in the press and at congresses and conferences. Those discussions were distinguished by their sharpness, and in the heat of the polemics the opponents expressed much that was critical of the practical activity of the Soviet government. As adherents of the most leftist views and methods, they were not always capable of understanding the entire wisdom of a specific tactical step that had been taken by V. I. Lenin in order to achieve his main goal — the consolidation of socialist gains. But it is important to emphasize that V. I. Lenin not only considered seriously the heterodoxy that differed from his own point of view, but also considered it to be the sole means of ascertaining the truth in a person's conviction, in polemics, in a dispute, in explaining a chosen policy, and in supplementing the argumentation of that policy. The eradication of this Leninist principle during the years of the personality cult, and the disregard for that principle during the period of stagnation, dealt a tangible blow to the democratic processes in our society.

It is gratifying that, when democratization, one may say, constitutes the spirit and essence of perestroika, discussion pages have been restored in many press organs. I might recall that, in Lenin's time, the tradition of issuing special "Discussion Leaflets" before every party congress was established. The sole goal pursued was to catch every opinion, to take every recommendation into consideration, in order to develop the political line of action more precisely. Later, however, that Leninist tradition was disrupted...

Not Just Discussions...

[Question] The slogan advanced by the party today — learn democracy — is perceived, in particular, also as a return to the initial positions of the first democratic reforms that occurred under Lenin's guidance. To what institutions and procedures of democracy that were in effect during that period do you feel it is important today to direct our attention?

[Answer] One frequently encounters in Lenin's works the idea: "Educate the masses in democracy." Centuries of autocratic despotism deprived the peoples of Russia of many civil and political freedoms. It was necessary to learn how to live under conditions of democracy, to understand from one's own experience wherein the advantages of this kind of life consist.

The absence in the nation of the practical skills for communal democratic life made it necessary to turn first of all to forms of democracy that were accessible to the understanding of the broad masses, such as political mass meetings, other meetings, and village assemblies. "...The transition from capitalism to socialism is impossible without a certain 'return' to 'primitive' democratism (since, otherwise, how can one change over to the fulfillment of state functions by the majority of the population and by each and every member of the population?)...", Lenin wrote. The conducting of a large number of mass meetings, assemblies, and gatherings opened up a broad vista for the development of direct democracy, for the free manifestation of the energy of the working nation. Participation in these discussions armed people with democratic skills.

However, Vladimir Ilich deemed it necessary to express one substantial warning against a simplified perception by the masses of democratic principles. Limiting oneself simply to participation in discussion, saying one's piece, and then going off to one side, means doing not even half the job. It is also necessary to display one's own will, to contribute one's own labor and persistence in order, by working in unison, to implement what has been planned.

It would seem that this Leninist lesson deserves to be remembered today also, during the period of glasnost, when a large number of vitally important problems are posed on the pages of the press and at meetings and conferences. And it is very important for the word to be followed always by the deed, so that there will be no occurrence of the kind of professionalization of "persons who pose questions" and who then observe from the side to see how others are resolving them.

[Question] And this is what has been upsetting our readers. "Unfortunately, we sometimes see," I. Shur writes from Saratov, "that for certain managers perestroika is only the latest in a series of agitation and propaganda measures. It is as though it has never occurred to them that the party requires the changing over to specific actions, that people are fed up with incantations, and how they are awaiting deeds and actions."

[Answer] That is an ancient disease. For example, Vladimir Ilich was very alarmed when, under the pretext of joint discussion, no one assumed any responsibility. "Irresponsibility covered up by references to joint action," he warned, "is the most dangerous evil..."

The carrying out of the idea that all officials must be elected in accordance with the experience of the Paris Commune, the idea that those officials are reportable to the masses, and that they can be replaced was also viewed by Lenin as one of the immutable attributes of a truly democratic system of administration in socialist society. "The masses must have the right," Vladimir Ilich wrote, "to elect their responsible managers. The masses must have the right to replace them. The masses must have the right to know and to verify every step in their activity, including the smallest one. The masses must have the right to promote everyone without withdrawing the working members of the masses to fulfill managerial functions." He viewed "appointment-itis" as being something forced under conditions of the acute shortage of cadres. The preference should always be given to the democratic principles of formation of the managerial agencies, particularly in the economic sphere.

Soon after October, Lenin pointed out the possibility and necessity of also carrying out in socialist society such forms of the democratic will of the people as the holding of referendums and public-opinion surveys dealing with various questions of principle. And whereas today people have begun to organize the proper study of public opinion, the Leninist idea of referendums continues to remain in the arsenal of unused democratic means.

All that remains is to add that Vladimir Ilich himself unswervingly followed the principles of democratism. While he was in the position of chairman of Soviet of People's Commissars, Lenin demonstrated by his own example the kind of communication that the party manager, the Soviet manager should have with the workers, a communication that never ceases, regardless of the pretext. He regularly reported to the All-Russian Congresses of Soviets and at sessions of VTsIK concerning the government's activities, not missing even the slightest opportunity to tell the labor collectives about the fundamental questions pertaining to the policy being carried out by the Soviet authority.

Let us ponder about only one fact: during the four and a half years after he left Petrograd to go to Moscow, he found the opportunity to speak to the workers approximately 400 times...

Learning from Lenin the lessons of democracy is something that is accessible for everyone — not only the rank and file, but also the superintendants of the perestroika.

Tajik Readers Propose Party Reforms
18000348b Dushanbe KOMMUNIST
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 22 Apr 88 p 2

[Editorial introduction and letters from readers G. Suda-kov, chief of the organizational department of the Okt-yabrskiy Rayon Party Committee, and S. Tamilov, elec-trician in the administration for mechanized operations of the construction administration "Rogungesstroy": "What the Times Require"]

[Text] It has now been 3 years since the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, whose deci-sions have initiated profound and beneficial changes in all spheres of our life. It was at that plenum that the strategy was advanced of acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and that course was adopted towards resolute renewal of society.

The date of the plenum almost fell on another important date close to the heart of every Soviet person: V.I. Lenin's birthday. This coincidence would seem to emphasize the indissoluble interrelationship of the ideas and plans of restructuring with the ideas of the founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

To some degree one can judge from the letters of our readers at the local level how the revolutionary, creative, and critical spirit of Leninism is being reborn and how the process is going of purging reality of distortions of all kinds.

Procedure Must Conform to Party Bylaws

On the threshold of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU checks are being made into the state of party discipline, the handling of business, and the work with letters, grievances and petitions, and execution of the decrees adopted is being monitored, that is, the milit-ance of every party organization in our rayon is being verified.

These checks have turned up dozens of cases in which a party member "forgot" to pay his party dues on time, made an incorrect declaration of the amount of his wages, fees received, and other types of material rewards, resulting in underpayment. Indebtedness in the amount of 256 rubles was discovered in just 19 organizations. When the checks were made, the debts were settled of course, and severe measures of party pressure were brought to bear on the offenders.

For instance, 20 persons in 1986 and 25 in 1987 were dropped from the rolls of the CPSU for nonpayment of party membership dues and detachment from the party organization. This is no tribute to restructuring; it is simply that the time finally came to get rid of those who were in the ranks of the party by accident.

Our large primary organizations are causing us particular concern. For instance, of the 25 persons who left the party last year, 10 belonged to party committees. To some degree this has happened because fulltime secre-taries of party committees were mainly occupied in dealing with economic matters, and they sometimes forgot their direct duties. This was true of the secretaries of the party committees of the Dushanbe State Pedagog-ical Institute imeni T.G. Shevchenko (secretary Com-rade V.A. Fedotova), the Tajik State Medical Institute imeni Abuali ibn Sino (Comrade N.A. Rakhmatov), the plant "Tadzhikgidroagregat" (secretary Comrade V.D. Panasenko), and others.

Nor at times have the work of schools of young Commu-nists, the work with the personnel pool, or the questions of enrollment in the ranks of the CPSU been what they should be in our organization. During 1987, 11 candi-dates for enrollment in the CPSU were rejected. Matters have not improved in 1988, especially in VUZ's. There candidates for membership in the CPSU entering the preparatory departments are lost sight of by party buros and shop party organizations, and as a result they are rejected, which might not have been the case if the effort had been organized properly.

It is very important to practice more widely the creation of ad hoc internal commissions to check the payment of party dues, the conduct of business, and work with young party members. All party members need to be brought into this effort, and everyone should be made account-able for the job he has been assigned regardless of his rank or past services. For example, to hear their reports not in buro sessions, but in open party meetings so as to put them in the realm of glasnost.

And further, sometimes the issue arises of party mem-bers who retire. I feel it would be advisable for the 19th All-Union Party Conference to take up the question of party members who have retired, many of whom actually lose contact with the party organizations when they retire, do not pay their membership dues regularly, but voluntarily remove themselves from the party rolls and then do not sign up by their place of residence. I feel we need to make provision in an instruction or stipulate the following in Paragraph 7 of the CPSU Bylaws: if a party member (retired) is absent without good cause from party meetings for 2 months, if he does not pay dues, then the party organization is entitled on its own to settle the question of putting him on the rolls by place of residence. And supplement Paragraph 54 of the Bylaws as follows: party meetings in primary party organizations by place of residence shall be held no less frequently than once a quarter. And further than that: report-and-election meetings shall be held in those organizations once every 2-3 years regardless of the number of mem-bers of the CPSU on their rolls, and they shall elect a secretary of the party organization and two or three deputies. With consent of the party members election of the secretary and his deputies would be by open ballot.

G. Sudakov; chief, organizational department, Oktyabryskiy party party rayon.

When Age Gets in the Way

I am writing you this letter in connection with the article entitled "I Want To Be a Member of the Party," published in the issue dated 31 March 1988. It raised among other issues the refusal of enrollment in the party on the basis of age, that is, to those over age 40. Something like that happened to me.

I am 47 years old, I have higher education, by specialty I am an electromechanical engineer, and I have been working on construction of the Rogunskaya GES as a sixth-class electrician since September of 1982.

On 9 December 1987 I was accepted as a candidate for membership in the CPSU in a meeting of the primary party organization of the administration for mechanized operations. But on 9 February 1988 my enrollment was refused in a session of the party committee of the construction administration "Rogungesstroy" on grounds of age. They argued that there is an unwritten rule of reducing the average age of party members, and that is why they mainly enroll young people and Komsomol members.

On 12 February I addressed a petition to the first secretary of the Rogun City Party Committee. It was 19 March before I received a verbal response from the second secretary to the effect that there was no way the party gorkom could help me, that the decision of the party committee of the construction administration "Rogungesstroy" rejecting my enrollment remained in effect.

Interesting, isn't it, when everyone knows that the CPSU Bylaws contain no age limitation on enrollment in the CPSU, so why is this happening, and happening quite often, in practice? There is no direct answer to this question in your article.

There is another question I would like to put: Exactly why is it that preference for enrollment in the party should be given to young people and to Komsomol members in particular? It is no secret that Komsomol has been experiencing quite a few difficulties, including problems of an organizational nature, especially related to its enrollment. Among Komsomol members there are quite a few who are disillusioned and who are waiting passively for the end of their term in Komsomol. I do not mean to say that they are the ones who are "drawn on" as candidates for membership in the CPSU, although such things do happen. Why would they not have demonstrated fully what they are right there in the ranks of Komsomol before the age of 28? Doesn't the wholesale transfer to the CPSU diminish the importance of the Union of Young People, whose birth was attended by V.I. Lenin? Please answer my questions.

S. Tomilov; electrical engineer; mechanized works department, "Rogungesstroy" construction administration.

07045

Moscow News Publishes Party Conference Proposals

18120075 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 17, 1-8 May 88 pp 8, 9

[Text] More Glasnost

I want to support the view of metro builder Alexander Sukhanov (MN No 12): information about statements at plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee and meetings of the Politburo should be given on the broadest possible scale—preferably in the same detail as is given from congresses of the CPSU. The same also applies to republican, regional and other party organizations. V. D. Leleko, Leningrad.

One Post at a Time

The role of the soviets must be enhanced. Today they show little activity and make poor progress in restructuring their work. Take ours, for one. Our ShSU-2 (Mine Building Administration) of the Prokopyevskshakhtstroi trust decided, in connection with the introduction of cost accounting, to raise rents fourfold. I live in a hostel. Previously I paid six roubles for a bed, now they wanted to make me pay 25 roubles. How do you like that? People pay 20 roubles for a three-room well-appointed apartment! We tenants went to the city executive committee, but there they simply waved us aside. And only after we wrote a letter to the CPSU Central Committee, the rent-raising scheme was given up.

I agree with the proposal of Boris Kurashvili, LLD, in your paper on the establishment of a public organization whose membership would compromise those who do not belong either to the Communist Party or Komsomol. People, after all, must have a channel through which to voice their views and opinions. This organization should assist the party in building socialism.

And one more thing. The Party Statutes must contain a ruling that from now on one person must not hold several party and state posts at a time. Otherwise it will again lead to grave consequences, as was the case with Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev. And again it will be the people who will suffer. Ivan Istomin, worker, Prokopyevsk.

We Need Regional Geoecological Centers

The ecological calamities of our time have shown that people and nature must be seen as an indivisible whole. To begin with, there is a need for corresponding information so that every sufficiently serious act and every managerial decision be consonant with this concept of a "whole". This information must not be fragmentary and

incidental, but complete and concrete. Today we have no one who possesses this sort of information, not even the local authorities—the Soviets.

I suggest setting up regional geoecological centers in charge of collecting the corresponding information, and also formulating or checking the concepts of nature utilization, handing over (wherever possible and/or advisable) separate local natural resources to government departments and organizations for temporary use, and strictly controlling the organization of this work.

I see this as a key issue to be discussed at the Party Conference. If need be, I will undertake a detailed elaboration of it, using the territory in which I have lived for more than 30 years—the far north-east of the USSR—as an example. A. I. Sadovsky, Magadan.

Power and Justice

Much has been said about the consequences of Stalin's personality cult, but later on the country, whole Republics and regions became gripped by a similar malady as well. The objective cause of cults, both large and small, is the principle of one-man rule. It is not a secret, after all, that the power, for instance, of the first secretary of the district or regional Party committee is not limited by anything. In any event, if he wants to, a secretary can secure the removal from "his own" territory of any official, or interfere in any affair, including legal ones. The reason for this is the absence of clear-cut legal restrictions. Everything remains on the leader's conscience. Is this reasonable? Is this in keeping with the scientific principles of administration? There is a need to formulate and adopt statutes on Party committees of different levels, and to legally define—from "A" to "Z"—their functions and rights. Under socialism, there should be no bodies either outside the law or above it.

An equally important social issue is that of privileges. Why should a district or city Party committee instructor, a trade boss or plant director enjoy the privilege of having more comfortable flats, special privileges in the provision of foodstuffs, hospitals and even cemeteries? The system of privileges is capable of undermining the moral foundation of our system and is one of the chief obstacles in the way of perestroika. Under socialism, only children, the sick and the aged can be privileged categories. For all the rest there must be distribution according to work, and then only in terms of money. G. Bochkov, was and labor veteran, member of the CPSU since 1944, Krasnodar.

No Need for Domicile Registration

I want to submit for consideration by the 19th Party Conference a proposal on the abolition of the domicile registration system. The restriction of the right to live wherever you want is, I believe, incompatible with

democratization. It's a different matter that this right should not mean that a person can demand that housing be given to him in no time wherever he decides to live.

I suggest: the right to housing (or better housing) should belong to people who have lived in the given city for no less than 15 years (with time this term can be cut or abolished altogether). On this condition an influx of people to big cities need not be feared.

The lifting of restrictions linked to domicile registration will be a humane act. It will come in handy for people, for example, who have lost relatives and are in need of intensive care. If their housing conditions are good, their relatives or friends will be able to live with them permanently, helping them and brightening up their lonely existence. B. Knabengof, Leningrad.

Self-Nomination

I deem it expedient to introduce self-nomination of candidates for deputies as the main principle in the practice of elections to Soviets. It is desirable, besides, that the candidate should simultaneously put forward a specific programme.

A thought should be given also to modifying the procedure of elections to the Republican Supreme Soviets and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. I think it would be more correct to pass over from direct elections, i.e., that deputies to the lower Soviets should elect deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the Republics and the USSR. G. Simin, Moscow.

07310

IZVESTIYA Readers Discuss Glasnost, Party Conference

*PM1405190588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 May 88 Morning Edition p 3*

[“Reading the Mail” article by Yuriy Orlik, IZVESTIYA letters editor: “Opinion Against Circular”]

[Text] The concept of socialist pluralism is establishing itself in political life, albeit not without difficulty. For a long time the very term (from the Latin pluralis—many) was particularly abusive, and was applied only to bourgeois reality. I leave that to our social sciences to mull over.

The main thing is that we have now recognized that a multiplicity, a diversity of forms of political, economic, and spiritual life is not only not contraindicated, but is a condition for releasing the potential of socialism.

The simplest form of pluralism is the existence of different opinions, views, and attitudes. “Mindless unanimity” (I. Voronkov, Igarka) is now frowned on by the majority. “On behalf of...I propose...no one against, no abstentions...adopted unanimously. This is the cause of

our political dramas," CPSU member V. Sergeyev writes from Voronezh. But bitter past experience and fear of free thinking is not like dust you can brush off your feet. "Entirely new thinking is now required of all members of society," A. Esipov of Uchaly, Bashkir ASSR, writes, "but many people are sticking to the old ideas out of habit. I do not condemn them. For many years we have been unaccustomed to thinking, unaccustomed to perceiving reality in an unusual and critical way."

Construction engineer V. Vilin of Sochi sees the growth of civic self-awareness as the main asset of the post-April period. "People are conscious of themselves as individuals and of the people as a free society. They cannot again be made to believe that everything that is decided above is the ultimate truth and is not for discussion. It is for discussion!"

The writers of many letters say that for a long time we have had a primitively simplistic idea of society and the laws of its development. "A binary computation system" is what S. Metalnikov of Samarkand ironically called the approach: "Basis/superstructure, production forces/production relations, leaders and cogs." We reject this view today.

Society has presented us with a very complex structure with different classes, social strata, and social groups. With interests that sometimes do not only fail to coincide, but are opposite. Bureaucracy, soldiers' widows, believers, informal groups, drug addicts, low-paid workers, invalids—I am deliberately not sticking to one criterion in singling out these groups. The art of management and leadership consists in, among other things, harmonizing these disparate interests, in determining priorities. And we have also discovered, alas, in dramatic circumstances, how important it is in politics to bear in mind that each people and each ethnic group has not only its own language, but its own traditions, customs, and lifestyle, that national-territorial boundaries are not conventional marks on a map. Indeed, in purely geographical terms our country is so big that this very fact rules out the possibility of applying the same yardstick to different regions. We cannot do it. If we adopt an instruction circular it has to operate from Moscow to the outermost regions.

But there have been small advances. Let us look at the economy. As far as we were aware (and in reality too) there existed two basic forms in which economic activity was organized—the state enterprise and the kolkhoz. They corresponded to the two forms of ownership enshrined in the constitution. We were taught that there could be no third form. But then there appeared the family lease contract. Various types of cooperative and individual labor activity are coming in, and the first joint-stock companies and mixed-capital enterprises are being set up—a multiplicity of management forms is becoming, not without resistance, a reality.

One distinctive feature of the new thinking is the conviction that socialism does not exist without democracy and politics without morality. Many letters address the distant and more recent past, attempt to understand how they came to part company, and suggest—a whole variety of suggestions—how to insure our society for good against the possibility of the restoration of the past.

"Our country has too little experience of democratic development," S. Verchenko from Nizhniy Tagil muses. "Bourgeois parliamentarianism is practically unknown to us. From the spontaneous rallies of the revolutionary period the young republic entered the time of war communism. The breathing space afforded by NEP was brief. It was soon followed by the start of the construction of the great pyramid of the command-and-administer system. A pyramid of authoritarianism. One opinion, obligatory for all. It has to be destroyed. And it is a case where it is just as difficult to destroy as to build."

"One question bothers me," Ye. Savitskaya writes from Minsk. "People were unable to do anything about the cult of Stalin during his lifetime. Fear kept their mouths shut: People were being imprisoned and shot everywhere. But why did they bow and scrape to Brezhnev when the country was headed for a crisis? The members of the Politburo and the members of the Central Committee could see it all. But...they remained silent. True, there are few of them left in the leadership now. But it is horrifying to think that if Brezhnev were at the head of the leadership today the stagnation period, as it is called, would continue. Is fear for one's status and career stronger, then, than party conscience and honor?... Remember how it was under Lenin. Everyone would defend his own view on a particular issue, without fear that he would fall into disfavor."

In their letters readers touch on fundamental issues of social and political life. In particular, they write about interaction between the party and society, about the way the CPSU's leading role should manifest itself during the current period of revolutionary transformations. There are an enormous number of letters connected with the urgent demand to establish a clear "division of labor" between party, soviet, and economic bodies. To eliminate duplication and diktat, the system whereby the party committee has all the power. "Today's realities," A. Neklyudov, a surgeon from Zaporozhye, writes in this connection, "contradict yesterday's political forms and structures. A situation where the party committee usurps the functions of all other management bodies and tramples on them is a burden not only to society, but to the party itself: Now it is responsible for everything and it is blamed for mistakes it has not made." "The party must constantly demonstrate that it has the right to its leading role in the struggle for the people's hearts and minds, but not by imposing its will on other public organizations," Donetsk teacher B. Yelanskiy believes. "A power monopoly leads to very serious, even critical diseases for society—haven't we learned anything from history?" Candidate of Technical Sciences V. Peliyeyko, a Lenin

Prize Winner from Riga, develops the idea. "For the party to switch from giving orders to influencing people, that is, actively influencing through conviction, will be an enormously brave thing to do," V. Kotov writes from Surgut. "Therefore, the force of resistance to this step will be considerable."

Readers are convinced that "trade unions, the Komсомол, creative unions, and other public organizations must acquire autonomy and independence and obtain corresponding powers—not paper but constitutional powers"—in the interests of society and of the party itself (A. Berzin, Klaypeda). "Party bodies must be incorporated in the general structure of management and not stand above it," L. Khityayeva of Smolensk notes.

Many of the letters I have cited are addressed to the 19th party conference. "We are talking about glasnost, democracy, and criticism," V. Novoselov of Michurinsk writes. "But, unfortunately, as before, the top people, from rayon level to the central bodies, remain untouched by criticism from below. Have you seen an oblast paper criticize a CPSU obkom and its first secretary?..." "There is no place in the party for the 'most serene' and the 'most august.' The concept of party comradeship must be well and truly revived"—these are lines from a letter written by Shabrinovskiy of Ufa.

Readers are particularly interested in the principles for the election of delegates to the conference, suggesting—in view of the enormous importance of the event—that the traditional approach be abandoned. "If any zealous advocates of the old regime, apologists of stagnation, make it to the 19th party conference, today's standard-bearers of democracy will pay for it," Tashkent engineer R. Kaminskiy believes, and he suggests "publishing lists of well-known people who were not frightened, even in the stagnation years, of expressing their attitude toward events," and it is from them, the flower of the nation, that the conference delegates should be elected. "Ordinary Communists, not party functionaries, should constitute the core of the delegates," I. Ladyzhenskiy of Odessa believes. "I unconditionally support the proposal on direct television and radio transmission of all the conference work so that the people—masters of the country—know who is who," M. Roginskiy writes from Kiev. "I believe that when electing delegates to the conference worker collectives should give them clear orders that the emissaries in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses should not sit there like movie extras, but should express the will of the Communists who sent them, so that the people can be confident that the fate of the country and of restructuring at the conference is in safe hands."

This is indeed very important. For each one of us in that complex community—the people.

Open Politburo Sessions, Abolition of Sector Party Departments Proposed

18000352 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 May 88 p 2

[Article "Affirming the Leninist Spirit"]

[Text] The in-depth restructuring of party work continues to be one of the leading topics in the letters to the editors of PRAVDA on preparations for the 19th Party Conference. The most frequent proposals call for decisively increasing the effectiveness of party leadership, for purging it of petty-minded interference and eliminating the duplication of effort of soviet and economic organs, for cleansing all its links of the rust of bureaucratism and overorganization, and for the creation of conditions guaranteeing the irreversibility of perestroika and the impossibility of any kind of return to the cult of personality and voluntarism.

This is also evidenced by the following excerpts from the latest mail.

V. Ponomarenko, candidate of technical sciences; USSR State Prize winner, Mytishchi, Moscow Oblast:

Negative phenomena in the party have become possible because it has been a long time since we have conducted a radical purge of the party ranks. We have consigned to oblivion V. I. Lenin's warning that after the revolution, when the party was in power, its ranks would be infiltrated by self-seeking careerists and other unworthy elements that would periodically have to be purged. We have also forgotten (intentionally forgotten) Ilich's warning that leaders must not have official privileges, that people should not become leaders because of the benefits but because they have the calling to be leaders. This is why the maximum salary for party members was instituted at one time.

I consider it necessary to restore primary party organizations so that they would consist of communists as in the twenties and not merely of party members who operate according to the principle "what is your pleasure, comrade chief?" This requires:

(a) that if a negative phenomenon arises in a collective and if it is not exposed and halted at the initiative of the primary party organization, the party bureau or party committee must be disbanded and extraordinary elections must be held;

(b) that if such a phenomenon recurs, the party bureau must be disbanded, the given organization must be purged and new elections must be held;

(c) that party penalties (reprimands, etc.) must be imposed only for errors that are committed and that expulsion from the party must be the only measure imposed to halt deliberate violations and abuses.

I. Giatsintov, member of the CPSU; propagandist, Lenin-grad

It is noteworthy that there are very many uncommitted people in the ranks of the CPSU who are either politically unsophisticated or are only concerned with what their party can do for them. I know that there are people who would like to leave the ranks of the CPSU but are afraid to do so because of old habits.

After the 27th Congress, dramatically higher demands were made on communists and those who found their way into the party by chance are creating considerable difficulty in the work through their idleness. You think the party organization is large but except for several people who are performing several functions each, there is no one to give an assignment to. People immediately start talking about their health, their family, etc.

It might be better to admit fewer people to the party and have performance of a higher quality. I accordingly propose that the 19th Party Conference discuss the question of purifying the party and of allowing anyone so desiring to leave the party. If the party finds the strength to purge its ranks of various kinds of time-servers, phrasemongers and idlers, this can be called real *pere-stroyka*.

V. Lyashov, Kansk, Krasnoyarsk Kray:

It is necessary, vitally necessary to separate the people who actually work in party organizations from those who are merely present and to expel the latter from the party. V. I. Lenin considered it essential for a party member to work in one of the organizations: "It is better that 10 workers do not call themselves party members than that 1 chatterbox have the right and possibility of being a member of the party."

This is also recorded in the Regulations of the CPSU. But we now focus our principal attention on the payment of membership dues. The second note to the first paragraph of the Regulations states that if a member or candidate member loses contact with his organization, the possible result may be his exclusion from the party ranks. This point in the remark also has a very effective influence on the payment of dues on schedule.

If only this note also applied to specific work in the organization. For example: "To consider a member or candidate member of the party who confines his activity in the organization to the payment of membership dues to have lost his actual ties with the party."

A more precise variant is possible: "The question of a communist who has not had good reason for failing to perform party assignments for a period of 3 months should be discussed by the primary party organization."

In party organizations that have grown stale, this point will require the concentrated efforts of both the secretary and the others. Everyone will have to be shaken up. Some will work and other will leave the party organization. That is as it should be. The party card should not be an indispensable factor in professional advancement but, to the contrary, the impeccable performance of one's professional and civic duty can be one of the criteria for admitting a person to party membership.

Today it is considered a desperate step when a member of the CPSU leaves its ranks voluntarily, on the basis of his own convictions. But if these convictions are the result of the present restructuring of people's thinking, I do not believe that anyone is justified in condemning them for such a step.

L. Ivenskiy, associate professor, Mari Polytechnical Institute; candidate of philosophical sciences, Yoshkar-Ola:

Democratization requires that we take a new look at intraparty information. Certain stereotypes of the past that result from concrete historical conditions have come to be accepted as a matter of course. And if we think about it, why, strictly speaking are CPSU Central Committee plenums, the transcripts of which do not even reach communists, essentially of a closed nature?

Similarly the secrecy stamp is placed on the minutes of sittings of buros of obkoms, raykoms and even party committees at enterprises and in organizations. Komsomol organs look at their elders and also classify their documents. Against whom? Against the people who elected them? Against the agents of imperialism and counterrevolution?

The affirmation of the spirit of Leninism in our party's life requires that information dissemination practices be modified. First, greater accessibility of the minutes of sittings of party raykoms and obkoms to the communists who elected these committees—in the appropriate party offices. Second, the dissemination of transcripts of plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the CP central committees of union republics and sittings of their bureaus in one form or another—possibly through letters from the central committees that would be read in all party organizations.

Naturally, as regards the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, by virtue of the special interests of defense and foreign policy the closed nature of these questions can be considered justified. However it would be acceptable to hold open sittings of the Politburo especially for the purpose of hearing reports by secretaries in charge of specific issues or leaders of local party organs. All this would be a good example of glasnost in the work and would in Lenin's words foster the development of an automatic mechanism for the "natural selection" of competent leaders.

R. Trofimov, member of the CPSU since 1950, Kalinin-grad:

We cannot allow people elected to party and state positions to have lifelong tenure. It is specifically this practice that frequently leads to such shameful phenomena as corruption, mutual protection, embezzlement of public funds, etc.

In order to resolve this problem, we should limit tenure elective party and state posts to one or two terms (5-10 years) all the way from the rayon link to the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers. There will be an influx of young, healthy forces and an improvement in the situation. What happens otherwise is that out of the 282 Central Committee members elected at the 25th Congress in 1976, 111 persons or 38 percent were reelected 10 years later at the 27th Congress. To stormy applause they approved stagnation and the same people—also to applause—voted in favor of perestroika.

I. Malashenko, legal adviser:

I see the only guarantee against a repetition of everything we condemn today during the years we have lived without V. I. Lenin to lie in the 19th Party Conference's adoption of I. Sokolov's proposal (see PRAVDA, 18 March 1988—"A Strict Reckoning With Conscience") to reinstate within the party the Central Control Commission (TsKK) which would be elected by the congress and would be accountable only to the congress.

The creation of corresponding control commissions at the local level and the conversion of PRAVDA into the organ not only of the Central Committee but of the TsKK as well (and the party press at the local level, respectively) are the guarantee of genuine perestroika and of the prevention of mistakes that our progeny would condemn 10-30 years from now.

V. Mironenko, member of the CPSU since 1953; war and labor veteran, Smela, Cherkassy Oblast:

Why must party committees (rayon, city and higher) have departments for industry, agriculture, transport and communications, construction, and others? After all, they bear no practical responsibility for the state of affairs in their respective sectors. I do not know of a instance when the sector head of a party committee was punished for serious failings in "his" sector. A chief is usually removed from his post when he personally is punished be it for moral misconduct or the abuse of office.

Are departments needed to oversee the activity of a sector? But we already have more than enough oversight agencies. Are they needed to screen executive cadres? But executives will henceforth more and more frequently be elected. If we consider that not only the chiefs and deputy chiefs of departments but even rank and file

instructors are for the most part highly educated people and outstanding specialists, it is easy to understand that their duplication of economic and state organs, their expediting and paper shuffling are pleasures that are too costly for the party, the state and the people to bear.

In the days of general perestroika, at a time when obsolete life styles and ways of thinking are abruptly changing, when the unconscionably inflated and bureaucratized administrative apparatus is being reduced, and entire ministries and departments are being abolished, the apparatus of party committees alone is in the "untouchable zone." Why? After all, M. S. Gorbachev has repeatedly emphasized that perestroika must begin with oneself. And this in my opinion concerns not only the rank and file worker-communist but the party organ as well. Not only in the sense of the restructuring of the style, forms and methods of party work but of the structure of the party committees as well.

I believe that all sector departments in party committees at all levels should be eliminated. The best people who are released as a result should be used to strengthen organizational party work departments, propaganda and agitation departments, and others that could organizationally and politically ensure the realization of national economic and ideological objectives.

A. Martynov, Berezniki, Perm Oblast:

The Regulations state that those who sponsor people for party membership bear responsibility to the party organization for the objectivity of their testimonials. But I cannot recall an instance when a sponsor was punished for his charges even if they committed crimes.

I believe that we must significantly raise the role of recommendations and make stricter demands on those who make them. In this regard I propose that a communist's registration card list the names of the people who recommended the comrade for party membership and those whom he himself has recommended.

N. Strokan, party committee secretary, State Breeding Farm imeni XXVI syezd KPSS, Zolotonoshskiy Rayon, Cherkassy Oblast:

The status of members of an elected party organ at all levels must be defined. Such guarantees would do much to strengthen the authority of the party, especially of primary organizations. As a member of the auditing commission of an oblast party organization, I also insist on the definition of the status of a member of an elected party organ. You sometimes feel uncomfortable at a plenum. Secretaries and members of the bureau are upbraided for shortcomings. But what about the elected aktiv?

**PRAVDA Readers Discuss Party Mandates,
Removing Bureaucrats**

183000346b PRAVDA in Russian 9 May 88 p 3

[Article "According to Party Mandates"]

[Text]

How To Get Rid of a Bureaucrat

Work collectives feel the direct impact of bureaucrats most of all. I base this judgment on the 51 years I have worked, including the last 26 as a heat-treatment worker in the Cherepovets Metallurgical Combine.

I have been retired for already a year and am engaged in social activities. To the extent I am able, I fight against bureaucratic methods—I have spoken at meetings and written to the newspapers. What has been the result? What happens to those who criticize their superiors is well known. I express an idea that could never make its way into the local papers: in order to keep his place the critic must work more and better than someone who is submissive and indifferent, someone who strives for promotions, decorations, honorary titles, bonuses, etc. The bureaucrat has created for himself a host of underlings and defenders. And those who oppose him are essentially alone.

I am certain that today the task of getting rid of bureaucrats in the administrative apparatus is truly problem number one. And probably the most difficult problem. Because as yet there is no evident tactic for combating them. Only appeals: fight! But how do you fight against bureaucrats if they have all the power and all you have is a critical word? The correlation of forces gives bureaucrats the real certainty that they are invulnerable and infallible. It is inconceivable to me that they would relinquish their power voluntarily. The only way is to oust the bureaucrat from his position. And here it seems to me that is impossible to use a quite effective method. It consists in restoring Lenin's distributive principle in the remuneration of managers and specialists. From its first days, the Soviet state followed the path of lowering the salary of officials and specialists to the level of pay of the average worker. This became the principle of social policy. V. I. Lenin considered pay an important problem. In *State and Revolution*, he focused attention on the measure of the Paris Commune emphasized by Marx, which Lenin called especially remarkable: the abolition of "all monetary privileges for civil servants and the reduction of pay to all officials to the level of a 'worker's pay.'"

Some consider the reduction of the salaries of officials to the level of a worker's pay to be wage leveling which supposedly eliminates the manager's material incentive. I do not believe that this is true. To the contrary, there is

a common incentive: the better you manage, the better the collective works; the better the collective works, the higher is the workers' average pay, and thus the higher your salary is.

You will also hear that managerial work has become less authoritative and less prestigious because of the low pay. There are many who do not want to be managers. Of course, bureaucrats never have enough. Of course, there is a segment of society that considers authority and big money to be one and the same thing.

How many times in the debates about bureaucrats have I been asked the same question: who in our day will work as a manager for a worker's pay? Yes, that is the question of questions! Why did the revolution bring forth a mass of people who managed the state for the pay of the average worker and did so, moreover, under the most difficult social and political conditions? We in peacetime, however, have not only not increased the number of such people but do not even have people willing to manage a plant or a shop for a worker's pay. This, I believe is the focal point of application of the spiritual forces of all society—the education of an unselfish, compassionate person who lives for people. Moreover, in a country where the people are truly the master, self-management must be predominant. This is the path we must follow. Then there will be fewer managers.

I offer the following proposal to the 19th Party Conference: "To discuss and recommend to the nation's government the restoration of the principle of remunerating the labor of managers in accordance with socialist relations."

T. Muranivskiy, party bureau secretary, computerized information faculty, Moscow State Historical-Archival Institute

Into a Practical Channel

Today, on the threshold of the All-Union Party Conference, our views, assessments and proposals should be more actively directed into a practical channel, into concrete matters.

In this regard, it would seem that attention is merited by the initiative of our institute's communists. At an open party meeting, Professor B. S. Ilizarov, doctor of historical sciences, proposed that our party organization send its own mandate of a sort to the conference. The meeting discussed and approved this proposal. And it has now become the approved opinion of several hundred communists.

While I support this idea, I call upon primary party organizations to present their specific mandates to the conference's delegates. Naturally a lone communist also has the right to express his personal opinion before party organizations at any level. But the preparation of party mandates and their discussion at open party meetings

would make it possible once more to weigh and evaluate individual proposals first of all in one's own organization, in one's own collective and to draw the broadest masses into work in preparation for the conference. At the party conference, the party's base—its primary organizations and all communists—will essentially be drawn into the decision-making process through party mandates.

The summarized materials of party mandates can be regarded as a kind of all-union referendum or large-scale sociological study of public opinion on perestroika matters and problems. Consideration of these results has become a real guarantee that the decisions of the party conference will incorporate the specific recommendations of many million communists.

What are the problems that merit inclusion in a party mandate? I think there should be no restrictions here. Most often they are the general party and general state problems that are within the field of vision and the competence of a given work collective. The formulation of practical recommendations—what must be resolved today first of all and how this should be done—must be the principal task of the mandate.

For example, the cooperative system has become a most important link in perestroika. One authoritative journalist has called upon party raykoms and gorkoms to give retired able-bodied communist pensioners party assignments to organize cooperatives needed by rayons or cities. But to date there is often mention of something else: that it is unseemly for a communist to concern himself with cooperative activity, to say nothing of individual labor activity.

It would obviously also be of value for conference delegates to know the frank opinion that primary party organizations hold regarding the top party and state officials. Today there are no forbidden zones for honest discussion and even for criticism.

O. Zhemkov, labor veteran; member of the CPSU since 1956, Tyumen Oblast

Perestroika Has Not Touched Us

Dear Editors:

The time is approaching when the 19th Party Conference will begin its work. All of us are awaiting its opening with great interest and hopes for the better. Many wishes in these days are going from the people to Moscow. My modest wish will be as follows.

I very much hope that the conference will without fail hear Bogomolov, first secretary of the Tyumen Obkom of the CPSU on the difficult situation in Tyumen Oblast agriculture. And the situation is truly difficult. The

incidence of murrain is high among livestock on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the oblast and our rayon and the stores do not carry even the most essential products.

Children and the elderly have a particularly hard time of it. In Golyshmanovo, our rayon center, we cannot even buy a bottle of kefir or a jar of sour cream, but to all appearances no one is concerned about this and the ones who should be do not want to deal with it. As yet, perestroika has not touched us.

I hope that Comrade Bogomolov will explain to the delegates and all the nation's communists from the podium of the party conference the ultra-extreme conditions confronting oblast agriculture and that we, its the oblast's inhabitants, do not see the products of our sovkhozes and kolkhozes. The time has obviously come to convert not only them but oblast executive organs as well to a cost accounting basis so that they would bear direct responsibility for the bad state of affairs.

The fact that Tyumen Oblast produces an enormous quantity of oil and gas is all well and good but you can't smear oil on a piece of bread and you can't get full on gas.

O. Zhemkov; labor veteran, CPSU member since 1956. Tyumen Oblast.

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IZVESTIYA Reader Hopes Conference Will Be Turning Point

*PM0017050851 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 May 88 Morning Edition p 3*

[Letter from Valeriy Yelkin under the "From the Editorial Mailbag" rubric: "I Want To Help My Party; Notes of a Rank-and-File Communist in the Margin of the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary's Speech"—boldface as published]

[Text] Tallinn—It has long been known that the soldier from the trench and the marshal from the headquarters see and assess combat operations in different ways, just as it is well known that this difference in views does not prevent them from accomplishing a common deed—after all, they both have one fatherland behind them....

What can I, a rank-and-file member of my party, see from the "trench" to which it has assigned me at the present stage of the struggle for its program goals?

I read and reread many times M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum which unfolds the long-term view of this struggle and I note for myself that from "headquarters" what can be seen as a whole is the same as what can be seen from my position, only, naturally, it is on completely different scales and has a completely different depth, volume, and intricacies of cause and effect. I catch myself thinking that the

mention of waiting for a miracle also applies to me.... Indeed, the fresh April winds three years ago aroused such bright hopes, it was as though the new party leader were hiding a magic wand somewhere and only had to wave it for everything in our country to change and be restructured instantly. There are no miracles....

But three years are still a certain amount of time. And doubts are stirring in my soul again. After all, how many times we have been deceived in our hopes. And, poring over the speech, I try to seek honest and direct answers to the innermost questions which give my soul no rest. And I find them! Here it is, that main bulwark for my soul, tired of floundering in the vortex of hopes and doubts: **"Restructuring means work, work, and yet more work. Persistent, courageous, daily work. Realizing this, becoming imbued with responsibility for the success of restructuring, means taking a step forward in spiritual development too."** Yes, that is the only way. A marshal, be he a Solomon, cannot win a war unless his fighters charge into the attack....

Oh, if only past disappointment had not wounded my soul, how it would open up now to meet these appeals. But let's just remember the inner dejection our generation has experienced: At the age of 13 we found out what Stalin had been, at 24 we found out about Khrushchev, at 42 about Brezhnev, and at 45 about Chernenko.... Try gearing yourself immediately to the wave of restructuring!

A soldier will fulfill an order. Only in the attack it is very important for the soldier to know that the correct path has now been found to victory. Before battle the soldier is acutely in need of the belief that if he dies then it is for a just cause and if he remains alive he will not be ashamed to look his children in the eye. How is he to reinforce this belief in himself?

I pore over the speech again and again....

Yes, and, incidentally, has the time come to discuss high-ranking speeches? Is this "zone" also open to honest and public [glasnyy] analysis? Or, as before, is it only ardent, undivided, complete, humble approval which is permitted? Since when could you criticize me, he will say, you should know your place. After all, the speech has already been approved by the plenum and has become a guideline for action.

But perhaps the time has come to publish the theses of program speeches in advance for all-party and nationwide discussion before approval by plenums and congresses. I think that if the democratization of party life is not a slogan, then it is time to return to party members, not in words but in deeds, the trust in their experience and knowledge, to stop seeing us as martinets frenziedly clicking our heels in response to any orders from the party bosses as though aware party discipline is only maintained thus.

I recently read the following words in a republican newspaper: "...passiveness of rank-and-file members of society is counterrevolutionary..." and it set me thinking. "Revolutionary" restructuring, "counterrevolutionary" passiveness...is this not the old habit of using specious phrases? Of sticking labels?

Let's get down to it: What is so revolutionary that has been accomplished in the past 3 years? It has become easier to breathe. We treat each other differently and the world seems to have started to treat us differently. Belief in justice is gradually being reborn. All kinds of riff-raff have become quiet. But the main thing, the main thing—where is the certainty that they will not apply the brakes tomorrow? If it is a revolution, it should be irreversible.

People reply: glasnost...democratization...look, they say, we are seeing the criticism of Stalin through to the end and other former leaders will enter the court of history, the court of our unforgiving memory. I agree: This must be done! But who today can fail to understand that for what they eventually became they were indebted primarily to the pernicious, completely played out bureaucracy which has nothing in common with Soviet power as Lenin conceived it. But why, alongside this vigorous and sparkling criticism of yesterday and the day before yesterday, do I not see a modern mechanism for breaking down this system, the mechanism of genuine democracy? This new mechanism, with the inevitability of a magnetic fuse, should work on the slightest currents of bureaucracy, excessive administration, phrase-mongering, voluntarism, stagnation, corruption, and so forth. Surely criticism of the past would not lose from this?

I read the speech again and I find: **"...the main problem of the development of our political system is the creation of a mechanism of power and management in which an effective democratic control would be precisely tuned and appropriate legal procedures would be elaborated which would seriously reduce and even eliminate the fortuitous element in resolving the most important political and state questions and would rule out the possibility of subjectivism on all 'floors' of our political system...."**

I sign these words with both hands, I rejoice that they were heard at all from such a lofty platform. But all this must be done! Done as soon as possible. Some three years have elapsed. Above all we must go to the conference with this. Or is it to someone's advantage that the conference should merely note the need to create such a mechanism, but to what extent it will be created God alone knows? Why did the plenum not submit for nationwide or at least all-party discussion a plan for restructuring the political system, if such a plan exists? After all, today this is the crucial question. And for me, a rank-and-file party member, above all.

I look at my party card.... Honor and conscience.... We speak of mind and honor and conscience yet bureaucrats, spongers, and those seeking high rank and the award of orders have rushed increasingly vigorously to

join the workers' party. Surely it is no great secret that until recently some workers had to be dragged into the party with a lasso? And however we tried to whitewash this aspect by counting salesmen and others as proletarians, we still did not get the "requisite percentage."

This is where the roots of the masses' "passiveness" lie. This is where the sources of the unique "revolutionary situation" lie, the situation in which the "upper echelons" have indeed exhausted their style of leadership while the "grassroots" are even not averse to everything remaining the same. Surely it's no bad thing to work any old how but to receive the same salary as everyone, to live like a professor without having the gray matter, indeed never mind a professor, what about Uncle Vasya the plumber! Or Aunt Masha the saleswoman! That's the life! And suddenly restructuring—why? Why do they need restructuring?

I pore over the speech again and again and...I do not find the usual thesis about "the steady growth of the party's leading role in communist building." I do not think it is an accident that it is not there. Indeed, how today can we correctly and convincingly prove that the party's role during the years of stagnation "steadily" grew by comparison with, for instance, 1917 or 1941? Well, who doesn't know that it was not the role of the party but the role of the party apparatus which "grew?" The apparatus acted in the party's name and usurped its elected organs. And that was not all. It supplanted both soviet and economic organs.... From my trench I can see just one role for the party for all time, the role of vanguard: Be the first to hurl yourself on the barbed wire, those behind you will take the next step—and so on, to victory. That is history.

But no, timeservers would spit on the court of history, and today they have to divide a formation, destined to live for centuries, into little stages in order to prove that this apparatus' stage is the most important, that its services, as Vysotskiy used to sing, "are a hard burden for four men," and that even five Hero's stars are no reward for them.

So we win either "in full" or "definitively," we declare socialism to be "developed" or state shamefacedly that we are at the very start of this long stage.... And all this has been made out to be the "creative development" of Marxism-Leninism. But perhaps there has been enough of this "developing?" Perhaps we should not play with words but simply think about the ideas bequeathed to us by the great teachers and determine how we understand these ideas, should we not?

I am sure that if we had understood these ideas we would not have presented Stalin and the others to history. Who has seriously studied this problem? Can the scientific world not see what an uncultivated field awaits its zealous plowman? Or does science mean rehashing a leading article in a party newspaper in various ways and shuffling well-known quotations from the classic writers

from left to right and then from right to left? Or can science remain party science only for just as long as the proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains? Why are scientific truths ultimately uttered not from an academic platform but a party one? Marx and Lenin (until 1917) had no such platform but that did not prevent them from creating their own—and our—powerful teaching. The people, the party, and the cause of communism need genuine science, directed to the future and not to the service of a lofty platform. Such a science can exist only if there is guaranteed immunity for the genuine scientist and Communist. Criticism—yes! But criticism without shouting, without the argument of the fist, without petty feuding in promotion, in the printing of works, in the distribution of loans for research, and so forth. Without, finally, destroying the criticized person as an individual. Let the truth be born as it should be born, in debate, in the pluralism of opinion.

I pore over the speech again and again. Questions crowd in on me. And I finally ask myself in amazement: Surely these questions themselves could not have appeared 3-5 years ago? Obviously I took up my pen because I felt for the first time that this was something which also affected me and that my voice would be heard. I am sure that I am not the only one to think this way. Over the year the Central Committee alone has received up to 1 million letters—and they were not all about the shortage of housing or sausage.... Was it not these healthy forces of the party—they have existed, do exist, and always will exist—which inspired our general secretary to say at the plenum that "**he (man—V.Ye.) lives most of all by truth and conscience, justice and freedom, morality and humanism?**"

Nor can I rid myself of a feeling of guilt. In 20 years in the party I have seen it all happening and have kept silent. Of course, I reckoned that the weakest go to the wall, and what if I did speak, if I said what I thought and what I knew others thought? And what then? After all, nothing would change even so. But in my declining years it is increasingly hard to avoid the question—what have I lived for? It is increasingly hard to force myself not to emerge from the trench because, after all, you are not indifferent to how you leave the world behind you and how your children and grandchildren will remember you. So I decided to emerge. I can see a pile of junk and garbage and I very much want to help to clear it from your path.

For a rank-and-file party member democracy begins and ends in the primary party organization. No, under the Statutes I can of course take any question right up to the Central Committee and have even done so once, but I did not receive an answer, but that is not what I am talking about. How can a rank-and-file party member, and 1 million rank-and-file units are a party, how can each party member, not on paper but in reality, actually influence the party's business and struggle against the appearance of new Stalins and Brezhnevs and their

entourage in the leadership? Struggle using democratic, strictly party methods, without running the risk of finding himself outside the party? In my opinion, there is as yet no way he can!

That is why I want the all-union party conference to become a turning point in the history of the party and the Soviet state, to discuss and adopt a specific plan for restructuring the party and the country, and not to get away with more declarations and good intentions to the accompaniment of tumultuous applause. For this it is essential to have real glasnost on the eve of the conference and an all-party and nationwide discussion of the drafts of specific documents.

I do not want any fine counterfeits. I want one thing—that everything should be for real this time. I want to believe that truthful words will finally cease to be a right on paper and become a civic and party duty. That I, one of 20 million rank-and-file party members, should finally feel that I am an individual on whom something in this world depends. Yes, I may be a rank-and-file member and I may be in a trench but it is not a trench where people are hiding like cowards from the bullets and gunfire, it is a trench on the front line. And victory also depends on me.

I am in favor of the party never having to blush when it looks into the eyes of future generations as I blush now when I look into the questioning eyes of my children who grew up during the years of “stagnation”: “But where were you, a Communist, for all those years? What have you taught us?...” And I taught them to grow up, to learn to be useful to their country, to be glad that they had been lucky to be born in such a beautiful land, in such a remarkable society. So may they never see puzzlement and confusion on the faces of their own children.

For this it is worth telling the truth, however bitter it may seem to anyone at the apex of power. After all, leaders come and go but they—the future of the people—will remain. The three years of restructuring have above all taught us that however much you muffle, distort, or mock the truth, it will still blaze a trail. And it will win. It is for the sake of truth that I am writing these notes to you in the margin of a speech which inspires me and which indeed has prompted me to this action.

[signed] Valeriy Yelkin.

A brief note about myself: I was born in 1940 and I am a Russian. In 1963 I graduated from the physics faculty of Saratov State University as a radiophysicist and was immediately drafted into regular service in the Navy and after retraining was sent to the Pacific Fleet in Sovetskaya Gavan. It was there that I became a party member in 1968. I took examinations as an external student and graduated from the Kiev political school. I ended my service in the Northern Fleet with the rank of captain

second rank. I am now a military pensioner and work as senior engineer at the Estonian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. I am married with two children.

PRAVDA Reader Calls for ‘Party Pluralism’

PM0017051588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian

16 May 88 Se cond Edition p 2

[Letter from V. Degtyarev of Leningrad under the rubric “Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference: Readers’ Discussion Forum” and the general heading “Truth Is Born in Debate”: “Not Only Control”]

[Text] On the whole I support I. Sokolov’s opinion (PRAVDA, 18 March) on the need to revive the Central Control Commission, but it seems to me that this measure will not fully guarantee against repetition of the errors of the past. Perhaps I am wrong, but I think it would be timely to advance the thesis of “party pluralism,” that is, freedom of debate within the party on all questions of party and state life, with a guarantee against accusations of revisionism, opportunism, the creation of “antiparty” blocs, and so forth, and with these guarantees being written into the party Statutes. At present an active person who thinks in a nonstereotyped way has no safeguards against all that, and I, for instance, am not a member of the CPSU for that very reason, although I share the party’s goals and believe, to use high-flown language, in the bright communist future of mankind.

The party, deprived of freedom of debate, could again stray from the true path (after all, truth is born in debate). In the conditions of our one-party system freedom of debate could guarantee us against the emergence of damaging new errors, the repetition of old ones, and voluntarist excesses.

It is undoubtedly also necessary to switch party committees from the duplication of the work of state and economic organs to political work, and there is plenty of work here—the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh confirm this, I think. It is also necessary somehow to cleanse the party of the accretions of the “stagnation years” and ensure that unscrupulous people do not find their way into the party like flies to the honeypot, seeking to use it to get more out of society.

I have a proposal in this connection: adopt a law under which party membership at the time of commission of a crime (“abuse”) would be regarded as an aggravating circumstance. In my view arguments about the “pure image of the party member” are not enough on their own.

I would also like to touch on a rather different matter. Many people are now coming out against the simultaneous transmission of “Vremya” on all the TV channels. I will not argue about this program, but the compulsory showing on all channels, within the “Vremya” framework, of (say) Ivanov getting a goal past Sidorov seems

idiotic to me. How can the fact that the puck (or ball) goes into the goal be so important that the best air time has to be allocated to it on all channels simultaneously? Surely the country has other problems that should be publicized?

V. Degtyarev, Leningrad

Reader Cites 'Duplication' of Executive Efforts

PM1705150288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 May 88 Se cond Edition p 2

[Letter from V. Lyubchik, CPSU member since 1956, of Gremyachinsk, Perm Oblast, under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference: Readers' Discussion Forum" and the general heading "Truth Is Born in Debate": "Against Duplication"]

[Text] Let us assume that Stalin, as I. Sokolov writes in the 18 March PRAVDA [published in the 30 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 63-65], deliberately submitted to the 17th congress a proposal to abolish the Central Control Commission. Surely among the congress delegates and Central Committee and Politburo members there must have been some sober-minded people who understood the impermissibility of adopting this proposal? But the congress adopted it. So why do we, today, lay the blame for the repressions on I.V. Stalin alone? His guilt is, of course, enormous. But in my view one man—without supporters and helpers—cannot do either great good or great evil.

It is not only from hearsay that I know what the repressions of the thirties were like. I believe my father's service record can be found in the CPSU Central Committee archives. In 1938 my parents were arrested in Moscow, and in December 1955 they were rehabilitated, my father posthumously.

But let us go further. Stalin died 35 years ago. In that time there have been eight party congresses, including the 27th. I hope nobody will see it as a crime to ask: Who or what prevented the restoration, according to Lenin's principle, of the topmost echelon of the party control organ? After all, it is impossible that in 3 decades nobody except the author of the article cited remembered or read Lenin's warning that only the Central Control Commission, irrespective of persons, can ensure that no one hampers the correct conduct of our party affairs. Even today, are there not plenty of matters on which party organs, including the top organs, follow a path of duplication and concern themselves with other people's business?

So as not to make hollow accusations, let me cite just one example—the Politburo decisions adopted on 19 February. PRAVDA is the organ of the CPSU Central Committee, so I think it is possible to write about its executive organ in this newspaper.

The government submitted the draft Law on the Cooperative System. The Politburo approved the draft and submitted it for nationwide discussion. In my opinion, that was wrong. The government should submit the draft to the legislative body—the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Under the Constitution, it alone has the right to submit draft laws for nationwide discussion. In this case, the opinion may arise that since the Politburo has approved the draft, that is how the law will remain, so there is no point in discussing it.

A program for building roads in the non-Chernozem was approved. Why? That is an economic issue. Does the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium not have the authority to approve the program, and the ministries under its jurisdiction the power to fulfill it?

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on additional privileges for individual housing construction. Why a "dual" resolution? Does the Council of Ministers not have the administrative power?

In practice it transpires that the whole of political, state, and administrative power is concentrated in the same hands, although we are now living in peacetime and there is no need for an organ like the State Committee for Defense. Unless we have order here, the well-thought-out restructuring will not work as it should, and today there is no time to lose.

As for the Central Control Commission, it must, of course, be revived, and this must be done, I believe, on a Leninist basis and without delay—at the 19th all-union party conference. It must be written into the CPSU Statutes that no organ except the congress or conference has the right to interfere in the activity of the Central Control Commission, remove members or add new members, or exert any influence on the leadership of the Central Control Commission or its chairman. Only on that essential condition will the Central Control Commission be independent and be able to prevent the repetition of the errors in question.

V. Lyubchik, CPSU member since 1956,
Gremyachinsk,
Perm Oblast.

Readers Speak Against Nomenklatura, Demagogues

18000347b Moscow SOVetskaya Kultura in Russian 17 May 88 p 2

[Letters from readers: "I Propose for Discussion"]

To Get Away From Nomenklatura

[Text] The restructuring in all the aspects of public life that has begun in the country presupposes a serious restructuring in party work. Many links of the modern party structure were formed in the 1920's and 1930's,

that is, during the strengthening of the administrative command system, which today is the main hindrance on the path of restructuring and democratization of society. Nomenklatura in the selection and disposition of key personnel is the core of this system.

Personnel nomenklatura is defined in the dictionary of party construction as a list of posts filled in accordance with or with the consent of a certain party committee. In reality, however, nomenklatura has turned into an isolated, strictly hierarchical stratum of key personnel, often cut off from the people, and sometimes using their powers for group and personal purposes.

Nomenklatura began to be formed as long ago as the period of the civil war. The Stocktaking and Distribution Department (Uchraspred) was established under the Secretariat of the Central Committee in 1920. Initially, it engaged in the organization of party mobilizations. After the end of the civil war, when the practice of mobilizations came to an end, Uchraspred took into its hands the distribution of party posts. At the beginning of 1921 all posts, including uyezd ones, were under its authority. The party congress elected the Central Committee, which elected the Politburo, the Organizational Bureau, and the Secretariat, and the Secretariat, more accurately, Uchraspred, selected guberniya and uyezd secretaries of party committees, which selected delegates to the congress, which elected the Central Committee, including the Secretariat. Since 1923 this system, when, in fact, the Secretariat elects itself, has been gradually extended to all the links of the party structure. It enabled Stalin, who received the post of general secretary, to keep the party apparatus completely in his hands and to usurp the power in the country.

During subsequent decades the nomenklatura system was somewhat modernized, but in its essence remained the same antidemocratic and bureaucratic hierarchy constantly cutting off the masses from real participation in the exercise of power. During the years of stagnation it led to the formation of numerous corrupted elite groups in the administrative apparatus, which transformed individual cities, oblasts, and republics into their own "uyezd principalities."

Now our society has embarked on a decisive demolition of the administrative command system. Therefore, I propose that the 19th party conference solve the problem of replacing nomenklatura with a system of election of key personnel, a competitive system, the certification of leaders, and other democratic mechanisms placing the people above the apparatus, not vice versa. Without this fundamental measure all other democratic transformations, which are now widely discussed on the pages of the press, will lead to nothing, because the old system will remain basically inviolable.

V. Lysenko, candidate of philosophical sciences, docent at the Department of Scientific Communism of MAI, party member since 1985, Moscow

Our Rebuff to Demagogues

Restructuring has uncovered many interesting people—thinking and true fighters for revolutionary transformations in the country, who are guided by principles. Naturally, however, the discussion of candidacies is not proceeding simply. Sometimes those who know how to speak beautifully, but do not go further than that, are in the center of attention. People notice this and appraise the demagogues properly: The country does not need fighters who speak well, but those that can also work. I would like to name many such people, whom I would personally like to see at the conference tribune. Nevertheless, in contrast to writer V. Semenov, I cannot do this, because I am a party worker and I again can be accused of pressure "from above."

There was a case on one of our farms. We came there with our candidates for the post of kolkhoz chairman. But the collective was against them—they put forward their own candidate. We proposed that the merits of both candidates be discussed most carefully. What turned out? The raykom candidacy received the majority of the votes. We simply approached the selection of the candidate more seriously and took into consideration all his pluses and minuses. But, alas, only emotions were on the side of the collective. I would like to say that many collectives must still learn democracy and truly root for the cause, which the times urge them to serve. Our rayon has already become accustomed to the fact that leaders of any rank are elected at general meetings. And now gone are the mistakes that collectives made at first.

I would like the delegate from our rayon to raise from the conference tribune the question of the further development of democracy from the following aspect: Considerable complications in the award of orders and medals continue to exist. Schedules of allocations and the observance of all questionnaire data continue to exist. But life is such that, let us assume, a person is simply an excellent business organizer, not a narrow specialist, but according to regulations only specialists should be submitted for certain types of awards.

In brief, there are many problems here. To be sure, they are many, because the principles of democracy have not yet been developed in full force here. In any matter acts should be kept in mind. The preparation for the conference will assess these acts.

N. Kudinov, first secretary of Lipetskiy Raykom, Lipetsk Oblast

11439

'Functional' Sections, Limited Terms Advocated
PM1805145188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 18 May 88 Se cond Edition p 3

[Letter from CPSU Member V. Volkov under the "Mailbag" rubric: "The Statutes Will Provide the Guarantees"]

[Text] The CPSU's history shows that there have been a number of changes in the structure of party organs. For instance, at the 17th party congress it was decided to restructure obkom and Central Committee departments of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and to create in place of functional departments integrated production-sectoral departments in which all the work of a sector as a whole was focused. The 18th congress abolished all production-sectoral departments in the Central Committee and the obkoms apart from agriculture and in their place created departments responsible for cadres, propaganda and agitation, and organization and instruction, in other words, a return to the old structure. Then everything reversed again. I believe that the structure of the internal formation of party organs according to the functional principle was correct on the whole but that it was rejected because it conflicted with the administrative and command-based system of management.

I think that it is necessary to return to the formation of party organs on a functional basis. Such a structure is in itself not a panacea against the ill of bureaucracy but it may be used to some extent to prevent the supplanting and merging of the functions of party, soviet, and economic organs.

In the struggle against the bureaucratization of the party, as I see it, measures should be taken to ensure the consistent implementation of the principle of the replaceability of cadres, first and foremost leading cadres. The

deep-rooted practice of "tenure" in leadership posts from the moment of election (appointment) until "honorable" retirement introduced stagnation into cadre policy, a lack of control, total license, irresponsibility, Communist arrogance, servility, and careerism. In brief, sometimes it turned a good party worker into a mere functionary and a bureaucrat.

The kind of statute must be adopted whereby Central Committee, obkom, and ray(gor)kom secretaries would be elected for a term of no more than 5 years and the general secretary for no more than 10 years, or 2 terms.

It is also time to democratize the procedure for electing the party's leading organs. After all, now, as before, the lists of candidate members of raykoms, obkoms, and so forth are prepared and agreed in advance by apparatus workers. I believe that it is necessary to reject in principle this undemocratic, behind-the-scenes activity, to ban it, and to include responsibility for such actions in the Statutes.

The changing of the structure of party organs, the establishment of shortened terms of office in leading posts, the substantial reduction in the size of staff workers, and the democratization of the procedure for elections, in my view, are also a mechanism of renewal and restructuring.

V. Volkov, CPSU member since 1970. Kaliningrad.

Economist Urges Democratization of Ministerial Apparatus

18000344 *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA* in Russian
No 16, Apr 88 p 5

[Article by V. Tomashkevich, doctor of economic sciences; deputy director, All-Union Advanced Training Institute, USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems: "The Ministry and the Democratism of Management. How to Overcome the "Silent" Power of the Apparatus"]

[Text] If we look at the vertical management configuration—ministry-enterprise, we can see without particular effort that democratization processes develop actively only in the basic economic link. Economic methods of management provide more and more latitude for its action even though in the relations with higher organs, the old content still persists stubbornly under the guise of new forms—norms, incorrectly interpreted state orders, and ceilings.

And the ministry itself? What is fundamentally new here? Has there been a reduction in the size of its work force? But this is a surgical operation on the external forms of the apparatus. What has changed in the activity of ministries? In addition to examples of the reduction of paperwork, meetings and recordkeeping, there is still much of the old. One does not have to be a seer to notice the existence of inhibiting forces in the ministerial apparatus.

Why? Because in many instances, the character and style of the work of ministries, their organizational forms, and their independence of departmental subdivisions have in principle changed but slightly. Thus the prerequisites exist for restoring all the vices of management methods based on administrative pressure while the democratic potential inherent in the Law on the State Enterprise is neutralized.

Radical measures are needed to bring about the basic democratization of the activity of the ministries themselves. Only then will all links in the vertical management configuration be adequate to one another.

How do we picture this process?

A branch economic council is created at each ministry. The creation of branch councils is provided in the economic reform guidelines but this provision is not being carried out. Enterprise managers, specialists, workers, and representatives of branch and academy science could belong to the councils.

Why is such a council needed? To raise the level of collegiality and collectivity in branch management and, what is especially important under present conditions, to strengthen oversight over the activity of the ministerial apparatus, and to eliminate intradepartmental barriers and subjectiveness in management. The inclination

toward tendentiousness in evaluating the performance of enterprises and their work collectives, likes and dislikes, the division of collectives into "sons" and "stepsons"—all these are quite widespread phenomena that continue to exist under the new conditions as well.

We do not need to fantasize. We need only take a sober look at economic practice to see how the state order and economic norms can still be used to keep any enterprise on an administrative leash. Experience derived from carrying out the reform convincingly shows that the still-intact bureaucratic machine of ministerial management is in fact dismantling the democratic principles set forth in the Law on the State Enterprise. "The problem of strictly observing the laws is extremely urgent today," M. S. Gorbachev stated in his speech at the kolkhoz workers' congress. "Without this the democratic process and economic reform are impossible. It must be frankly admitted that a scornful attitude toward the rights of work collectives has become part of the flesh and blood of many leaders of different ranks. They are accustomed to operating according to the principle: "I undo what I want," without answering in moral and even less in financial terms for the negative consequences of their decisions."

Thus the ministries need a democratic wing so that the principle of democratic centralism would also be operative at their level and would become the internally inherent state of their activity. The branch council will also perform these functions. It could meet at least twice a year and examine all fundamental issues relating to the work of the branch. Among them: planning, scientific-technological progress, economic norms, personnel training, use of progressive knowhow, structural changes in production, and many others.

The free, brief, competent, unhurried, comprehensive collective discussion of economic and scientific-technological problems and drafts of orders could significantly weaken the dictatorship of the apparatus over the enterprises.

Otherwise, apparatus personnel who possess the necessary information for many years are capable of successfully "subordinating" to themselves new ministry leaders who appear to be very decisively oriented toward change. After all, the latter are at the outset in dire need of the knowledge of apparatus personnel who also have enduring informal ties with other departments, which are exceedingly important for the coordination of a given document. As a result, the person who assumes leadership of the branch becomes dependent on the apparatus and soon becomes "tame" and obligated to those who supported him with papers and advice in the initial period.

But here is a paradox. No matter how powerful they may be when they address managerial issues, they are at the same time the least socially protected. They are subordinate to a narrow circle of persons who decide the fate

of any person, his advancement, certification, and rewards. After all, it is a fact that on an official plane it is possible to do practically anything whatsoever to an apparatus worker. Such an ambiguous position frequently kills a person's independence and initiative, the lack of which is today the subject of much discussion in the departments themselves.

The defenselessness of the apparatus worker is a phenomenon that is characteristic not only of the lower and middle but also of the top economic link as well. It fosters an accommodating disposition in behavior and thought. Carrying out assignments, guessing what the boss is thinking and feeding the same back to him on paper, "taking care of" letters and complaints on schedule but not resolving the issues raised in them—such is the essence and guarantee of "successful" work in any apparatus. You will rarely hear its personnel say: "resolved an issue," "introduced," "supported the initiative," "disseminated knowhow." No, the principal virtue is to "implement a paper."

The only remedy for such a situation is the deep democratization of personnel work in the ministerial apparatus. While there is a need for protection against its tyranny, the apparatus itself has no less a need for protection.

The apparatus of ministries, all the way up to top leadership must be subordinate not only to a higher body but to the public as well. Reports at the branch council, certification of ministry cadres with the aid of closed questionnaires, competitive principles, preliminary examination of candidates for promotion—all this will help the party committees of ministries interested in the development of such forms of glasnost.

Why? On the one hand, it is said that the ways in which cadres are promoted are inscrutable, but on the other hand everyone always knows precisely when someone has "pulled" or "pushed" someone, who worked with whom and where, and why a certain person therefore moved "up" or "ahead." This became so deeply ingrained in people's minds during the years of stagnation and protectionism that an energetic search for compromising arguments is set in motion against a candidate who, while worthy of promotion is not written into the existing team, with the result that these arguments are found and the promotion does not materialize.

As a result of these and many other factors, there is a significant decline in the interest in managerial work. This is an exceptionally serious problem and its negative consequences may make themselves known in the not so distant future.

What has the reduction [in force] shown? It turned out that there are many people the ministries would like to keep but who themselves have decided to leave in order to go into production, into independent work, viewing this as one of the decisive stimuli and factors of job satisfaction.

A special word about the turnover rate and length of time worked by ministry personnel. This is probably a most complex problem and here we see one of the decisive links in the mechanism of inhibition, conservatism, and stagnant phenomena in the activity of departments. It is abnormal when the chief of a main administration or deputy minister works 15-20 or more years in the same place. Despite examples of exceptionally successful activity of individuals in the same post, such a situation usually leads to major miscalculations in the development of the branch. People become unreceptive to the new and develop the habit of looking at everything from the same point of view through the eyes of one and the same, personally selected milieu. The result: professional lag, the loss of the creative spirit, lag behind the times, and mental laziness. People lose their capacity for self-renewal, for climbing the stairs of time. They become accustomed to it and to their milieu of many years standing.

Competition for any ministerial position—such it seems to us is the demand of the time. Why are we afraid of electing a deputy minister on a competitive basis? Select two or three candidates and let a branch council decide by secret ballot which candidate is most worthy. After all, it is no secret that many failures in various branches are connected with the personal activity and qualifications of the leader.

The reelection of executive personnel could be carried out within the specified period. Future vacancies can be announced in the newspapers and through other channels. It is essential to bar the door to secrecy, subjective evaluations, and protectionism. The bitter experience of past years suggests that we not only expose it but that we above all find a mechanism that would prevent these weed seeds from germinating.

But what of those who do not withstand the competition and who must vacate their position? This is presently perceived as a tragedy. The oh's and ah's, the schadenfreude, the gossip. We will have to outgrow this malevolent "public opinion." Such schadenfreude is also a reaction to protectionism in work with cadres. The competitive advancement of cadres must become socially necessary. A democratic element of the new system of management is specifically manifested in it. But this is one aspect of the problem.

The democratization of the activity of ministries presupposes measures for increasing the prestigiousness of the managerial work of its personnel, the authority of which has been greatly shaken. The press has also had a hand in this. Do we not have many publications in which a ministry official is depicted as a bureaucrat? A new stereotype of thought has developed: since a person works for a ministry, this means that he is a bureaucrat. But in real life everything is considerably more complex.

Thus many of the present apparatus personnel are people who have gone through the crucible of production and party and soviet work. They have an enormous amount of experience managing production and working with people. There is no reason to believe that this experience is totally unusable.

The significance and complexity of managerial work has increased many fold. There is need for new decisions that materially, morally and socially stimulate the influx of the most highly skilled cadres from production and science into the central apparatus. These decisions may concern the amount of leave time, the structure of the work week, conditions for raising the level of one's theoretical training and professional qualifications, and the procedure for retiring on pension.

The general rule in the future must be that a person who has worked unstintingly and effectively in the headquarters of a branch or at an enterprise should not suffer such a sharp drop in his living standard as at present when he retires. This will manifest society's humane evaluation of a person's performance during his working life.

Lifelong tenure in managerial activity can be eliminated only through democratic competitive elections and the establishment of a limited term in any executive post. But the material remuneration and the guarantees here must be higher—there must be special discussion of their forms. It is especially important that such personnel work increase the protection of apparatus personnel proper against the tyranny, pressure, and strict dependence on their own administration. The conditions themselves will prompt them to work freely, creatively, with enthusiasm, without looking back, and without playing it safe.

The democratization of the economic life of enterprises depends to a considerable degree on the democratization of ministerial activity. The principal deficit of democracy and bureaucratic thrombosis that hinder the harmonization of the economic interests of society, collectives and working people under the conditions of the new economic mechanism have formed here.

5013

Suggestions Made to Improve Work of Village Soviets

*18000331b Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Apr 88 pp 1, 2*

[Article by Yu. Shpakov, PRAVDA correspondent: "The First Level of Power"]

[Excerpts] *The February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee most emphatically posed the question of dramatically raising the role of the soviets as the core of our society's political system and its state embodiment. It is specifically here, in the formation and functioning of the soviets that the democratic principles of socialism must be*

realized first of all. In a certain sense, today we are discussing the need for a rebirth of the power of the soviets as Lenin understood it. The task of tasks is to see to it that soviets at all levels are actually functioning, resourceful, full-fledged centers of state power and government. In advance of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, PRAVDA proposes to publish a number of materials analyzing the work of soviets at all levels, revealing the most typical shortcomings in their activity, and telling about their experience. Today's discussion is focused on the first level of power—the village soviet.

The Law of the RSFSR on the Settlement and Village Soviet of People's Deputies states that "This organ of state power decides all questions of local significance and guides state, economic and cultural construction on its territory." The rights, as we see, are very broad. But what are the possibilities for their practical realization?

The components of authority

A heated conflict recently erupted between the chairman of the executive committee of the Rostovkinskiy Village Soviet and the management of the "Sibirskaya" Poultry Factory. There is no need to go into detail. I will only say that the disagreement started with the question of who should be subordinate to whom and how the rights and obligations articulated in the law should be understood.

The Omskiy Raykom of the CPSU self-critically admits that it made a serious miscalculation when it recommended a random person for a responsible position. He did not justify the hopes placed him and committed numerous mistakes.

The story of S. Metelev's appearance in the post of the head of the local executive authority causes astonishment at the very least. He worked in UVD organs and was fired with a strict party penalty. He then went through several positions and rayons, went to live with relatives at a settlement in the vicinity of the poultry factory and was hired as an economist at the enterprise. Less than 3 months later, he headed the ispolkom. Clearly the voters did not have the slightest idea as to for whom they were voting.

I asked the people I was talking to could Metelev have been admitted to the apparatus of the party raykom as, let us say, an instructor. Of course not, was their astonished response: only people who have given a good account of themselves in their work can be admitted to the party apparatus. Does this mean that anyone at all can be nominated to head a village soviet? Even though not so very much depends on an instructor, an ispolkom chairman is a much more important figure.

Here is one more comparison. Among the almost 1500 oblast party committee staff personnel, only a few do not have higher education. More than 83 percent of the party committee secretaries of sovkhozes and kolkhozes are VUZ graduates. But only a little more than one-third of

the total number of the chairmen of village soviet ispolkoms have VUZ diplomas. The people advanced to this post are frequently those who have not proven their worth in their previous job or who even have a tarnished reputation. In general, it is not difficult to understand the situation: the pay of a kolkhoz or sovkhoz specialist is considerably higher and no one voluntarily aspires to ephemeral power. And it is entirely incomprehensible why chairmen of village soviets are excluded from the list of persons receiving bonuses based on performance for the agricultural year. Secretaries of party and Kom-somol organizations receive them, trade union heads receive them, but ispolkom personnel receive nothing.

The authority of the organs of state power is formed in social consciousness. It forms from many factors that are occasionally unobtrusive and relatively insignificant but that are in their aggregate quite important. For example, it is considered to be in the order of things that a sovkhoz director in a planning meeting gives a severe dressing-down to a village ispolkom chairman for dirty roads, for irregular mail delivery, for an inoperative club and that the latter meekly agrees with the criticism. Indeed there is no need to object: since the village soviet is responsible for all questions of local significance, it is also guilty of everything. And the fact that the dressing-down takes place before the eyes of specialists, many of whom are deputies, no one is particularly surprised. Everyone is used to it. The reader may object that a sovkhoz director or kolkhoz chairman may receive a dressing-down at a sitting of the ispolkom. This is a theoretical possibility. But in reality, a "representative of power" will hardly want to spoil relations with those upon whom they are entirely dependent.

How can the authority of local organs of power be raised? Where should we begin the decisive restructuring of a clearly obsolete system of interrelations? This topic was thoroughly discussed at the Luzanskiy Village Soviet—one of the largest in the oblast.

A. Klast, secondary school teacher: "I believe that the unconscionably wide range of the rights and obligations of village and settlement obligations into line with vital necessity and practical possibilities. The efforts of the soviet must be concentrated in the sphere of the population's interests but not on taking the place of social organizations, rayon institutions or work collectives."

G. Golikova, operator at a swine-fattening complex: "A good decree was recently issued on bringing order to the use of official motor vehicles. Why not give some of the vehicles that become available to the village soviets? At the same time they could also be assigned limits on fuel and provided with repair services. We should also improve the training of deputies and elect the village soviet not for 2.5 years but for a longer period. Otherwise their term of office expires just when they are getting into the flow of things."

A. Anoshin, milling machine operator in the central repair shops on the "Luzinskiy" Sovkhoz: "It would be better if chairmen of village soviet ispolkoms were elected by direct vote and if there were always several candidates. It would make sense to define their status clearly and to make their pay dependent on the performance of the enterprises situated on the soviet's territory."

S. Gorovoy, village ispolkom chairman: "The soviet must have more freedom to dispose of the budget and especially of deductions from the profits of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, payments for capital, human resources, etc. Party organs can do a great deal to strengthen the authority of village soviets. If they strictly demand that communist managers give full weight to all decisions by organs of state power and if they continuously exemplify a respectful attitude toward those elected by the people, our work will be easier."

Such proposals have also been expressed. While multiple authority exists in the countryside today, most issues are decided within the walls of the rayon party committee. Would it not be better to make the rayispolkom the single headquarters, to strengthen it by abolishing the RAPO and branch departments of the CPSU raykom in order to make it truly efficacious and authoritative? The party organ must exercise political leadership, screen, educate and place cadres, and oversee the execution of decisions. It must not in any measure take the place of organs of soviet power or economic managers.

The slogan 'All Power to the Soviets,' which was born in revolutionary struggle, acquires a special ring today. But its practical implementation is hindered by many incorrect, deeply rooted concepts, and stiff habits and convictions. Nevertheless, the problem must be resolved."

5013

Nature Conservation Official Interviewed on Ecological Protection Tasks

*18000345a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
8 May 88 p 2*

Interview with F.T. Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection, by Kim Smirnov: "Dictatorship of the Departments or the National Interest?"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] **The chairman of the newly created USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection, F.T. Morgun, responds to questions from an IZVESTIYA correspondent.**

[Question] Fedor Trofimovich, naturally our readers are interested in the positions that will be taken by the state committee that you now lead. But let me start with a more personal question. Not long ago in the press you thanked the parents and teachers at schools in the

villages of Ivanovka and Grodovka in the Donbass for the lessons you received in the love of nature and of the land, and of people working the land. After those first lessons you life was involved in the war, your years as a student, and a great deal of experience in party work. What is the chief lesson that you have drawn from these years you have lived if we talk about the interrelationship between society and nature? And how is that lesson connected with the new affairs with which you have now been entrusted?

[Answer] First, notwithstanding, on the subject of positions. What it amounts to is that nature throughout the world, including in our homeland, is in danger, and we must immediately take decisive steps to protect it. What these steps are has been defined by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On a Radical Restructuring of Environmental Protection in the Country."

We stand on the brink of two calamities facing our common home—planet Earth—and each specific home, whether it be a modest hut in the countryside or a skyscraper in a capital. The first is the threat of nuclear catastrophe. The second is ecological infarct. Nature is in a pre-infarct condition, all around us, today. For every person this is the hour of the alarm and of a sense of civic responsibility for the green and living world. But will everyone hear this warning "striking of the clock"?

I am deeply convinced from my own experience that the lessons in kindness or the lessons in cruelty with regard to nature are learned in childhood and thereafter are of enormous importance for awakening, or contrariwise stifling the ecological conscience. I think that I have been lucky. My parents and teachers were generous in their lessons in kindness. In my home village I remembered from childhood the simple but wise admonitions of my elders: do not throw stones in the field, do not leave nails on the path, "do not foul the well, you may need its water." My father and mother had a reverent attitude toward nature. Mama, for example, always treated the chicks and ducklings and calves as tenderly as she did the children. And this spirit was imprinted in me. Wherever I have worked since then I have always tried to act in agreement with nature.

Now the scientists are talking about the need for ecological imperatives, the prohibitions that we have no right to violate in any circumstances. These prohibitions must be instilled in a person from childhood. And then they must be maintained throughout life through a whole system of measures, from education and indoctrination to implacable laws for environmental protection. For the ecological imperatives here are full of holes. They have too many gaps and loopholes for violating the elementary ecological standards. These violations are justified by extreme state or national economic need. But if we amend nature then we gain nothing in economics. On the contrary, we have forfeited a great deal and lost in an

irretrievable way. And contrariwise as soon as strict ecological imperatives coincide with the interests of an intensively developing economy.

[Question] I think that many people share that position. However, there are probably also skeptics to be found. Yes, our readers are well aware that when you were the first secretary of the Poltava Party Obkom you ardently declaimed for a businesslike, solicitous and sensible attitude toward nature (in particular for the introduction of non-plowing technology to protect the fields and preserve the Chernozem). But now you must switch to nature conservation on different scales and quality. The strategy would seem to be clear: waste-free or low-waste resource-saving technology, closed water circulation cycles, comprehensive development of natural resources. But we still observe no revolutionary changes in these areas. Where is the lever that will insure such changes?

[Answer] The problem lies not in ignorance about what to do but in the fact that for the last 10 to 15 years love of nature has been demonstrated more in words than in deeds. Our administrative-bureaucratic apparatus has gradually, step by step, been reducing the fine environmental protection initiatives from the heights of party and government decrees and the interests of the state and the people to a departmental interest.

We must start precisely with the specific matters that have brought some result. But with those that will offer a national effect. Waste-free technology? Wonderful. But we have been talking about this for years! Let us offer the people a tangible program with a specific time frame that states where and how many and what kind of technological cycles must be introduced and what funds and scientific efforts must be allocated for that task. And let us monitor that program.

Tangibility and specificity of goals and results are what are missing today in environmental protection. Let us say that it is reported that the quantity of harmful emissions in a major industrial center has been reduced 15 percent. How to take this: is it good or bad? For at any point in the country the aim should be complete normalization of the ecological situation and not reports about percentages. But this cannot all be done in an hour. I agree. Well then, say to people that today we have reduced the quantity of emission by 15 percent, and that next year the figure will be 25 percent, and by 1990 we shall reach our goal and the city will again breath fresh air.

But you have touched on the problem of moldboardless tilling, which protects the soil; this is a problem in which I have a particular interest. And you have touched on it in the kind of spirit that suggests that now, perhaps, my concerns are much more complex than "getting rid of moldboards." But not only from the standpoint of the Poltava Obkom but also from the positions of an all-union environmental protection committee this is

exactly the kind of specific issue that on the national scale too can result in a considerable economic, ecological and social effect together.

Eight or nine decades ago, under V. Dokuchayev, the Poltava Chernozem had 10 percent humus, and regions of the Russian Chernozem had even more. Today there is four or five percent humus. This is degradation, the result mainly of tilling the land with plows. And precisely the most valuable virtue of the moldboardless system is that it protects the soil. In ecological terms this is a very effective, I would almost say rescue method that does not require special expenditures.

In the European part of the country alone a soil-protection system for working the land could be put into effect on a minimum of 100 million to 120 million hectares. Giving up the plow and switching to sweep working [ploskorez] with all the range of accompanying tools (the Siberian Research Institute of Agricultural Mechanization and Electrification tool standard, the knife, the subsoiler, the disk harrow, the wide-swath cultivator, special seed drills, the BIG-3 harrow and other machines) will produce an additional 35 million to 40 million tons of produce in terms of grain.

This is just one specific way of conserving nature while intensifying the national economy. But there are many such ways in the country, and a great deal of experience and scientific development. All that is needed is to extract them from the funereal dust of the "out-of-the-way shelves" and reveal everything that is talented and lively and sensible that has been accumulated among the people, and the road to practical work.

You asked about the lever that would insure revolutionary changes in nature conservation matters. This is primarily switching the economy onto the rails of intensification on a cost-accounting basis and the democratization of our entire life. Since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress steps of fundamental importance have been taken in the atmosphere of glasnost to improve the ecological situation in many industrial centers and regions. Action to protect Lake Baykal and Lake Ladoga against pollution has received national support. Work to divert some of the flows in the northern and Siberian rivers has been discontinued. Monitoring of ecological safety when projects are examined has become stricter.

A specific example. The public in Krasnoyarsk Kray is worried that the design of the Berezovskaya GRES-1 now under construction does not provide for the necessary degree of gas purification and the utilization of waste. The USSR Council of Ministers has warned the Ministry of Power and Electrification that if the second stage is not ecologically clean there can be no question of construction of the third stage.

The State Committee for Environmental Protection is in complete agreement with the proposal that henceforth no new enterprise, and here we are talking primarily about power engineering, metallurgy, chemicals, petrochemicals and construction materials, should be put into operation if its ecological safety has not been completely guaranteed. But this kind of principle has been proclaimed before. And even embodied in legislative acts. Why then, today, must we prove the obvious? Because of the dictatorship of departmental interests; this is still the objective reality of our life.

At an expanded meeting of an expert council and with the participation of scientists in the republic and representatives of the ministries and departments and other interested organizations, the Ukrainian State Committee for Environmental Protection recently reviewed the plan for the Dneprovskiy-Bug water engineering scheme, and did not approve it. The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences has also concluded that closure of the Dneprovskiy-Bug estuary is inadvisable and a serious danger. The academy scientists proposed their own alternative measures, which are ecologically safe and considerably cheaper.

As you read the reasons given by the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences you are also imbued with a profound respect for the people who with a great sense of civic responsibility are dealing with this vital problem. At the same time, the following question arises: if the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Environmental Protection is against it, and if the scientists are against it, then who is "for" it? It turns out that it is the republic Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, whose first priority is to obtain enormous funds. For how else can you explain the fact that despite the lack of a technical design, as long ago as 1983 in the region of Ochakov the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources Dneprobugvodstroy Trust started intensive preparatory work to close the estuary and has already spent tens of millions of rubles to do this?

The truth must not be warped in the distorting mirror of purely the departmental approach to matters. The position of scientists and practical people who propose that we not hurry to close off the estuary at Ochakov must be considered, the pros and cons must be weighed, and there must be no rush with the Danube-Dnepr canal; it is better to use other ways of solving the problem as proposed by the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences. But the main thing is that it is essential to study how finally to draw the correct conclusions from party and government decrees. For halting work on the diversion in the North is a private decision. It should not be that in one place ecological outrages have been stopped where they have been shown directly, while in another they continue while no specific decision has been made in the matter.

[Question] But perhaps it is not merely a matter of stopping things but lies in the fact that for the departments the national resources—water, forest, land—cost

virtually nothing? What if they had to pay out of their own pockets, if only a nominal price, for natural resources and for any harm done to them?

[Answer] The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On a Radical Restructuring of Environmental Protection in the Country" also provides exactly for a cost-accounting approach to the use of natural resources and the dependence of final work results by enterprises on the effectiveness of the environmental protection steps that they have taken.

Questions of paying for land, water and other natural resources, and also for the emission of pollutants, are being considered. And the normativs for such payments should be differentiated and progressive, that is, they should give advantages to those who steadily reduce consumption of natural resources and even better reduce environmental pollution. The plan is that when permissible emissions are exceeded or there is accidental contamination, payment will be based on the number of times that this has occurred and set according to an economic normativ. And this will all come from the cost-accounting income of the collective. The economic levers should be such that each person will really feel it in his pocket; the destruction of nature does not create riches.

Of course, preparation of these normativs will take some time and must be coordinated with the introduction of new wholesale prices. But it is only along this road that it is possible to combine the separate interests of the collectives, the departments and society as a whole and each of its citizens.

[Question] Two polarized viewpoints exist on public participation in the fate of projects that alter nature. The first amounts to this: issues that affect their living environment must not be resolved without the people. The other is that it is impossible to leave decisions on the fate of such projects to amateurs rather than the specialists. Why is it that it is precisely ecological problems that have become a field where glasnost must sustain particularly savage counterattacks?

[Answer] Glasnost in the sense that it is only now being affirmed is still so young and it still has to grow, and grow broad and high, including in the ecological sphere. Of course, even earlier the worried voices were being heard in defense of the land and forest and the air and water. Just think of the drive of T. Maltsev and A. Barayev and the passionate statements by writers and journalists such as L. Leonov, V. Chivilikhin, I. Vasilyev, V. Rasputin, S. Zalygin, O. Gonchar, Ch. Aytmatov, V. Belov, V. Peskov, Yu. Chernichenko, A. Strelyanyy and A. Ivashchenko, and the numerous journalists in the periodical press. But at that time those on whom the decisions depended did not always listen to them. And there were moreover frequent references to the "competence" of the specialists and the "incompetence of the amateurs."

In fact, how does the knowledge of the specialists relate to the public viewpoint? They are two sides of the same coin. Without a sense of civic responsibility to the people and to the public, and without glasnost, the competence of the specialists is often confined to that same departmental interest.

And then, what does the "competence of the specialists" mean? Is it something that lives somewhere outside nature? Literally each person can make a powerful contribution to environmental protection—the worker if he observes technological discipline, the construction worker saving the trees near the construction site, the teacher providing children with knowledge about the vulnerability of nature.

Today we all need to "wipe out ecological illiteracy." We need instruments that would give a real picture of the state of the environment. We need complete glasnost in informing the population about that picture. We certainly need the ecological expertise of the organs of the State Committee for Environmental Protection, and timely discussion with the public at the "points of contact."

However, when talking about wiping out ecological "illiteracy" what I have in mind is not only the actions of the "Znaniye" Society and environmental protection, nor even just lessons at school and lectures at the university. It is a question of making nature conservation knowledge and the laws and prohibitions keys positions in the consciousness and actions of scientists, specialists, and economic, party and soviet leaders. They must acquire a sense of ecological responsibility and farsightedness and raise themselves up to that level. But the public, too, and here I speak candidly, must also raise itself up to that level.

When it is a matter of ecological demonstrations, this, of course, testifies to the inability of the local authorities to solve questions of environmental protection promptly. But it also indicates a public lack of developed principles for interacting with the authorities. Notwithstanding, outbursts of emotion and ultimatums do not constitute the best road. So the public too needs its own system for "wiping out illiteracy."

I ask myself this question: why is it that very often in acute ecological situations it is precisely the "informal" associations, including the nature conservation associations, that take the initiative and the leading position, rather than, say, the soviets of people's deputies? Why do the soviets forget that way back in the time of the October Revolution they were given a mandate of total authority? And that this mandate was affirmed by the 27th CPSU Congress? Why do they yield so meekly to the narrow positions of the departments. Why is the dictatorship of the people so often replaced by the departmental interest? We shall protect nature and we

shall make liability for outrages against it inevitable and terrible if precisely all the local soviets become true headquarters for nature conservation work.

Using every means at their disposal they must instill in the managers of enterprises (and literally din it into those who are negligent or unscrupulous) the essential truth that whoever thinks in ecological categories and responsibly embodies them in practical economic work will win economically. Any production facility that harms nature has no prospects.

[Question] Fedor Trofimovich, there are industrial centers where the burden on the environment is particularly great (and incidentally, it is from there that the reports most often come about ecological demonstrations and meetings). What must be done on a priority basis to reduce this?

[Answer] The first and most important thing is retooling the enterprises. There are also other ways, right down to moving them outside the boundaries of cities and closing down particularly harmful production facilities. But here, the following question arises: why are these production facilities being located in such numbers in capitals and industrial centers? Both bitter and positive world experience is available on this score. On the one hand, the most acute ecological problems of gigantic megalopolises such as Mexico City, New York and Cairo. On the other, the example of a number of countries in Europe where small enterprises are set up in small cities and settlements. I think that our planners must reject the stereotype of thinking that industry is the destiny only of large cities.

By continuing to give preference to the construction of enterprises, housing and social and cultural projects in the cities we shall seriously worsen the far from simple situation both in the cities and in the countryside. I am convinced that we shall resolve demographic problems if we build widely and well in the countryside and open up subsidiary businesses, shops and enterprises there.

Accordingly it is essential to create a kind of cult of good homestead areas that would serve the people, attract young people and help the rural family again to become a three-generation concern, as it should be. If the grandfather and grandmother are there, no matter where the father and mother work they will always be reassured about the children. Much of what is negative from the departure of young people out of the countryside and the separation from their families will disappear. And the main thing is that they will be instilled with a love of labor and a love of all living things, and will imbibe the sense of being master of the land. And so you see that we have returned to where we started—to the land, the family and the family home.

[Question] I think that the program for action that you have mapped out will receive the credit of trust among Soviet people. However, readers are also worried about

how the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection is going to implement it, how it is going to organize its own work. Will it succeed in overcoming the chronic disease of earlier nature conservation organs, namely, lack of coordination in its efforts, impotence in the face of diktat of the departments, and virtual lack of rights? In short, everyone is worried by the following: will we not be limited merely to another bureaucratic organization while things get no better for nature?

[Answer] We who are working in the committee are also very worried by this question. But let us return to that later. I do not want to duck the question. However, you must understand me correctly: now it is the time for deeds, not words. The committee is still only being formed, both organizationally and in terms of principles. One thing I can say: exceptionally difficult work lies ahead in bringing about ecological order in the country. I would like to take advantage of this occasion to make an appeal to the local party, soviet and Komsomol organs: recommend for the committee for environmental protection people who are knowledgeable and decisive, courageous and uncompromising. This is the request and the demand that is contained in many of the letters arriving in the State Committee for Environmental Protection. For it is on such people and their civic stance that whether or not we shall be able to overcome the chronic diseases of which you speak depends.

09642

Sweeping Changes in Structure, Functions of Soviets Proposed

18000353a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 May 88 p 2

[Article by L. Dubov, head of the department for organization and instructors of the Ivanovo Oblast Ispolkom: "Deputy: Title or Calling"]

[Text] The proposals of B.P. Kurashvili are very interesting ("The Soviets: Restoration to What They Were," IZVESTIYA, No 47). His arguments are largely in line with my own reflections (and probably not only mine) about the way the local body of government power is seen. I think the time has finally come to frankly admit that with the present structure and principles, more accurately, the present practice of making them up, the soviets of people's deputies are not doing a good job of handling the business of state administration and economic activity. The structure and functions of the soviets have lagged behind social relations and economic tasks, which have been undergoing change.

Now the soviet is actually under the direction of the ispolkom and its staff, and the deputy, even he the most conscientious and vigorous, is only acting as a representative in the soviet. We could, of course, give individual examples in which he does figure as a statesman authorized by the people. But many deputies of local soviets (and does this apply only to local soviets?)

are objectively incapable or cannot effectively deal with the matters raised by those who elected them, much less deal with the tasks of the state and the economy, which are not simple at all. At least not within the limits of the forms and methods of activity of the soviets as they now exist.

Is it not naive to suppose that with the constant changes that take place in the numerous corps of deputies, which is what they are, and assuming that the social composition is preserved (even with the intensive classes, which are supposed to give the deputies at least a minimum of the knowledge and skills they need), that we could have a "working corporation"? And if we look at the magnitude of the problems which our bodies of government must deal with, matters requiring thorough knowledge in the field of economic relations, then it becomes clear that many of our present deputies are simply unsuitable as statesmen. This might sound a bit harsh, but in essence, in practice, that is in fact the way it is.

For example, in all 10 sessions of the Ivanovo Oblast Soviet in its last convocation 102 of the 200 deputies took part in discussing the matters under consideration in the sessions, including 27 deputies who spoke at least twice. At the same time, 70 of the deputies who spoke up are party and soviet officials and managers in the economy. More than 90 deputies did not take an active part in the proceedings of the sessions for various reasons. That is why I agree with the author of the article "The Soviets: Restoration to What They Were": it is not minor improvements that we need, nor injections for a temporary improvement, but a really radical, profound, and qualitative restructuring of the soviets.

What kind of local body of government is it that "at one and the same time both issues laws and also carries them out"? First of all, it must not be sizable. The overwhelming representation of the class at present, in the context of a state that represents the entire nation, is becoming unnecessary. After all, in a society which does not have antagonisms in the class sense there is no need to delegate a certain class majority to a government body, since in the present soviet there is no longer anyone for that majority to suppress and overcome. That being the case, a soviet that had one-fourth or one-fifth as many deputies could be sufficiently prepared in exercising its government powers.

As for the qualitative composition of the soviet, it would seem to be as professional as possible. Anyone who has come into close contact with the work of the soviet, of its working bodies, the ispolkom, would probably agree with this generalization: being an official of the soviet is a profession in itself. Here one cannot be a dilettante, the responsibility to the people is too great to accept decisions someone else has served up or on the basis of intuition. The present-day statesman in the soviet, and that is what the people's deputy is supposed to be, must possess a solid knowledge of politics, organization, economics, and the law. In other words, the deputy must

attend a certain school of life that corresponds to the level of issues he is to deal with. We are not, of course, talking about any kind of qualifications for elective office, but of nominating in practice the right candidates to be deputies.

Yet at the same time there is little "professionalism" for effective work in the present-day soviet. Only a person who has been freed from other work which was his principal work in the past can effectively concern himself with the activity of the state and devote himself entirely to it. And not just for a day or 2 or even for a month a year, but for the soviet's entire term of office. I anticipate objections: parliamentarianism, departure from the Leninist principles of universal participation of the population in management of the state. But is that the case? After all, just as before, the person elected to the soviet will be a deputy fully accountable to the people, including the possibility of recall. And as for participation of broad strata of the public in management of the affairs of the state and society, given the present and improving system of public organizations, including independent organizations, which incidentally take part in forming the local "parliament," this is not a problem. What is more, practically every member of the work collective will now be attending a school for management and economic activity in connection with the Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

So, what is the model of the soviet proposed, say, for the oblast? Instead of the 200-300 deputies in the past, 40, 60 at the most, would be elected, but they would meet the "professional" requirements enumerated above. The chairman of the soviet would be elected in an organizational session upon nomination of the party group or the council of elders (or by their joint act). Then the deputies would form 8-10 standing committees for specific lines of effort covering all spheres of life in the oblast. The standing committees, which would hold separate sessions, would elect their own chairmen. The chairman of the soviet and chairmen of the standing committees would make up the presidium—the executive and directive body of the soviet. But, as in the past, it could be called the ispolkom. The presidium would be accountable to the soviet and would make decisions only with consent of a majority of the standing committees.

The heads of the sector and branch administrations and departments of the soviet would be appointed in the organizational session, and the list of positions for other officials accountable to or under the oversight of the soviet would be approved.

The committees, in keeping with their name, would work regularly (without recesses), holding joint sessions when necessary. When necessary, they would also enlist in their efforts specialists from various fields of knowledge, experts, inspectors, board members of civic organizations, and so on. To take care of organizational and

technical functions, the committees and presidium of the soviet would form a small hired staff of highly skilled employees (two or three persons per committee).

The standing committees of the soviet and its presidium, just like the individual deputies, would report periodically to the voters, the work collectives, public organizations, and so on. Every deputy would be required to combine his work in the soviet with a regular visit to his electoral district, where he would make himself accessible, would participate in carrying out the wishes of the voters, would meet the public and work collectives.

The soviet would report on its activity at certain intervals to the oblast assembly of people's representatives, which would have the power to amend and rescind the soviet's decisions. The delegate to the assembly of people's representatives would be elected by open ballot in work collectives and in assemblies and gatherings of citizens.

There is obviously a need to improve the electoral system and practice. First of all, imposing certain "desirable" candidates for deputy on the voters and the possibility of self-nomination inevitably lead to alternative slates of candidates nominated for election in the election campaign. And this is normal, since people will be competing with one another who are seeking places on the basis of their convictions, their calling, their capabilities, and their specific program of action. And this would necessitate an election campaign that would not last 2 months, as is now the case, but considerably longer. And second, if the number of deputies is substantially reduced, the possibility arises of learning the opinion of all the voters on all the candidates. The voters in a separate district, which, of course, would be larger, would vote on one ballot for "their own" candidates for deputy, and on another for candidates running in other electoral districts. The candidate who gets the most votes would be elected to the soviet.

The proposed alternative for formation of soviets would extend to government bodies from the city to the rayon and from the rayon to the oblast (kray). As for settlements, villages, and hamlets, election of the respective soviet through direct democracy—open ballot of the population—is in our time a right and must become the norm.

Would a soviet whose members are paid be expensive for the treasury? Without going into details, I would say that with a membership of 40 and average deputy earnings of 350-400 rubles per month, it would be far less expensive to finance the oblast soviet.

In short, I favor a soviet that would be competent, that would be able to do its job, and that would sit permanently!

07045

Raykom Secretary Urges Separation of Party, State Organs

183000351 IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 May 88 p 2

[Interview with N. Domenikan, first secretary, Baranovichskiy Party Raykom, Brest Oblast; member, Belorussian CP Central Committee; deputy, BSSR Supreme Soviet; Hero of Socialist Labor, by IZVESTIYA correspondent N. Matukovskii]

[Text] [Question] Nikolay Vladimirovich, I have known you well for a long time and I selected you for an interview not because your rayon is one of the best in the republic and produces more grain, milk and meat than all the others. You are always being written up in the republic and central press and documentary films are made about you.

[Answer] Not about me personally but about our settlements, like "Zhemchuzhnyy" and such complexes as "Mir" or "Vostochnyy." What are we going to talk about if you have already seen and know everything?

[Question] I would like you to answer a few questions in which many people are keenly interested on the eve of the 19th Party Conference. You personally, as far as I know, were involved in planning the "Zhemchuzhnyy" settlement, in the construction of the "Mir" complex—one of the finest in the nation. You visit your numerous enterprises every day. Your working day is always 12 hours long. Isn't that so?

[Answer] What are you getting at?

[Question] That you always have to play first fiddle everywhere. Is that necessary?

[Answer] Don't ask me that question. Ask it of someone else. For example, why does the oblast party committee have departments of agriculture, industry, transport, trade, and consumer services? And what if you go higher? There you will find subdepartments and independent departments of machine building, chemical industry, light industry, consumer goods, construction, urban transit, and so forth and so on. I say here what was stated from a high party tribune. Party organs have already "become so immersed in economic matters that they have begun to lose their positions as organs of political leadership. It is not by chance that the structure of Central Committee departments has become a virtual copy of ministries. There are many in the departments who have simply forgotten what real party work means. There is total duplication of Gosplan and of the Council of Ministers. We choke on the coordination of simple issues that goes on for years. Do you see? The structure has not changed to this very day. It is this structure that forces me to "play first fiddle everywhere." After all, everyone ultimately looks to me.

[Question] But after all, there are the soviets. There is Gosagroprom. Main economic production administrations are being established. Why then is it still the case that the "cobbler bakes pies?" Under such a system, you and I will have neither boots nor pies.

[Answer] Let's talk about the soviets a little later. They merit special discussion in the pages of your newspaper. But now I want to talk about the following. Why has such a system developed that party committees at all levels have begun concerning themselves with purely economic matters and have been "squeezing out" the organs especially established for that purpose? While the party cells were initially few in number, they united the best organizers and progressive people in general. It was for this reason natural that the party organs managed everything. But in society there were also other forces that also laid claim to leadership. I refer above all to the soviets.

V. I. Lenin was the first to notice this illegitimate, harmful substitution. In 1922, on the eve of the 11th Congress, he wrote about the very thing you and I are discussing. About the need to separate the functions of the party and soviet power; to increase the responsibility and independence of soviet officials and soviet institutions; to leave to the party the general guidance of the work of all state organs without the slightest interference. It is as if this were written today: petty-minded meddling and interference in the affairs of others—it's all there!

The agriculture department in the Central Committee, obkom and raykom; the agricultural administration in Gosplan; the agricultural department in the People's Control Committee, in the Ministry of Finance, in the bank. And finally, Gosagroprom. As the wise folk saying goes: "Too many cooks spoil the broth."

[Question] I would like to ask you one more question, Nikolay Vladimirovich, but first I will follow your example by quoting the words of M. S. Gorbachev:

"Listen to the way some party leaders talk. The speak willingly and knowledgeably about the latest economic campaign, milk yields, weight gain, tons, etc., but they are frequently lost when the discussion turns to the political analysis of social phenomena..."

[Answer] Is that supposed to apply to me. You think you've hit the nail on the head, eh?

[Question] No, I'm not talking about you, Nikolay Vladimirovich. I've known you for a long time. You are well aware of the total absurdity of such a highly echeloned system with its numerous links. There are many who understand this. This was even discussed at the 27th Congress. No one objected to this, everyone agreed and even applauded. But why don't things change? Why are things standing still?

[Answer] I wouldn't say that nothing is changing. Things are changing but at an extremely slow pace. Perestroika is nevertheless having its effect.

[Question] But why so slowly? You yourself have just named several steps that were included simultaneously and that hindered one another. Just how many can there be?

[Answer] Did you want everything to be simple, painless and fast? Alas. The national economic management system we have been discussing formed over decades. For decades civil servants thought only as they were commanded to think and acted only as they were forced to act. Several generations developed a certain stereotypical way of thinking and behaving. This is a very serious obstacle to perestroika. A difficult struggle lies ahead.

[Question] You have just proven the absurdity, the unviability of our highly echeloned system of management. At the same time, you have also proven that you as a secretary do not always mind your own business. What do you consider to be your own business? Let us assume that you were given the right to determine the structure of your party committee. What would you do?

[Answer] I would leave only two departments: the department of organizational party work and the ideological department. Our business, which no one else does for us, is ideology, ideology, ideology. The education of people, the placement of cadres, and exerting an influence on everything, including the economy, through these cadres. That is our business! That is what we should be concerning ourselves with!

[Question] On whom will you place your basic burden that you are presently carrying?

[Answer] On the soviets, of course. Because of the existing circumstances, they are in the role of trace-horses and deal with minor, secondary matters. And yet, think of the large number of important decrees that have been adopted on raising the role and independence of the soviets! It is true that some things in their activity have changed. But they have not as yet become the sovereign democratic organs that V. I. Lenin envisaged. You and I are having a candid discussion and I am expressing my own ideas without claiming that they are absolutely correct. It is possible that I am also wrong. But my long experience allows me to draw certain conclusions.

Why do the soviets not have all the power they are supposed to have? Because the party organs that concern themselves with everything and that take everyone's place do not wish to relinquish it. But even this is not the main reason. If the structure of the party organs were changed tomorrow, if they were forced to stick to their own business, do you think the soviets would immediately change—would become effective and all-powerful? Let us begin from the very beginning, with the electoral

system which as we now see requires basic restructuring. What kind of elections are they if the secret ballot lists just one candidate. What kind of choice is that?

[Question] It is very well, Nikolay Vladimirovich, that you yourself have broached this very delicate topic that many prefer to avoid, trying to pretend that it does not exist. This is specifically what I wanted to discuss with you. What are your ideas on the nomination of candidates and on elections?

[Answer] We must begin with the nomination of candidates for deputy. Why does the collective nominate and discuss only one person? Let there be one person finally nominated but let us first publicly discuss three or four of the most worthy candidates. There you have an election before even before the voting process!

Do you know why they nominate and discuss just one person? Because the formation of the future soviet, as has been discussed in IZVESTIYA on more than one occasion, is regulated to an impossible degree. It begins with dictates "from above": so and so many noncommunists, so and so many communists, so and so many women, so and so many tractor drivers, so and so many, etc. Then begins the real torture of nominations. There is a handsome young man who has a mind of his own, who is not afraid to speak his mind and to debate with anyone. He would make a good deputy, but...that is impossible. He is a man and a communist. But this collective needs a milkmaid or female pig-tender who is not a party member. And she is nominated. She is a fine person, an outstanding worker, and an excellent mother and wife. But because of her natural bashfulness, she cannot say two words from the podium, let alone debate with anyone. But we nominate her and elect her because that is the practice. And then we at the raykom or rayispolkom write the speech that she delivers at the session. Is it she who is speaking?

Of course I would also like to see the soviet staffed by all social strata of the population. But this must be done intelligently and primarily on the basis of a person's professional qualities. Let there be milkmaids, tractor drivers, and teachers, but let there also be those who can not only raise their hands unanimously—I am always slightly embarrassed to see all this "unanimity" but who can also express original ideas and stand up for them. After all, truth is always born in disputes. And if only one truth is expressed, how can we find out if it is correct?

[Question] What about the matter of having just one candidate on the secret ballot? How do you explain this and what do you propose?

[Answer] This is the result of our callousness and the fear that the "people will not choose the right person."

There is one more ticklish point here that we almost never speak about out loud. Let us say that we put three names on the ballot but elect only one person. How will

the two losers feel? Will they not be tormented by an inferiority complex? All this stems from our age-old penchant for playing it safe. After all, in other countries, in particular, in socialist countries, there are two or three candidates on the ballot. And there has not been a single instance when a losing candidate has lodged a protest.

After all, we recognize the principle of competitiveness. Why not allow people to be competitive in the area of political activity?

I, for example, also consider it undemocratic that our voters almost never exercise their constitutional right to recall a deputy who fails to discharge his obligations. We usually only recall a deputy who has become involved in some kind of scandal. Here, too, we must change ourselves. In this area, there are those who are horrified and who shout (both at the bottom and at the top) that we are changing socialism, Soviet power, and all its attainments. It is untrue that perestroika does not have its enemies. They exist at various levels. They try to protect themselves, their privileges, and their stereotypes.

[Question] Nikolay Vladimirovich, it only remains for me to thank you for your candor. But your last answer inspired one more question. We are wont to say that "a deputy is the servant of the people" but the "ispolkom is the servant of the soviet." But in actuality, everything is the other way around! IZVESTIYA has written about this on more than one occasion. Let an ordinary deputy, the same tractor driver or milkmaid, try to see an ispolkom official, a department head, or the chairman! And to arrive at an affirmative answer to a question. Who is doing what for whom? Why has everyone changed places?

[Answer] I agree that many ispolkom officials have higher regard for paperwork than for a live deputy who has come to see him with an important problem. We wage a merciless struggle against this phenomenon. As regards relations between the ispolkom and the soviet, it is also possible to put everything in its place. Imagine that the most intelligent, most active people, in a word major authoritative individuals with their own "I" were elected to the soviet. Can they reconcile themselves to the fact that they must only raise and lower their hands during the voting? Such an individual will take an ispolkom official in hand, regardless of rank, and will gain his attention and respect. And party groups in the soviet must not act formally as they do now.

As you see, we have again returned to the electoral system. It is specifically the guarantee of total democratization, of power of the people, and of the total self-government that we are presently approaching. I believe that the scheduled 19th Party Conference will dot the "i's" over many of these questions. I suggest that we meet again after the conference.

Academic Interviewed on Criminal Law Reform

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14 May 88 Se cond Edition p 3

[Interview with Prof G. Minkovskiy by V. Polyakov under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "The Law Must Offer Protection"; date and place not given—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] "The power of the people is the complete, undivided triumph of laws expressing their will." This extremely unambiguous formula was voiced at the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum. The whole question, as many readers write to us, is the degree to which the legislative complex corresponds to the dynamics of life, restructuring processes, and democratic trends in present-day society. This was the subject of our conversation with Prof G. Minkovskiy, honored RSFSR scientist, experienced lawyer, and one of the people involved in preparing new criminal legislation.

[Polyakov] Genrikh Mikhaylovich, it would probably not be inappropriate to ask what prompted the review of criminal legislation. "Our society has obviously long been in need of this," S. Kyazimov from Baku wrote to PRAVDA, for example.

[Minkovskiy] The restructuring processes have forced us to implement a range of legislative measures to ensure that the safeguarding of legality and the protection of citizens' rights meet the requirements of the time. I would single out the following points here. First: The fundamentals of our criminal legislation were adopted more than 25 years ago. Naturally they have "aged." You cannot get away with making individual changes and additions in the new conditions. Second, there must be serious changes in the attitude to applying laws in practice. The new fundamentals must shake up practice, so to speak. Legal regulation is now changing its thrust: Instead of the principle that you can do anything that has been authorized, we are introducing the principle that you can do anything that is not prohibited.

[Polyakov] It is all a question of the number of prohibitions...

[Minkovskiy] That is the whole point—there are going to be far fewer. But they will have to be really substantiated—fulfilled, in other words. Finally, third, experience of changes in criminal legislation and of the application of new legal norms has been accumulated in recent years. In the RSFSR, for example, approximately half of the criminal code norms in force before 1982 have been changed. The main thrust—to eliminate excessive repression and ensure differentiation and individualization—was undoubtedly right. At the same time certain controversial decisions emerged. The operation of some of norms is fading; inevitably, given the frequent "clarifications," discrepancies have emerged between the penalties for some crimes.

[Polyakov] "To what extent," Muscovite P. Kostrov asks, "is the decision to review criminal legislation connected with tendencies for crime to increase?" Can the question be formulated in this way?

[Minkovskiy] No, on the contrary, there is a drop in crime as a whole, serious crime included. The latter is particularly important, as the registration of serious crime is as comprehensive as possible and so, on the basis of change in this area, we can monitor the real change in the level of crime as a whole. I think that these changes are linked to a considerable extent to the measures to combat drunkenness and alcoholism, as one in two or one in three crimes in recent years (and nine out of ten cases of hooliganism) were connected with drunkenness.

This does not mean that there are no problems, of course. There is a definite increase in crime among young people. Trends in economic and official crime are complex and the level of recidivism is high, including during the serving of sentences. We are now faced with an urgent need to fight crime on the basis of a forecast plan (not everyone remembers that the first 5-year plan contained a section on combating social anomalies). And, of course, statistics relating to crime and transgressions of the law must be opened up at last. Glasnost on this question must be an integral part of the process of democratizing our society. We also need this for purposes of counterpropaganda, because comparative analysis shows that the state of affairs in our country is qualitatively better. In the FRG and Britain there are 16-18 burglaries per 1,000 population each year. You will have to take my word for it that in our country there are fewer crimes in this area.

[Polyakov] What fundamentally new tenets of criminal law theory and what results of the generalization of accumulated experience merit attention, in your view, during work on the new criminal legislation?

[Minkovskiy] I would mention the following issues. First, it is necessary to step up the extent to which criminal legislation reflects the party-state concept of combating crime in our society. After all, this is not a problem for the prosecutor's office or the militia but part of the domestic policy of the party and the government. Crime represents unproductive flaws in our society—demographic, economic, and ideological. The fight against crime in this sense has a direct impact on every element of restructuring—the economy included. Suffice it to say that, according to specialists, each violent death of a member of our society is equivalent to a loss of up to R40,000 in the country's economic potential (if you proceed from the average contribution by a member of society to its development). Or take, for example, the following estimate of the average loss resulting from just one burglary in a large city—as much as R2,500! What about speculation? Minimum estimates indicate that

"business" people fleece their fellow citizens of about R1.5 billion every year. This is equivalent to the annual turnover of such a major trade firm like Moscow's GUM and all its branches.

In this respect it seems necessary to ensure that the new criminal legislation consolidates the development of the system of its legal and political principles. The occupational hazard of staffers of law enforcement organs is often that they can no longer see the political implications of their work. Formal performance indicators—the number of completed cases, the number of cases returned for further investigation, and so forth—become an end in themselves. I think that the incorporation in criminal legislation of political characterizations of the principles of criminal law's fight against crime will help to eradicate formalism in the application of criminal law.

[Polyakov] "The list of punishments requires substantial reform. Don't you feel that it would be better to broaden the range of milder sentences than to imprison people as we do now?" This question was asked by R. Merkulov from Karaganda.

[Minkovskiy] There is considerable sense in this. I think that some socialist states' experience of employing in criminal proceedings measures such as involvement in socially useful work in free time and short-term arrest (from several days to 1-2 months) seems interesting in this regard. The use of this kind of measure would make it possible to sharply reduce the number of sentences known to be ineffectual, whereby a person is sent to a colony for a term of up to 1 year and, as a result, under the law on early release, he gains his freedom almost before he has lost it.

[Polyakov] The question of the advisability of the death penalty is being very keenly discussed at present in society....

[Minkovskiy] When discussing the question of the death penalty a substantive analysis—sociological and social-psychological—is needed, not just the emotions in which the discussion has abounded, for example, in one popular weekly and later in the program "Views." The question of substantially reducing the range of cases where this measure can be applied should certainly be discussed. Not only minors, pregnant women, and mothers of young children should be exempted from the possibility of receiving this sentence, but women and old people generally. Regarding the possibility of the immediate total abolition of capital punishment (80-85 percent of the population object to this on the basis of various "criteria"), thereby becoming the 30th of the 130 states on whose criminal legislation we have information to abolish it, I would cite two cases. Some time ago we broke up a group of bandits, some of whom had 2-5 previous convictions. For a number of years this armed gang, which operated in the North Caucasus, had committed attacks and murders. They were responsible for 15 murders alone, not counting other crimes.

Another example. Another, no less dangerous gang known as the "drivers" operated in the south of the RSFSR. In the course of 1 year they committed more than 25 murders. So what penalty that would guarantee people's safety if they happened to be travel to the south would the aforementioned journalists suggest in light of these case histories? In this connection I would like to remind you that in a discussion on the question of totally abolishing the death penalty, V.I. Lenin felt it necessary to quote a French lawyer who said that first the death penalty must be abolished by the murderers themselves.

Frankly, there are more fundamental problems we rarely discuss. I would like to mention work on a range of measures to replace criminal punishment (probation, referring the case papers to a comrades' court, and so forth). After all, in the twenties the proportion of sentences involving imprisonment (not counting short-term imprisonment) amounted to no more than 18-20 percent. Yet the situation was complex....

In my opinion, the question of necessary defense in extremity is still a serious issue. As is the question of regulating the limits for the use of force and weapons when arresting criminals. I think that many decrees conferring awards on staffers of law enforcement organs would not be "posthumous" if we succeeded in improving the formulation of the appropriate norms.

[Polyakov] Quite a number of people are now suggesting the introduction of new prohibitions under criminal law. How do you feel about this problem?

[Minkovskiy] I believe that prohibitions should be socially conditioned. That is the first point. Second, they must be realistic. For example, in our country every 24 hours citizens make some 400-450 million purchases from state and cooperative trade outlets. Is a ban on deceiving customers under criminal law realistic? I think not. We would have to institute millions of criminal cases every day. Meanwhile senior legal experts say that an ineffectual law is worse than no law at all, as it makes you accustomed to the idea that it can be ignored. In my opinion, we need to differentiate penal measures, reserving criminal responsibility for malicious cases. Or, for example, a few years ago the illegal teaching of karate was made a criminal offense. But did the number of negative cases justify the need to introduce a prohibition under criminal law? And why was the illegal teaching of other forms of martial arts not made an offense? Proposals to establish criminal liability for selling fruit and vegetables for more than the state price have recently appeared and have even been discussed at scientific conferences. Do the authors of these proposals realize that they are essentially trying to ban kolkhoz market activity?

At the same time, however, there are some proposals which, in my opinion, merit serious discussion. For example, suggestions concerning criminal liability for

abduction and the introduction of criminal responsibility for prostitution (this is already the case in Hungary, Poland, the GDR, and other socialist countries) were submitted. L. Konopleva, a teacher from Kursk, and N. Pestyakov, a technician from Saratov, have written to PRAVDA about this.

Regarding proposals to increase the liability of mothers who refuse to carry out their duty to bring up and support their children, this is, of course, not a question of criminal responsibility: It is enough to impose maintenance payments. And, I repeat, in every case there must be a broad, public discussion. In my opinion, the problem of public discussion generally is now a key problem, as is the problem of sociological research, as the basis for any changes in the law. We cannot draw up new legislation without considering the opinions of millions of citizens. This is a postulate of restructuring in all areas of our life—the legal mechanism included.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Suggests Postponement of Conference

*PM1805084188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian 18 May 88 p 2*

[Own correspondent V. Fomin dispatch under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "Are We Rushing Matters?"—first three paragraphs are LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Excerpts] No event in the country's social life today is more important than the preparation for the 19th all-union party conference. Those who are to assemble in the Kremlin are expected to express a collective opinion on how democratization and glasnost are to develop in the future and how protection for the ideas and principles of restructuring are to be ensured. Who will the conference delegates, now in the process of being elected, turn out to be? This question perturbs everybody. We are, after all, talking not just about labor front-rankers, eminent scientists and famous writers, or Soviet and party officials, but about people with new thinking and revolutionary views, political fighters capable of rebuffing conservatism and stagnation. The election of such delegates demands broad glasnost and serious discussion of every candidate's political and moral stance.

But reports arriving in the editorial office unfortunately testify that a completely different procedure for nomination of candidates has emerged in a number of places. The old, proven, bureaucratic apparatus procedure: Formal instructions, backstage selection of candidates, coordination by telephone. This kind of election runs contrary to the goals and tasks of the conference and the expectations that are linked with it.

In its last issue, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA published a dispatch on this topic from our own correspondent in Rostov-na-Donu. Today we carry his followup article.

Rostov-na-Donu—There has been animated preparation in Rostov for the 19th all-union party conference.

On the morning of 11 May I received telephone calls from the organizational department chiefs of two party gorkoms—Rostov and Novocherkassk—informing me that a guidance conference had finally been held at the party obkom and they had been ordered to start nominating candidates for party conference delegates. [passage omitted]

My dear comrades! What is actually happening to us? A candidate to be a delegate to the all-union party conference has been nominated essentially without any discussion. And are the first 40 votes actually valid?

No matter whom you meet today, no matter where you go—the arguments and the conversations are identical: What will life be like in the future, which path should be followed? So many "sore spots"—both past and present. About Stalinism, about the causes of administrative edict methods, bureaucratism, protectionism, bribery.

Not a single word about any of this in the process of preparing for the conference and mandating your candidate?! And this was actually happening in Rostov, which was the scene of "trade network cases" and a criminal's lavish funeral, where child mortality is high, where the ecological situation is complex and steadily deteriorating, where a solid mechanism of protectionism has taken shape....

Not to say a single word, not to ask your candidate about his views on restructuring and the renewal of our society's political system? How are the economy and the spiritual life to develop in the future—along Stalin's or along Lenin's line?

Not a single word about this, either?

Just like many others, inspired by the fresh April breezes of 1985, I had the impression that such meetings before the all-union conference ought to consolidate all of society's healthy forces and should jointly furnish their delegate with the necessary vision of the problems so that he, our emissary, could be in a position not just to record his presence in the hall of the Palace of Congresses but also to participate in the elaboration of the line for our future life.

And none of this is taking place?...

I do not understand.

Not only do I not understand, I actually find it shameful and painful to sit in the hall. After all, the point at issue concerned a candidate and potential delegate who would also represent me. And it transpires that I would be accidentally to blame if, in the event of his being elected, he went to the conference not just partially armed but maybe even totally unarmed. But how much actually

depends on people like me, Communists on the roll of smaller party organizations? When and where will we be able to take part in the nomination and discussion process, with just a few days left before the party obkom plenum? And what are the choices left to party members like me? There is, after all, just one candidate.

Why is it that those present at the candidate's nomination are so passive, so indifferent to what is taking place before their very eyes? I am convinced that each one of them, individually, would behave differently. Each one has his own point of view on the progress of restructuring at the plant, in the oblast, in the country.

Why are they keeping silent? The Lenin Plant workers, the guardsmen of the Rostov proletariat!

Tell me, what have we actually achieved if we prove to be so helpless when it comes to actions requiring no capital investment but just organizational and propaganda efforts?

You experience fear when you take part in such an action. It is much more fearsome and irresponsible than attending a criminal's lavish funeral: You could actually be burying not only yourself but the entire restructuring.

Let me voice a seditious idea which kept gnawing at me during the meeting. Could it be that we are not quite ready to hold an all-union party conference? Are we rushing matters? Should we not postpone it for a month

or two, publish theses, and offer a positive, restructuring forces' platform for a broad nationwide discussion which would produce candidates capable of making correct decisions at the present, crucial time?

P.S.: The telephone in the correspondent's office has not stopped ringing for several days now:

"Thank you for what you've written. You've hit the nail on the head."

An emotional voice:

"This is the Bataysk party gorkom. A meeting of the gorkom apparatus party organization has just nominated a single candidate from our town—the party gorkom first secretary."

An identical telephone call from Neklinovskiy Rayon where, just as in Bataysk, the raykom apparatus unanimously voted for a single candidate—the party raykom first secretary.

The caller sounds perplexed:

"Surely the secretary's nomination could be put forward and discussed on one of the kolkhozes or sovkhozes? What are they afraid of? That someone might suggest another candidate?"

The telephone keeps ringing....

Turkmen CP Prepares for Party Conference
*18000320a Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in
Russian 23 Mar 88 p 2*

[Article by Propaganda and Agitation Department, Turkmenistan CP Central Committee, under rubric "Preparing for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference": "The Time for Specific Deeds, the Time for Specific Responsibility (Material to Aid Speakers)"]

[Text] The Soviet nation, under the leadership of the Communist Party, is preparing for the meritorious meeting of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. In the labor collectives and party organizations, the first results of the work performed to carry out the perestroika are being summed up and the specific tasks for the future are being planned.

The country has entered the most complicated and most critical stage in the revolutionary renovation of society, of implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, which defined the course aimed at accelerating the socioeconomic development of the USSR and at restructuring the economy, social sphere, culture, and social awareness.

As a result of the practical implementation of the party's policy, definite qualitative and quantitative changes have been noted within the country and on the international scene. In particular, our country's productive forces are receiving accelerated development, and there has been a qualitative improvement in the socialist production relations. The year 1987 laid the foundation for the process of eliminating nuclear weapons. The signing of the Treaty for the Complete Elimination of Medium and Lesser Range is a major historical event. The search for paths away from political and military confrontation to mutual trust is the victory of a new political thought process.

The first stage of perestroika lay in developing the ideological-theoretical, economic-organizational platform, in the strenuous search for ways to implement it, in choosing the work trends and methods, in carrying out numerous experiments, in propagandizing the ideas of perestroika, and in its irreversible nature. As CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M. S. Gorbachev noted, the central agencies and republic-level party committees have carried out the first stage of perestroika, on the whole, satisfactorily.

A new political and moral atmosphere has developed in our country, society is emerging from its stagnant condition, the process of acceleration of socioeconomic development is becoming stronger, and qualitative changes are occurring in the structure of social production and in the improvement of socialist production relations. As a result, there has been an increase in the labor, political, and social participation rate among Soviet citizens, and there has been a rebirth of the authority of honest and conscientious labor. In social life

one sees a greater and greater confirmation of democratic principles and a growth of exactingness and the responsibility borne by Soviet citizens and every production collective for the final results.

In the fraternal family of nations of the USSR, the workers of Turkmenistan have been making their utmost contribution to the perestroika. Definite positive results have been achieved in economic, social, and cultural building. In the republic's industry one continues to see the planned improvement of the branch structure and a buildup of capacities. The increase in the volumes of industrial production is twice the increase achieved during two years in the past five-year plan.

The implementation of the target program for increasing the effectiveness of capital investments and capital construction is being specially monitored. As a result, a number of major production capacities have been activated. The plans for activation of housing and structures in the social sphere have been fulfilled. The base in the construction industry is becoming stronger. The republic is carrying out the Zhilye-92 comprehensive program, which stipulates the providing of housing by that deadline to all those who have been on a waiting list as of 1 January 1987. As compared with the corresponding period in the last five-year plan, the construction of housing has increased by more than 608,000 square meters. The activation of accommodations for schoolchildren has increased by one-third, and there has been a considerable increase in the activation of children's preschool institutions. The medical services provided to the public have been improving. There has been an expansion of the assortment and increase in the volume of production of consumer goods. The volume of paid services rendered to the public has increased by 59.1 percent. The number of cooperatives has been growing and the scope of individual labor activity has been expanding.

In 1987 the fulfillment of the state plan for procurements of raw cotton and many other types of agricultural output was guaranteed. The volume of production of gross output of agriculture, as compared with 1986, increased by 6.3 percent.

In 1987 the republic's national economy carried out 208 measures aimed at the complete mechanization and automation of production processes and at improving the quality of output. At the Turkmenneft Association there was a 28-percent overfulfillment of the assignment for the drilling of vertical and inclined boreholes with the use of advanced technological processes and new technology. Last year the enterprises of the TuSSR Ministry of Motor Transport overfulfilled by a factor of 2.7 the assignment for converting motor vehicles to compressed gas. The assignments for using progressive methods in construction and assimilating new types of industrial output were fulfilled.

At the same time, the state plan for introducing the achievements of science and technology into the republic's national economy in 1987 was not fulfilled as a whole. Out of 241 assignments for introducing the achievements of science and technology into the national economy of the TuSSR, only 63 percent (151 assignments) were completely fulfilled. Only nine ministries (29 percent) completely fulfilled the year's assignment for introducing the achievements of science and technology. The introduction of measures involving new technology is being carried out poorly at TuSSR Gosagroprom, Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, Ministry of Light Industry, State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, Ministry of Construction, and Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, TuSSR.

This underfulfillment of the plan for introducing the achievements of science and technology has had an effect upon the final results in the material-production branches. For example, the year's plan for sale of output in the republic's industry, even with a consideration of the contractual pledges for shipments, was fulfilled by 99.2 percent (in 1986, by 98.6 percent). Undershoots of output were allowed to occur at 13.1 percent of the enterprises, with a total value of 29.2 million rubles. There has been a serious lag at enterprises of TuSSR Ministry of Local Industry, which undershipped to the consumers output with a total value of 2.3 million rubles. Failure to achieve the previous year's actual level occurred at enterprises in Tashauz Oblast, TuSSR Gosagroprom, the Turkmenneft and Turkmenmebel associations, and the Krasnovodsk Petroleum Refinery.

There has been a slow rate of restructuring in the work of improving the administration of social production, improving the planning system, and converting enterprises to complete self-support and self-financing. In Ashkhabad, only a very few enterprises have been converted to complete cost accountability. A similar situation prevails in the republic as a whole.

And yet we are faced with even more complicated tasks. It will be necessary to take decisive steps to combine the perestroika policy developed by the CPSU with life, to implement it in real practice. Therefore the chief trends in the new stage of perestroika are the further democratization of social life as a whole and the carrying out of economic reform, particularly the changeover of the economy to intensive methods and the changeover to economic methods of administration. High organizational spirit and labor discipline, and initiative and responsibility on the part of each individual, will be required.

This will require a review of the party forces, a checking of their readiness for work under the new conditions. Measures that constituted such a review were the meetings of Communist Party members and the plenums of

the republic's party committees that were recently held, with a discussion there of the reports given by the elected agencies concerning their work in administering perestroika.

After considering their results, the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro noted that most of the plenums and meetings had been carried out in a spirit of adherence to high principles, glasnost, constructive criticism and self-criticism, and a thorough analysis of the activity of the administrative party agencies. The increased exactingness on the part of the Communist Party members also manifested itself in the evaluation of the activities of the party committees and bureaus. The work of the party's Kalininskiy Rayon Committee bureau and of 54 party committees and bureaus of primary and shop party organizations was recognized as being unsatisfactory. More than 250 were removed from their duties in elected agencies as having been unable to cope with their duties or as having compromised themselves. The task now lies in assuring, in the course of preparation for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the strengthening and constant maintaining of the atmosphere of efficiency, constructive criticism, and creative search that was created by the discussion of the reports given by the party committees and bureaus with regard to the administration of the perestroika.

The republic's party organization has at its disposal all the opportunities for increasing the combativeness of its links. During the past two years that organization has grown numerically, it has become organizationally stronger, and now numbers in its ranks 113,400 Communist Party members. Among the persons who were accepted as candidate members of the CPSU in 1987, 45.6 percent are workers and 26.7 percent are kolkhoz members, and workers and kolkhoz members together constituted more than 72 percent of the new party reinforcements, which figure is 4 percent greater than in 1971 and 1.5 percent greater than in 1985. Among the employees accepted into the party, the greatest number consists of engineer-technical workers and school teachers. Approximately 92 percent of the Communist Party members are employed in the national economy. The general educational level of Communist Party members has been rising. Whereas, as of 1 January 1985, the Communist Party members with higher, incomplete higher, and secondary education in the Turkmenistan Communist Party constituted 77.8 percent, as of 1 January 1988 they constituted 81.4 percent. The bulk of the party members and candidate members — 46.7 percent — is made up of Communists between the age of 31 and 50 years.

However, by no means all the party committees and primary party organizations have been making active use of the opportunities for developing intraparty democracy and intensifying party influence upon the democratization of social life. A study of the state of affairs in the outlying areas and the results of sociological research attest to the fact that a rather large share of

Communists continue to refrain from active participation in party affairs, and continue to display apathy and passivity. Certain party organizations have failed to create the necessary conditions to allow the Communists to state their opinions freely; the elected party aktiv continues to be insufficiently decisive in its actions; and there have been instances when words have failed to agree with deeds. Thus, one still observes a rather large number of factors that have been substantially hampering the process of perestroika.

That means that in certain organizations in Turkmenistan CP, as in the Kiev City Party Organization, the report on the work of which was given on 7 January at a session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at the initial stage of perestroika time was lost and the work was not properly extended. And so, at this moment, one cannot limit oneself simply to appeals. Rather, it is necessary to undertake specific deeds in a serious manner. Time will not wait for us any more. Strenuous work to resolve the tasks in the second stage of perestroika lies ahead of us.

What is needed right now, as has been indicated by the CPSU Central Committee, is the achievement of a fundamental turning point in the activity of the party organizations. It is necessary to be constantly concerned about assuring that each of them is typified by a spirit of combativeness, aggressiveness, and intolerance of any shortcomings. It is necessary to intensify the vanguard role and responsibility of the party members, to achieve a situation in which every Communist Party member is profoundly aware of his role in perestroika and his high responsibility, and is eager to make a greater contribution to the party's overall cause. It is the duty of every Communist to be on the front line of perestroika.

On 27 February the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro adopted the decree entitled "The Initiative of the Republic's Labor Collectives and Advanced Production Workers in the Meritorious Meeting of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference." The decree states that the republic's workers, maintaining the party's course that is aimed at the country's accelerated socioeconomic development, are making their worthy contribution to the perestroika. In the course of the socialist competition in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Great October, approximately 30,000 workers, 4,800 brigades, shops, and sectors, and 329 collectives at enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses coped successfully with the planned assignments for the first two years of the 12th Five-Year Plan.

Preparing for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference — a truly major political event in the life of the party and the nation — the republic's advanced collectives made increased socialist pledges. In particular, 40 enterprises and organizations, more than 280 brigades, shops, sectors, and shifts, and 3000 advanced production workers pledged that, by the opening of the party conference, they would fulfill the assignments for the first three years

of the five-year plan. The republic's petroleum and gas workers plan to produce by that date, in excess of plan, 850 million cubic meters of gas and 28,000 tons of petroleum. The collective at the Mary Administration of Prospecting Drilling pledged to fulfill the plan for the first three years of the five-year plan for drilling through rocks and to complete the construction of 35 boreholes. High goals were set by the workers at the Krasnovodsk Petroleum Refinery, who pledged that, by the opening day of the CPSU Conference, they would produce, in excess of plan, 1500 tons of gasoline, 200 tons of diesel fuel, and 100 tons of furnace fuel. The workers at the Mary Cotton Spinning and Weaving Factory imeni 8 Marta pledged that they would produce, in excess of plan, consumer goods with a total value of 600,000 rubles, and the collective at the Chardzhou Knitwear Factory assumed a labor watch under the slogan "Let's Give 19 Shock-Labor Weeks to the 19th All-Union Party Conference." The workers at Motor Column No. 26 of the Chardzhouremvostroy Trust decided that, by means of an increase in the rolling-stock use coefficient and the more complete involvement of internal reserves, they would fulfill the plan for the first three years of the five-year plan and, in addition, would haul 2000 tons of freight for the national economy.

The pledges taken by the republic's labor collectives state their intention, by the opening day of the conference, to assure the activation of 266,000 square meters of housing; schools in the city of Ashkhabad to accommodate 1176 children, and in Chardzhou Oblast to accommodate 7000 children; two kindergartens — one for 370 children in Mary Oblast and one for 260 children in the settlement of Bekdash; radio-broadcasting transmitters in the settlement of Gasan-Kuli; and many other projects.

The competition for the worthy meeting of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference has truly developed into a nationwide affair, into a mass patriotic movement.

(At this point the speaker should dwell in detail on the results of the period which has elapsed in the five-year plan in the particular labor collective and that collective's specific tasks, pointing out the available opportunities and reserves for fulfilling and overfulfilling the socialist pledges in honor of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.)

An important sphere in party life is ideological work. The meaning of that work consists in assuring that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the party policy become accessible to the masses, are transformed into a material force for transforming society. By promoting an increase in the awareness, conviction, and creative participation of the workers, ideological work serves as a powerful means for the country's successful development. Its importance particularly increases under conditions of the revolutionary perestroika of all aspects of the life of our society.

This was confirmed with new strength by the February 1988 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which thoroughly examined the fundamental ideological aspects of the perestroyka. The Plenum decisions enrich the Communists and all the workers in our country with new approaches to political-educational work. The Plenum confirmed that the promotion of educational work to a place in the foreground requires that work, by becoming a matter for the entire party and for every Communist, to be subordinated to the carrying out of the major economic reform, the democratization of social life, and the improvement of the education and indoctrination of the masses, and primarily the upcoming generation.

A factor with direct relationship to the ideological aspects of perestroyka is the smooth operation of all branches of the national economy, the satisfying of the workers' needs for commodities and services, and the guaranteeing of a balance between the public's monetary income and expenses.

The inseparable bond between propaganda and agitation, on the one hand, and the economic life of society, on the other, can also be discerned in the example provided by our republic. It is well known that the stagnation in the socioeconomic development of Turkmen SSR in the 9th, 10th, and 11th five-year plans was the consequence not only of serious errors in the area of economic management, but also the state of neglect in ideological work.

By extracting instructive lessons from the errors of the past, Turkmenistan's party organizations are attempting to restructure the content and to renew the forms and methods of ideological work in the spirit of the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress, and to reinforce the arsenal of means to be used in the fight against undesirable phenomena and vestiges of the past in people's consciousness and behavior. The party aktiv and the aktiv in the work of agitation and propaganda are well aware that, without spiritual-moral progress, the activation of the human factor, and the mobilization of the workers' creative potential, it will be impossible to achieve success in accelerating socioeconomic development.

However, the perestroyka of ideological activity has been proceeding slowly and with difficulty in our republic, and is obviously being drawn out. Many ideological cadres have simply mastered modern terminology, but have not yet rejected the old worn-out approaches, and they continue to organize their work in complete isolation from real life, gravitating toward their ivory towers and relying upon telephones, memoranda, and an autocratic style. The decree issued by the 9th Plenum of the Turkmen CP Central Committee states specific measures for eliminating the shortcomings that have been revealed in the ideological work of the party organizations and for increasing the quality and effectiveness of that work.

The party's requirement to have ideological work turn its face directly toward people means the intensification of that work primarily in the labor collectives, as well as in the primary party organizations. They have the leading role in implementing the main goals of the CPSU that are aimed at the acceleration of socioeconomic development. The expansion of the independence of the enterprises, the introduction of collective forms of organizing and paying for labor, and the deepening of socialist self-government in production exert a substantial influence upon the reinforcement of the unity of economic and ideological work, and upon increasing the effectiveness of the educational process.

An exceptionally important role in the restructuring of ideological activity is played by the improvement of the political and economic training of the masses, the intensification of the bond between that training and the affairs of the labor collectives. The 15 September CPSU Central Committee decree entitled: "The Restructuring of the System of the Political and Economic Training of the Workers," define the specific measures for raising the ideological-theoretical level of the training and its practical directedness, for forming in the students' minds a deep understanding of the party's strategic course aimed at acceleration and renovation, and for improving the work with the propaganda cadres. The task consists in taking strict and consistent steps to implement these measures.

The reorientation of the ideological-educational effect upon a specific person requires the further improvement of mass-political work, which must reveal the essence of the perestroyka policy and its need, and must encourage the workers to take active part in the practical implementation of the improvements being carried out. An important role in extending this work belongs the army of many thousands of political speakers, lecturers, political information specialists, and agitators. They have been called upon to form in the workers' mind a profound understanding of our country's history in all its achievements and contradictions, to point out the entire complexity and innovative nature of the tasks to be resolved by the party and the nation at the present-day stage, and to prevent any superficial or hasty evaluations.

Under the present-day conditions there has not been a lessening, but rather there has been an intensification of the ideological fight against alien influences and effects, and an increase in the importance of Communists' adherence to principles and their rate of participation in the decisive rebuffing of any manifestations of bourgeois morality, apoliticality, or social demagoguery, or of immature judgments. In counterpropaganda work, our propaganda and agitation must be based on the Marxist-Leninist view of the world, on the advantages that socialist spiritual values have over bourgeois ones, and on deep communist conviction. It is necessary to give a new quality to international and military-patriotic education, especially of the youth, to increase political

vigilance, and to work constantly to educate all the workers in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist, proletarian internationalism and the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR. A matter of serious concern is the increased frequency of manifestation of vestiges of the past, especially with respect to women. In the fight against the pernicious influence of Islam and the harmful traditions and rites, the ideological aktiv must reveal more flexibility, consistency, and aggressiveness, and must take more forceful steps to conduct individual work with believers.

Work that requires further improvement is the work to eliminate drunkenness, narcotics addiction, nonlabor income, crime, robberies, and such a shameful phenomenon as bride-money. Considering the fact that restructuring is impossible without the strict observance of socialist legality, discipline, and order, the February 1988 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee recommended organizing universal legal education as a single, comprehensive nationwide program to provide legal education to the workers.

Another matter that deserves more attention is the activity of the mass information media in intensifying glasnost, criticism and self-criticism, the fight against bureaucratism and other undesirable phenomena, in forming public opinion, and in developing the creative participation of the masses. The democratization of the ideological sphere presupposes the study and taking into consideration of the workers' moods and views and their comments and recommendations, as well as the peculiarities of the state and conditions of the vital activity of the various segments and groups of the workers.

There are other aspects in the organization of educational work that require the careful attention of the republic's ideological aktiv. We have in mind first of all the need to increase the time-responsiveness of propaganda and agitation, its concreteness, the well-argued conducting of polemics dealing with undesirable phenomena in our everyday life, the rejection of verbal pomposity, empty speeches, statements made for show, and formalism, all of which contradict the very nature of perestroika and the spirit of communist education. It is also important to rid ideological workers of their preoccupation with current matters and paper-pushing, and to give them more opportunities for direct and open communication with labor collectives. We must also prevent all kinds of underestimation of educational work with the individual. Because there is no path to his heart that is more direct than confidential communication and a heart-to-heart talk. And yet the individual approach and management by the principle of "getting to talk to everyone individually" continue to be something to be desired, rather than normal practice in the activities of the ideological aktiv. There is a need for considerable improvement in the educational work at people's place of residence, in organizing recreational activities for workers, in satisfying their spiritual needs, and developing in them a high level of culture in everyday life.

At the present time, at the beginning of the second stage of perestroika, something that is completely obvious to everyone is the headlong rhythm of our social life. Everyone can see what powerful social forces have been put into motion, and what interesting processes are developing in society. However, it is well known that, for the time being, perestroika has taken only its very first steps. The basic and most complicated work still lies ahead. Perestroika will become irreversible only when, on a broad scale, it becomes part of the everyday life of the labor collectives. On 1 January 1988 the Law Governing State Enterprises went into effect, and many enterprises and associations are already operating under its conditions. Millions of people have begun to come into lively contact with practice, with the line that was developed by the party and aimed at the democratization of society and the fundamental economic reform.

It is impossible now for anyone to remain aloof from perestroika. Everyone must determine his own personal position, his place in the overall structure. It is necessary today, more than ever before, for all the workers, and primarily the Communists, to act with initiative, persistently, and forcefully, with a high sense of responsibility, and to create in their collectives a truly creative atmosphere that will engender in people a burning desire to work better, more efficiently, and more productively. Meeting the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference in a worthy manner, by one's unselfish shock labor and by real successes in resolving economic and social tasks, is the sacred duty of every Communist, and the high duty of every citizen.

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Uzbek Obkom Chief Prepares for Party Conference

18000331a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Apr 88 p 2

[Article by M. Mirkasymov, first secretary, Khorezm Obkom, Communist Party of Uzbekistan: Out of the Thrall of Inertia"]

[Text] 1. How are you approaching the 19th All-Union Party Conference? What kind of positive perestroika experience has there been in your party organization following the 27th CPSU Congress? 2. What are the difficulties and problems in this work?

We recently met with K. Shabarshin, chairman, Chita Oblispolkom, at the obkom. This is already the second year that a mutual cooperation agreement has been in effect between our oblasts. Since we have a surplus of labor resources, we send workers to help the Siberians. Khorezm youth are receiving training there at a PTU and a technicum and are working in a worsted goods combine. We exchange goods and we obtain lumber which we urgently need. The benefits are reciprocal. We, for example, have succeeded in accelerating housing construction.

Together with K. Shabarshin, we have been looking for ways of intensifying direct economic and cultural ties. We have established a joint working commission that is to draft mutually advantageous agreements and submit them for the scrutiny of oblast executive committees. We can, for example, send to Chita more workers, students and youth for training in PTU's, technicums and VUZ's. There is the possibility of establishing affiliates of Chita Oblast plants and factories in Khorezm. Local industry enterprises have vast opportunities to organize cooperatives and to exchange products and local raw materials.

Reports in party organizations have shown that people everywhere do not know how to draw upon the support of the elected aktiv, that in many cases the knowledge and experience of members of the buro and committees are in vain. Now, in the course of preparing for the conference, we are decisively correcting this miscalculation. Activists are invariably involved in the preparation of questions for plenums and sittings of the buro and are included in working groups that draft directives and oversee the fulfillment of decisions. Party assignments are handed out to every member and candidate member of the party buro and of party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms. The buro and plenums of party committees have already heard more than 200 members of elected party organs report on their contribution to perestroyka. A dialogue with communists has begun in all primary party organizations. This will help to increase the efficacy of primary party organizations and the vanguard role of their members.

Communists note that the committees are holding fewer meetings, are less involved with paper work and are spending more time meeting with people at the local level. A poll of 20,000 communists before one of the obkom plenums showed that there are good changes everywhere. People are prepared to follow the path of perestroyka. The level of criticism and self-criticism has been raised. Higher demands are made on members of elected party organs.

All this in itself is beneficial. The development of the economy and the social sphere is more dynamic. During the first 2 years of the five-year plan, the volume of industrial output has increased appreciably and the integrated target program—"Consumer Goods"—has been carried out at a relatively more rapid rate. Targets for commissioning schools, preschool institutions, hospitals and polyclinics have been surpassed. Twenty thousand square meters of housing have been built above and beyond the plan. Agricultural output is on the rise. Targets for purchasing all types of agricultural and livestock products have been surpassed.

At the same time, major reserves for economic and social development still remain essentially untapped. In view of this fact, at the initiative of the party obkom buro, a commission for the study of the productive forces and natural resources under the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the republic's soviet and

economic organs have formulated a concept of the accelerated socioeconomic development of the oblast up to the year 2010. If we implement this concept, we will raise the oblast to new levels already in the near future and we will improve the use of its labor resources. We must create new branches of industry and mechanize all agricultural production.

The mindless invasion of the oasis's nature, which has been continuing a number of years, has violated the ecological equilibrium; there has been a dramatic reduction in the "green belt." The shortage of fruit is felt not only by urban dwellers but in the countryside as well. Scientists have assisted in the development of the "Ozeleneniye" program which clearly articulates the task of the oblast agroindustrial complex and other organizations in planting trees and gardens and in the further development of horticulture. A mass movement has been launched to restore Khorezm to its former glory.

Painful though it is, some of our livestock farms look better than some of our rural schools. The situation cannot be remedied without the aid of party committees, without the active participation of all communists. The aid of builders and skilled kolkhoz craftsmen has also been enlisted. Twenty-eight planning schools instead of 15 have already been commissioned this year. Party members on the Kolkhoz imeni A. Kurbanov in the Koshkupyrskiy Rayon have set a good example. At their initiative, a 320-pupil school was built by the direct labor, khashar method and put into operation in 3 months. One would think that this example will find followers.

Attention to economic methods of management has given way to the development of the collective, family contract throughout the oblast as a whole. For example, there are more than 30,000 links working on a contract basis in crop production. This year, animal husbandry and feed production will be converted to progressive forms of labor organization. Subsidiary facilities also strengthen the economy. Seventeen shops on the Kolkhoz imeni Narimanov in the Bagatskiy Rayon produce construction materials and consumer goods and employ more than 500 persons. The Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin in the Urgenchskiy Rayon has organized shops that produce lime, brick, oil-base paints, and other construction materials. Every year, 84 oblast farms produce more than 90 million bricks. We will develop this direction: at the same time that it permits us to make better use of labor resources, it also supplies the countryside with construction materials and consumer goods.

With the aid of the party obkom's council for the promotion of scientific-technological progress, we have devised special target programs for the development of various branches of the national economy. Many specialists and scientists participated in this effort. But we are mindful of the fact that drafting a program is only the beginning. The main thing is to implement the program. This is why, for example, the party obkom did not

approve the "Housing" program until it found the possibility of providing it with construction materials. In particular, now that kolkhozes have rid themselves of the free-ride mentality, they have begun helping the enterprises that produce these materials. We are organizing the production of construction materials from local raw materials.

Unfortunately, good decisions are not always reinforced by actions. This is sometimes because of the lack of coordination of the activities of departments and local party and soviet organs. I cite the following fact. Land that has long been irrigated in the lower reaches of the Amu-Darya has been forgotten in some places because of the extreme penchant for developing new land. We concluded that a large part of the capital investments must go to restoring old cultivated land. Even the republic's Ministry of Water Resources does not object to this. But the reclamation of unproductive land will take more than allocated in the plan.

In passing, I would like to pose the following question. In recent years, the quality of water used for irrigation has deteriorated. Its mineral content is as high as two grams per liter. This has a pernicious impact on the state of reclamation of irrigated land, reduces the size of the cotton yield, and kills orchards. The cause: mass runoff of drainage water from farms in Surkhan-Darya, Kashka-Darya, Bukhara, and Chardzhou oblasts. This cannot continue. There must be a concerted effort of neighboring oblasts to accelerate the construction of special collectors for tapping drainage water.

The problem of finding jobs for the able-bodied population still remains. At the present time, there are about 80,000 persons in the oblast who must be drawn into the sphere of social labor. And this at a time when other regions of the nation do not have enough manpower and are even postponing the siting of new enterprises there. Why then not develop them in our oblast? Alas, the ministries are not keen on this idea. The planning and construction of these enterprises are protracted in the cities of Urgench and Druzhba. Production areas at the Urgench Fodder Harvester Plant in Urgench and at other enterprises are not being used with the result that hundreds of young workers trained at the PTU are forced to find jobs anywhere they can.

The orientation toward stimulating work, which is being affirmed in party organizations, is being transmitted to work collectives. Another evidence of this is the ever intensifying competition for a worthy greeting for the All-Union Party Conference.

Lipetsk Obkom Chief Describes Restructuring Work

PM1805123188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 9 May 88 p 3

[Article by Yuriy Manayenkov under the rubric "The 19th All-Union Conference: A Party Worker's Notes": "Establishing the Irreversibility of Restructuring"; first paragraph is editorial introduction—boldface as published]

[Text] Yuriy Alekseyevich Manayenkov is first secretary of Lipetsk party obkom, a CPSU Central Committee member, and a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy. He is 51 years old and has spent 25 years in ideological and party work. Trained as an agronomist, he worked for several years on a kolkhoz and then for a rayon newspaper. He has been a party raykom secretary, a department chief, and secretary of the Tambov party obkom. He became head of the Lipetsk oblast party organization in January 1984. In today's "Party Worker's Notes," the author offers his views on the run-up to the 19th all-union party conference.

Restructuring is not a well-worn path, where once you pass the danger point you are immediately ensured against shocks. Thus, the draft State Law on the Cooperative System, like the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), which entails a decentralization of economic management, confused some of our cadres. Some people are still confused, even by a requirement as natural as one that all communists, regardless of rank or merit, be seen as equal in terms of the Party Statute. Nina Andreyeva's article, "I Cannot Waive Principles," which was carried by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, reflects that confusion. Indeed, it is a trial balloon: Do not commit yourself too much to restructuring, do not go overboard, do not make a mistake. And if the party fails to spot the "balloon," the changes that have started can gradually be reversed.

Many workers, including leading ones, have shown their political culture by their attitude to that piece, rather like a touchstone. A certain section of them, although paying lip service to the inevitability of revolutionary restructuring, would prefer to implement it in more "peaceful" forms and at a more "moderate" pace.

The truth, as we know, is born of debate and the clash of opinions. But that article cannot be called a contribution to the discussion of the ways, content, and forms of restructuring or to its short- and long-term goals. It is simply harmful. Anyone who demands that tribute be paid to Stalin and his merits should not forget that he cannot be forgiven as a politician, and that, with the methods he used and the losses he inflicted on the country, even victories can frequently become grave defeats. However, there are those who are ready to idealize, in addition to Stalin, anyone who was involved with party and state policy and the fate of their fellow-countrymen at that time. They had "authority," they

"knew how to lead," their "word carried weight".... But is that true? Perhaps it was fear rather than authority? After all, punishment, criticism, and persecution became the major and most "authoritative" instrument of education.

The truth is undeniable. It is probably time for us to publish those documents in which some now "authoritative" party leaders responded to the plan for the destruction of the "enemies of the people," which the center "imposed" on the oblasts, by sending a telegram to Moscow requesting an increase in the "first section" of the plan or, to put it more bluntly, in the number of people to be shot.

N. Andreyeva is not alone in her views of socialism and restructuring, but she herself is not the issue, of course. It is those group interests and moods that she expresses. It is also the fact that the pictures of the generalissimo, which we used to see on the roofs of vehicles, made a lasting impression on some people's minds, and are now obscuring the changes as well as the past. I see this as the reason why a section of the creative intelligentsia, and not only it, unduly dramatize the problem of the continuity of traditions.

Some comrades have spent a great deal of time trying to prove that young people today are virtually a lost generation. They claim that young people wear the wrong clothes, sing the wrong songs, and have the wrong cultural idols. Due to our fear of any change, which was instilled over the years, we sound the alarm at the onset of mass culture. We do so despite our occasional lack of a clear picture of the origins and components of that phenomenon. We also forget that every generation has its own "songs," and its own innovation. In addition, we ignore the fact that the renewal introduced into spiritual life by young people sweeps away accumulated debris with the inevitability of a fresh breeze, and intimidates backward thinkers. In the process, we obscure the main point, which is the way Soviet youth work, how they enrich our image of the world, and how they study and live. Yes, some young people are more obsessed than we, their fathers, with the lure of vice. But that is our fault, too, as it is a reflection of the problems of a society in which we allowed Stalinist despotism, "starry-eyed" conformity, bare-faced corruption, and methods typical of Medunov, Churbanov, and ultimately Brezhnev to flourish unchecked. In fact, after V.I. Lenin, we did not have a scientifically validated organization for educating people or a system for the spiritual promotion of the individual.

I grew up in a sleepy village where even now the peasants have no need to lock their homes. Yet, from the very first days of collectivization, it was considered customary at the kolkhoz to "take."

The postwar years, when people began talking about Stalin's insincerity, as well as the sixties, when facetious remarks about Khrushchev oozed from the people like

volcanic magma, are clear in the mind. And we all remember the seventies—the false modesty of the people on television, where speaker after speaker, weighed down by old age and regalia, struggled to mount the rostrum. Those are the major lessons. They "shot" (the first and most painful!) holes in people's hearts and minds and we are only just beginning to bind them, to heal them, and to develop a harmonious and honest system of education. However, I am convinced that our young people today are reliable, too. They embark on life with a broad reserve of knowledge, they strive to know the truth, they are ready to promote worthy spiritual leaders from their midst, to take the cause of restructuring into their own hands, and to triumph. That is why we are working boldly to reduce the average age of our cadres.

People scarcely more than 30 years old are now joining the leadership of party committees and the apparatus in the oblast. True, you do sometimes hear it said: Aren't we in too much of a hurry, are we not overestimating their potential? That is a symptom of stagnation. That is what happens when a worker has secured his position in the oblast party "system" solely for the sake of a pension. Today's young people have already found time to be "ordinary" workers, chief specialists, and leaders of enterprises and organizations. They have acquired a taste for public work, and have gained experience in life.

Take the example of Aleksandr Nikolayevich Nikonov. In his 32 years he has acquired sound experience in labor collectives as the chief engineer and party committee secretary of two very large farms. As chairman, he restored an "ailing" kolkhoz to good health, was head of the Dobrinskiy Rayon agro-industrial association, and is now deputy chief of the party obkom's department of agriculture and food industry. I would not be surprised if in the future they entrusted him with the leadership of the rayon. Party raykom first secretaries O. Korolev, P. Moskvoretskiy, V. Gerasimov, and N. Tagintsev are cast in the mold of such brilliant young cadres, inspired by the ideas of restructuring.... They are not burdened with outdated, stereotypical forms of behavior. Their thinking is bold and innovative, and they have the ability to change and enhance not only the economic and social life of their rayons but their spiritual life, too.

Where does their confidence come from? These people are replacing those who could not restructure themselves, and the very process of replacement has its own psychological momentum and orientation. The trend is toward resolute changes prompted by life itself. This process cannot be put into a schedule or integrated scheme.

I, for example, do not support the view currently appearing in our newspapers to the effect that the seeds of bureaucracy are often planted in party work by yesterday's Komsomol functionaries and activists. That is impossible if they were tempered among the working masses and have given a good account of themselves in

practical soviet, economic, or grass roots party activity. Naturally, though, there has been a bureaucratization of the Komsomol apparatus. This fact was also noted at the 20th Komsomol Congress a year ago. In general, it is time to cast off the shackles of the restrictions imposed for the most part by the application form. At grass roots level, the party needs people of different ages and from different "backgrounds." We need people from the "arts," "technicians," "physical scientists," "poets," "agriculturalists," teachers, doctors, architects, construction workers, machine builders, and scientists.... However, they must all have a high level of education and competence, a political and general culture, intelligence, honesty, and that Leninist charisma, which is so attractively shown in the ability to motivate people and take them along. That is the basis we use when training leaders. As the party never ceases to remind us, this is inconceivable without the broadest democratization of every aspect of life.

As in many other regions, so in our oblast, too, glasnost is developing on a broader scale in the work of party, soviet, and economic organs. The renewal of leading cadres at all levels is proceeding without the imposition of "approved" candidates by the head office. We hold consultations in the primary party organization and the labor collective and receive a character reference of the candidate for promotion. This is done openly and publicly, and there is a clash of different attitudes. At this point, we consult with the raykom bureau, the plenum, and the obkom bureau. A democratic mechanism is being formed, which will preclude arbitrary rule and even mistakes. It will not only select a true leader, but will ensure that even before assuming a leadership post, he absorbs that democratic spirit with his heart and mind.

In the first 2 and 1/2 years of restructuring, 860 leaders on the obkom party list have been replaced, and some 40 percent of its apparatus has been renewed. We are ridding ourselves of the smug, pretentious, uncultured, and spineless workers who shun real labor with the people. On this subject, I would like to recall a gloomy article in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA about party gorkom and raykom secretaries who have no time for reading. Fortunately, we do not hold on to such workers. A good 50 percent of the oblast's party gorkom and raykom first secretaries have an educational background in the arts. However, under today's conditions, ideological and educational work with people must not be assigned solely to those educated in the "arts." It is my deeply held conviction that ideological work must be conducted by the entire party committee, including representatives from the most diverse disciplines, and it must be headed by the first secretary.

When we reject stereotypes in ideological activity we consistently translate it into a system of direct and open dialogue with the people and frank and incisive discussion. Such a dialogue is difficult when you are on the platform, and most often we get by without it. Let us be

blunt, direct, and frank: Dialogue with the people is not easy. Our colleagues in Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia saw this for themselves once again when they learned this distressing lesson and taught it to many of us as well. Today you do not ask people to wait while you prepare an answer to the question that is bothering them. You have to reply immediately. In talking with the people, you must show personal feeling. This will appeal to and convince everyone, and draw them into thinking about the problems raised by life. At the moment, unfortunately, emotional content prevails in the works of historians. However, in my view, logic and scientific evidence are more appropriate there.

The party has a vital need for passionate, lively, and intelligent work by political workers, propagandists, and agitators. Restructuring constantly gives rise to the most pressing situations. Let us take the party's paramount concerns today—the naming of delegates to the 19th all-union party conference, and ways to guarantee that party organizations are represented by true exponents of restructuring, and not by people chosen at random, regardless of their proficiency. It is clear that party workers, agitators, and propagandists must resolve this problem democratically, persuade people, and motivate them. They must prove to them that the fate of the upcoming party forum depends largely on their activity, political will, and sense of responsibility when examining candidates.

Meanwhile, the corps of agitators and lecturers has become smaller. Some of them, realizing that they were not prepared for direct and frank dialogue with the people, requested another party assignment. They should not be condemned for that. However, what is truly alarming is that you increasingly hear the retort: Are we not spending too much time discussing the content and goals of the transformations that we have begun? Is it not time to switch from talk to action?

Yes, we have yet to acquire a sense of professionalism. However, in the new stage of social development, when the active formulation of a theory of socialism is becoming an urgent and vital need, when the people's social conduct and the rules of socialist communal life are becoming more humane, and when fundamental changes are taking place in the economy and other spheres of social life, we all have things to discuss, bearing in mind that words are deeds, too. This is not a question of idle talk or speculative theorizing. It is a profound theoretical elaboration of topical problems of socialist construction. Here, too, we are still not saying enough. We have not understood the dialectics of the changes—either in practice or theory. Despite the fact that a good many articles appear in the newspapers under the "Questions of Theory" rubric, it is my deeply held conviction that the demand for a profound theoretical study of the problems raised by life has yet to be well satisfied. Many publications are marked by a lack of originality and a timidity of theoretical thought. They are dominated by commentaries on ideas and thoughts already expressed at Central

Committee plenums. Yet people engaged in restructuring expect our social scientists to present the new and unusually complex problems of the qualitative renewal of socialism in a bold and enterprising way.

Imagine, for instance, the tremendous moral potential that could be harnessed by scientifically validating and creating a mechanism to prevent a recurrence of bureaucracy and corruption and developing a system to revive party comradeship, mutual trust, and consciousness in policy. Then, unlike now, there would be no need to listen attentively whenever your contemporaries express admiration for a particular figure while slyly calculating whether his services to history and the motherland's future are genuine or whether those services are no higher than the grave of the one he labeled the "enemy of the people" and who is, in fact, the people itself. Then, such contradictory figures as Khrushchev, whose initiatives were undermined by inertia, would be seen in a different political light. How can it be defeated? First of all, we must not give ourselves airs or graces. And we must no longer be intimidated by the danger that criticism poses to the fate of the common cause. Criticism is the symbol of our strength, and it must be the norm of social life. In addition, it can only be established as such in the course of the further democratization of the party and society. At that point, we may hope that the problem of providing social protection to those who criticize what have been called the powers that be will become noticeably less acute. But for the time being, party committees and organizations must respond promptly and in a principled way to the diverse and, at times, highly sophisticated forms of suppressing criticism.

The day that we cease to critically evaluate the results of our own activity is the day that restructuring starts to decline. For that reason, we must comprehensively support and reinforce the critical attitude of the mass media of information and propaganda. After all, they are a particularly powerful voice of criticism. In doing so, we must not give vent to ambition or arrogance. When giving high marks to the contribution of the press to restructuring, we must continue to comprehensively encourage the principles of analysis in its activity.

I believe that a serious shortcoming of many papers, including the central ones, is the fact that journalists cannot and sometimes do not know how to "grasp" phenomena in their dialectical development, or to consider a given fact in depth or perceive its roots. The problem here is a lack of competence, and an absence of basic knowledge of one's subject while in pursuit of an allegedly "hot" story.

The tangible increase in the circulation of local newspapers is a sign of the active role our press plays in restructuring. Our oblast newspaper is no exception. Today people line up for it outside the "Soyuzpechat" kiosks. Not everyone manages to buy a copy of our LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA. People read it from cover to

cover, and it is cited in letters and speeches. Our newspaper is "sharp-tongued," as they say, and is becoming professional. That is not just my opinion.

It goes without saying that I am opposed to lowering the level of criticism in the press and to rationing it in any way. However, I am convinced that it should be more constructive and should look not only to our distant and more recent past, from which, of course, all the necessary lessons for the future should be drawn. Indeed, such lessons must also be drawn from our present and from the living and, I repeat, contradictory experience of restructuring. Here, too, there are unassimilated areas, especially if you recall the useful experience, and the innovation that comes with the practice of revolutionary transformation. From a professional point of view, it is more difficult to write about this. I know that from my own experience; I used to be a journalist. But this must be done. That is the only way in which the ideas of society's revolutionary renewal can be comprehensively enhanced in people's eyes.

The ideology of this renewal categorically demands that every party committee take the lead in the struggle to cleanse our life of moral and social corrosion, personal immodesty, bragging, arrogant smugness, elementary parasitism, and group egoism. All of these elements flourish in the distorted concept of democracy that some of our people have. There are still quite a few people who forget that democracy presupposes the strictest order and organization and the highest labor discipline. Frequently, a man starts a new job, and asks not how much he can earn but how much he will receive. If a negligent worker is deprived of his bonus he is convinced that he has been treated undemocratically, and has no qualms about saying so aloud. At this point, I cannot help recalling A. Gelman's brilliantly profound and axiomatic idea in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA on the need to distinguish between "freedom for the head and freedom for the feet."

We have a poultry farm known as "Berezovskaya," which raises ducks. From time to time, the farm fails to fulfill its production plan and its feed consumption is above the norm. However, when the occasion permits, its director has no qualms about taking advantage of his official position. For years now, he has been using the official car to travel back and forth from the oblast center to the countryside for business. By hook or crook, and with the help of the republic's "poultry industry administration," farm officials have managed to obtain figures, which they are now citing in their loud claims that the collective is being "pressured" and undersupplied with feed. What is this if not an example of that ingrained egoism, which is not averse to juggling facts, distorting accounts, and resorting to "showy" effects? I will be blunt: This tendency to hold rallies and the desire of some people to take to the streets to demonstrate their commitment to restructuring reminds me of the sham prosperity of days gone by.

In the past, we party workers were interested first and foremost in ideological support for the production plan. Now, though, it is becoming increasingly clear that the molding of the new man is an independent asset for the party, and that the comprehensive development of the individual is a goal of socialism inherent in the new social system. The realization of this factor radically alters the very approach to all ideological activity. This applies not only to the evaluation of those who prepare production programs, as they increasingly need guidance on the diverse interests not only of all society and of the labor collective, but of each individual worker. Ideological work is being more closely coordinated with economic practice. These new approaches can be seen in every sector of the economy. However, they are most clearly visible in the agro-industrial complex, where the lease contract, including the family contract, are becoming more firmly established with the passing day, and where small group forms of labor organization and production are being introduced. To a certain extent, we are right to speak today of the rebirth of Lenin's New Economic Policy on a more mature basis.

Under the new conditions, party committees and economic management bodies in the oblast see it as one of their most important tasks to make the labor process itself increasingly attractive to people, improve labor conditions as much as possible, and make the worker's daily life more humane. I well remember the time when we were accountable first and foremost for the plan. That is what the plan says; no questions allowed! As for a man's life under this system, his physical and moral health, that was rarely much of a concern to anyone. However, the result of this narrow pragmatic approach to work was that production plans ultimately ceased to be fulfilled.

People expect us to give direct answers to the questions that worry them. You cannot hide behind quotations or offer only a stony silence. It is dangerous to do so, as you must make good the gaps in life to ensure there are none in people's hearts. The mood of the collective at our Novolipetsk metallurgical combine is consistently good, as a great deal is being done there to improve working, living, and cultural conditions, and to strengthen public health. Recently I went to the "Petrovskiy" sovkhos—there were all kinds of shortages and the workers' mood was quite different. They were also "for" restructuring, but they criticized it and had doubts about it. They said: No sooner had the sovkhos director gone off on leave than his deputy quickly "arranged" a three-room apartment for a relative. It is true: What sort of restructuring is this if its fate depends on a good leader, but, unfortunately, you don't have people like that everywhere! The spiritual sphere and our morality, like the economic mechanism, must be transformed into a self-adjusting and self-regulating system, which would automatically ensure protection against chance events and arbitrary behavior.

Many of our problems with education and the ideology of renewal stem from the fact that we, the party committees, have lost our influence as organs of political leadership. We have "hoarded" all those jobs that should be done by soviets, economic managers, scientists, specialists, and even...supply workers. That is why we are failing to keep pace with life in some respects. Under these conditions, the slogan "All power to the Soviets!" acquires a new historic meaning: Party organizations must restore some functions to their rightful place. They must **direct** processes and **not manage** them. Much here will be decided by the attitudes the party cadres themselves take to the problem. We do not exclude the possibility that it will take a special party Central Committee resolution to protect soviets from interference by over-zealous party administrators. And the soviets themselves must become more democratic. They should manage the life of their territories, and the apparatus should be the working organization. It would make sense to create presidiums within soviets, from the rayon level up, to work with deputies and standing commissions. It would also be wise to demand in particular that they ensure that the accountability of ispolkoms to soviets be not merely formal, as it is now, but vital and real, just as deputies are accountable to the voters. Perhaps the tax system should also be changed in favor of local soviets. Today they receive pennies from union- and republic-level enterprises and provide cultural workers, teachers, and physicians with poor-quality housing...

I know from my meetings with people that many link the idea of holding the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference with the democratization of party life and the suppression of bureaucratic structures and principles. I believe we must abolish the sector departments of party committees, which often duplicate existing economic structures, and strengthen the economic department. We must have powerful functional departments—departments for party organizational work and for agitation and propaganda. In addition, we must reinforce the party commission so as to enhance control and step up the fight for the purity and honesty of party members. We must likewise work for a correspondence between word and action. But people say: Are we not returning to the institution of Central Committee party organizers or other similar central "envoys" at the local level? I am confident that in the conditions of democratization this notion is simply far-fetched and empty.

What are we doing, comrades? Are we resorting to the "big stick" again, do we need an overseer once more? Is it a revival of the fear of the accusing finger? In that case, how can we talk about the expansion of party democracy? I am sure that when we achieve the real independence of labor collectives, the party worker will no longer be a spy or a bureaucrat but a real worker, an educator of the masses, and a friend and comrade.

...It is important to avoid haste or, as the people say, we must "make haste slowly" so as to prevent the development of restructuring from becoming just another loud

campaign. Our major task is to see the revolutionary transformations that we have begun through to their logical conclusion. And we will do it. We will be followed by young people brought up not during the periods of the "cult" or "stagnation," but at a time of renewal and a return to democracy and Leninist principles of party leadership.

Tatar Obkom Chief Interviewed on Election of Delegates

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INDUSTRIYA in Russian 14 May 88 p 1*

[Interview with Gumer Ismagilovich Usmanov, first secretary of the Tatar Oblast Party Committee, by U. Bogdalov, Chistopol—Kazan: "They Voted for the Entire City?"; date and place not given]

[Text] A few days ago I learned that Svetlana Yuryevna Gafurova, an assembler at the clock plant in Chistopol, was among the candidates to represent Tatar party members as a delegate to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. She is a person well-known in the city for her responsible attitude toward work, toward the duty of a party member, she is a member of the buro of the party gorkom, and she has been awarded the order of Labor Glory.

I am convinced that if you asked party members in the city if S. Gafurova was worthy to represent them in Moscow, the answer would have been affirmative. But that is the point, that not much asking was done of people in Chistopol. This is how it was. When the instructor of the party obkom suggested to the gorkom that it think about a candidate for delegate, they did not think long, but for quite understandable reasons named S. Gafurova: the plant where she works is the largest in the city, and she is moreover an assembler who is a member of the gorkom buro. The nomination was also supported in the enterprise party committee.

Here at the plant in the presence of the party committee secretary and the obkom instructor they assembled the party buro members of the shop where Gafurova works and asked who might properly represent the party members of Chistopol at the conference? The first person to speak was I. Yakovlev, deputy shop chief. Without a shadow of doubt he named that same Svetlana Yuryevna. The buro gave its support without reservation.

Then in the office of the shop chief they now assembled all the party members; to be sure, they did not care to call a party assembly as such. L. Shtoda, secretary of the party organization, communicated the collective opinion of the members of the buro. The party members in the shop concurred with it, and the representative of the obkom, alerting those assembled that the plenum of the party oblast committee would have the last word, went off to Kazan.

As we see, he did not impose any nomination on the members of the party, nor did he have the usual order with him when he arrived. But the question arises: What has come to replace the previous overorganization? No answer can be given. While externally they have renounced the old approaches, in Chistopol they have not found new ones which are open and democratic. They suddenly seem to have forgotten that all members of the party and all of us are awaiting the conference today as we have no other event. That is why the candidate for delegate to represent some organization must in my opinion be discussed by all the party members of that organization or by their authorized representatives.

Perhaps I am categorical in this conclusion? To avoid a mistake, I decided to find out what is known about the candidate from the Chistopol party organization. I got in touch with M. Makeyeva, deputy secretary of the party committee of the cloth plant for the ideological effort, who said:

"There was an assembly, a conversation in the shop, I do not know. I can find out the details...."

"Perhaps there is an article in the plant newspaper?"

"I have today's issue of VOSTOK in front of me, no, I do not see anything...."

But "information" had already traveled through the city—at first in the form of rumors about who would represent in Moscow the 6,000 party members from Chistopol. Only 40 some members of the party who decided this question in the office of the secretary of the plant party committee for the entire city had reliable knowledge about it.

[Editorial comment] Our correspondent shared his conclusions with G. Usmanov, first secretary of the Tatar Obkom of the party, and asked him to comment on how the election of candidates was organized in Chistopol.

"For our staff the organization of elections is a good school of democracy," Gumer Ismagilovich said. "Any elections, even the most democratic, require organization. What is more, the more democratic they become, the more creative the approach that needs to be taken to it. We are quite aware of the newness of the upcoming campaign for the entire party apparatus and the aktiv. And above all for the department for organizational and party work of the party obkom. Why make a secret of it, some of its personnel are still inclined to operate according to the old conventions. After all, it is simpler that way—take a poll of the leadership of the gorkom or raykom on the upcoming slate of candidates, obtain approval of the primary party organization, and prepare the documents.

"In view of the newness of the situation, we had a detailed discussion in advance of the upcoming work to be done in the obkom buro, and we prepared recommendations. We put particular emphasis on the political nature of the upcoming discussion of the candidacies, on including both party members and those who do not belong. For example, a candidate from Arskiy Rayon, Gulzada Akhmatovna Abdrakitova, a teacher, has just been nominated. The entire collective of the school took part in the discussion. People issued quite a few orders to the potential deputy, and the first among them was to stand firmly on the principles of restructuring.

"As for the nomination in Chistopol, actually the official from the obkom, as you have noted, did not impose any nomination on the members of the party.

"In the next few days, it has been reported to me from Chistopol, a broad discussion of the nomination will begin, involving activists in mass political work, the city newspaper, and mimeographed newspapers. I agree with you that the plant newspaper should have responded more quickly."

[Question] Gumer Ismagilovich, quite a few readers have been expressing alarm about what is referred to as mechanical representation of the various strata of our society at the conference. It is not very far from there, they say, to choice by questionnaire.

[Answer] We try to avoid "mechanical" representation, to depart from the notorious "percentages." Otherwise, what kind of democracy is there? But the fundamental position of our deputies is better known by party members working alongside them. In the context of broad glasnost of the nomination process and the all-out use of the local press and assemblies, it is possible to evaluate every candidacy. There is enough time for this before the plenum of the party obkom. We have cautioned the key people in the news media of our republic against "embellishing" the nominees. Portraits of the nominees decorated with tinsel are unacceptable. If there are fundamental and sound objections to the candidacies which are not malicious, they need to be made public in the press and analyzed in the work collective where they know the individual.

Incidentally, our instructor might have organized preliminary preparation for the nomination so as to take into account the opinion of those not in the party. For a day or 2, say, he might have asked the workers of the plant to name the party members most suitable in their opinion as candidates. Although in my view Svetlana Yuryevna has the most solid experience in political work as a member of the gorkom buro. It is easier for her to arrive at independent judgments necessary to a delegate.

[Question] At one of the recent plenums of the obkom you criticized V. Stekolshchikovo, first secretary of the Chistopol Gorkom. I recall that he ordered one of the city's enterprises to shut down in order to send the entire

labor force out to help the peasants. As far as I know, these preemptory actions that were not thought through brought no objections from members of the gorkom buro....

[Answer] We would have to find out whether Valeriy Dmitriyevich informed all the members of the buro of his decision at the time. That is the first thing. Second, I agree that election to such a high body does not automatically increase a party member's prestige and does not guarantee that the public position taken is solid. Moreover, we are disturbed that some of the workers and farmers elected to buros of gorkoms and raykoms are not active enough in sessions, express themselves timidly to what we might call the party "chiefs," even when an objection would be mandatory.

We have now been quick to take all this into account. I repeat: the nomination procedure and procedure of the upcoming elections is a school of democracy even for us. We are discussing the Chistopol case in a session of the staff of the obkom, and we are drawing conclusions. These are times in which many recommendations have to be worked out by reality itself and by the opinion of party members.

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Grodno Obkom Chief Interviewed on Perestroika, Democracy

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[Interview with Leonid Gerasimovich Kletskov, first secretary of the Grodno Obkom of the Belorussian CP and Hero of Socialist Labor, by AIF correspondent V. Voronetskiy: "Democracy as I Understand It"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] Leonid Gerasimovich, vigorous preparations are being made in the country for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. As is well-known, it will analyze progress in carrying out the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, will sum up the results of the 1st year of the 5-year planning period, and will take up the problems of further democratization of the life of the party and society. What proposals and thoughts do you personally have in this connection?

[Kletskov] Quite a few of them have gathered. I agree with many authors of letters now being published in the press. We, of course, need to improve both the practice of enrollment in the party and the work of the elective party aktiv, as well as the range of duties of the staff of official party bodies. In my view, if the party's authority and influence is to be increased, it has to be freed of members who are not really Communists: degenerates who are indifferent to public affairs and bureaucrats who

have become detached from the people. Every party member should be examined individually, especially with respect to what he has done and how he has behaved in recent decades.

I feel that the staffs of raykoms, gorkoms, and obkoms are greatly inflated and in this regard do not meet the requirements of restructuring and economic methods of management. Our oblast committee, for example, is by no means the largest, but even it could be reduced. Instead of branch and sector departments, a single strong economic department should be created.

The number of inhabitants and the number of party members should be taken into account in creating official party bodies at the local level. More thought should be given to the advisability of raykoms and gorkoms in rayons and cities with population under 50,000 and when there are less than 3,000 party members.

I am also disturbed by the question of the need to revive the power of the soviets in the sense that Lenin meant it. The prolonged rule of the system in which all matters were decided by the staff has had the result that the soviet has become a kind of official body which actually decides nothing. A situation has come about in which it is not the ispolkom which is an appendage of the soviet, but the soviet which is an appendage of the ispolkom.

The question of questions is delineation of the functions of party entities from those of the state. I feel that party leadership must be exercised not by command, but by influence, through cadres of party members and party groups in soviets. Such groups exist even now, but they are conductors for passing on party influence only in a formal sense. What usually happens is that an hour before the session begins we approve the operating procedure and agenda presented by the ispolkom, and that is all.

The question of the work of the soviets is a complicated one, but it has to be dealt with. The process now taking place in the country of a reduction of the staff for management of economic and sociocultural development should be borne in mind in this connection. For example, we have worked out a new scheme for that kind of management. It calls for reducing the staff subordinate to the oblispolkom by 29 percent.

I think the time has come to reduce the staff of the agroprom as well. It now consists of 200 persons in the oblast, although it could get along with half that. It is not pursuers and guides that we need, but experienced consultants and advisers.

I assume that there will be serious discussion in the conference about how bureaucracy is to be conquered and a barrier set up to income not derived from work.

[Correspondent] How do you, a man who has been hardened by action at the front, perceive the process taking place in the country of democratization and glasnost?

[Kletskov] I vote for it with both hands, but provided that democracy and discipline are two sides of the same coin and are closely and inseparably related to one another. Discuss, study public opinion, take it into account in making a decision, but once it has been made, carry it out vigorously and with initiative, applying every effort. Otherwise nothing will come of it. We still have many people who only like to talk.

There has in fact been progress in the development of democracy. About 1,000 leaders in the party, the soviet, and the economy have been elected in the oblast by the method of glasnost, in competition. But an analysis of letters and oral communications received by the obkom, meetings of buro members with work collectives, and a study of the progress of restructuring at the local level show that by no means all party, soviet, and economic leaders have learned how to work under the new conditions. In developing democracy, we need to be bolder in advancing to positions of leadership young specialists who are not in the party, and at the same time take the ethnic composition of the oblast's population into account more fully. We need to be more decisive in entrusting positions of responsibility to women. At present, there are 130 of them in positions of leadership in party and soviet bodies.

So long as we are discussing the shortcomings of leaders, many of them are not tactful or good-tempered, they do not respect or recognize the right to one's own opinion, nor do they analyze mistakes honestly, competently, and frankly.

Aside from knowledge and competence, I, for example, esteem in a leader a devotion to principle and a feeling of responsibility for the task he has been given. Restructuring and the new methods of economic activity presuppose independence on the part of specialists and the managers of economic entities. This independence must exist in reality, not just on paper. We have indeed "swaddled" people in commands—hut, two, three, four! Hut, two, three, four! Now it will not work that way. Everyone must be interested in his job and take responsibility for it. Conceit and arrogance are fatal for a leader, not to mention venality.

[Correspondent] The latter is unfortunately rather widespread. Many of our readers tell about the privileges which those in power at the local level create for themselves. They make purchases in special stores, you will not see them riding public transportation, they don't go into the shop for love nor money, and they build dachas they cannot afford.

[Kletskov] We are making an effort so they will not have that to write and say about us. For example, I have made it a rule to take 10,000 steps (or 5-6 km) every day. You do not do that in an office. We do not have special stores for leaders. Party and soviet officials in our oblast do not have state dachas either. I do not even have one, although, of course, I could have.

[Correspondent] Some of our readers complain that obkom first secretaries are not accessible. How often do you personally receive visitors, and on what matters? After all, the first secretary cannot, say, deal personally with a housing matter which is a prerogative of a people's court.

[Kletskov] We receive visitors every day. A schedule is drawn up stating when the various obkom secretaries, their assistants, and heads of departments receive visitors. My day is the first Monday of every month. On that day I manage to see 30-35 people. The subject matter of the conversations is highly diverse. If I am unable to settle the question myself, I ask that it be looked into by the heads of the competent authorities, and I tell the visitor about this. My office is also open to people on other days. Just now I have finished a conversation with two visitors from the rayons, although it is not actually the day when my office is open to the public. My office telephone number is well-known in the city. People call quite often, bypassing the secretary in the reception room.

[Correspondent] And they do not hinder you?

[Kletskov] No, I have become convinced that people do not get disturbed for trifles. I receive calls from two or three persons a day, always in the daytime. The conversations are also useful to me. Any alienation from people is intolerable for a party official and for a leader in general. It is only work with people and for people that justifies all our efforts at restructuring and can result in success.

[Correspondent] Leonid Gerasimovich, you might be called the dean among leaders of oblast party organizations. Please tell us briefly about yourself.

[Kletskov] Thank you for the compliment, although being the elder is not the most welcome thing in life. I would like to have my 20 or 30 years back! But my biography, like many of my contemporaries, is filled with both happy and distressing events. I was born in a village near ancient Polotsk in a peasant family. As an adolescent I learned how to plow. At the age of 17 I attended the reading hut in the village. I worked as a secretary and chairman of the village council and secretary of the Komsomol raykom. I put on a soldier's blouse on the 2nd day of the Great Patriotic War. I was discharged only in 1947. I held various positions in Komsomol and in soviet and party bodies. I have been first secretary of the Grodno Party Obkom since 1972.

[Correspondent] You worked in positions of leadership under Stalin, under Khrushchev, and also under Brezhnev. You have your opinion about each of them, and you can make comparisons....

[Kletskov] I fully concur in the assessment made of these political figures in the speech of M.S. Gorbachev commemorating the 70th anniversary of Great October. It was judicious and objective. It was with Stalin's name on our lips that we went to fight the enemy. That is how we were brought up. That was the time of his cult. Then when people learned about the large-scale repressions, about his role in the illegality, there came a sobering up. Many people were looked upon differently. But exposure of Stalin's personality cult was not taken all the way. Khrushchev only initiated that process, and he deserves a great deal of credit for doing so. It took boldness and civic courage to undertake such a thing. Unfortunately, after that everything was dropped. With the help of bootlickers Brezhnev conceived himself to be a genius, and with his excessive desire for glory he inflicted quite a bit of harm to the prestige of the party leader.

[Correspondent] And how in this connection do you evaluate the recent PRAVDA editorial about the processes of restructuring and the revolutionary character of thought and action?

[Kletskov] I approve and support the principle and conclusions contained in it. There is no need to fear that in developing democracy, in expanding glasnost, in removing all kinds of prohibitions and restrictions, that we are shaking the pillars of socialism. Can the "salvation" of socialism lie in preserving authoritarian edicts, the practice of thoughtlessly doing what you are told and suppression of initiative? Can it lie in preserving a system in which bureaucracy, arbitrariness, corruption, extortion, and petit bourgeois degeneration are in full flower? No, and no once again.

Socialism's salvation lies in a return to Leninist principles of democracy, social justice, cost accounting, and respect for the honor, life, and dignity of the human individual. In the face of the people's difficulties, which have not been invented, and the needs which have not been satisfied, we have no right to adhere to those approaches which took shape in the thirties and forties and which are now holding back our forward advance to an appreciable extent.

[Correspondent] Grodno is building up rapidly. There are many new residential buildings, and all the apartments are well-equipped in every one. Have you moved?

[Kletskov] I have lived in the same apartment during all the years I have worked in Grodno.

[Correspondent] What family do you have?

[Kletskov] I live with my wife. She is the principal of a secondary school. The children are grown, they live apart, not in Grodno.

[Correspondent] And your income?

[Kletskov] My income is 550 rubles. Incidentally, it is not the highest in the oblast, as some people think. The chairman of our economically strong kolkhozes receive 600-800 rubles a month on the average. The wages of herdsmen and machine operators go as high as 400-500 rubles, and those working on contract earn even more. For example, kolkhoz member K. Maleshko from our progressive Berestovitskiy Rayon, who raises little pigs, earned an average of 700 rubles a month last year.

[Correspondent] The mail we receive contains quite a few pessimistic letters about the progress of restructuring. How is it going in your oblast?

[Kletskov] There has been improvement, although not everything is going smoothly everywhere. The oblast successfully fulfilled the targets of the last 5-year planning period and has gotten a good start in this one. Industry completed the assignment of the first 2 years of the 5-year period for the growth rates of commodity output and labor productivity ahead of schedule. Plans were substantially overfulfilled for the output of products in the superior-quality category and consumer goods. The workers of the agroindustrial complex made us happy. The yield of grain crops in 1987 exceeded 40 quintals, that of potatoes 233, and sugar beets 345 quintals. Average milk production per dairy cow was 3,216 kg for the year. For every 100 hectares of farmland

in the oblast more than 700 quintals of milk was produced and more than 211 quintals of meat (live weight) was sold. Over the last 3 years housing construction has increased 19 percent, the output of consumer goods has risen 10 percent in the last 2 years. There has also been progress in the food supply to the public. Sales of meats and sausages in the oblast have grown 25 percent in the last 2 years, sales of butter 19 percent, and vegetable sales 21 percent.

We are expanding the network of cooperatives. We have 164 of them. More than 1,800 persons in the oblast are self-employed.

[Correspondent] The role of the oblast party organization is beyond question in the changes taking place. What is there new in the style and methods of its work?

[Kletskov] There have been many changes. I would emphasize the main thing: we have been striving to create in every party organization an atmosphere of exactingness and comradely mutual assistance and to see that every party member sets a personal example. We have even had to resort to penalties. In 3 years about 2,000 persons have been expelled from the ranks of the party for various violations of party discipline. More than 3,800 party members have received various punishments.

[Correspondent] What is your mood? How do you think things will go this year?

[Kletskov] My mood is sanguine and optimistic, as is that of all the workers in the oblast. Our thoughts and aspirations are bent on going beyond what we have achieved.

07045

**Younger Deputies to Soviets Suffer From
'Distributive' Elections**

18000346a PRAVDA in Russian 3 May 88 pp 1-2

[Article by S. Romeykov: "Distribution, or What is a Young Deputy to Do?"]

[Text]—Moscow—In 1987, 751,425 young representatives under the age of 30 were elected to the local soviets. You will agree that this is an impressive figure. A line from a famous song—"the way is open to our youth everywhere"—eloquently confirms the solid representation of youth (32.4 percent) in the organs of state power "through which the working people exercise their political power" in the USSR.

But let us reflect. Both on the figures: why this number, no more, no less? And on how the young deputy negotiates his difficult road.

A little less than a year ago, students, teachers and staff in the history and philology faculty at the Peoples' Friendship University imeni P. Lumumba assembled to discuss and approve candidate deputies to the Chermushkinskiy Rayon Soviet. The collective was informed that there was a "need" for young women under a certain age. The assemblage was on the verge of grumbling—after all this was not an election of some dormitory sanitation commission or other. There was indignation over the fact that the candidates' requirements were still being handed down from above as in the old days. Nevertheless, the assemblage retreated in the face of the word that still works its magic: distribution.

Whatever the case, the candidates were approved and soon thereafter young women of a "certain age" became full-fledged representatives of the Soviet people.

I talked with one of them: Komsomol member Svetlana Chekhonadskaya.

"Sveta, what did you feel when you were nominated?"

"Frankly speaking, I was somewhat perplexed. I had previously thought that all this should be much more serious. But what is the case here? If I was chosen on the basis of the distribution—'girl-Komsomol member-under 20 years of age', what does that make me? I am the visual expression of the requirements of a questionnaire, nothing more," Svetlana said glumly.

"How has your life changed after the elections?"

"I am essentially doing the same things I was doing before my election within the framework of Komsomol and other social work. Of course I am trying to be more responsible toward this work. But in general, the activity of a young deputy is performed under such conditions that the deputy can spend the entire term of office without doing anything."

"What do you mean?"

"I will begin with the fact that after being elected, we young deputies were not briefed by anyone on the rights, duties, and specifics of a deputy's work on the assumption that we would learn in the process. But the "process" was essentially this. A voter would come to see me about a housing problem. What can I actually do? How can I help? This is how: I, a deputy!, can direct the person who elected me to someone who has real power, who has a wealth of experience working as a deputy. As a rule, such people are deputies who are members of a rayon soviet ispolkom and sometimes are not even deputies but are workers with the rayispolkom apparatus."

"Svetlana, you were nominated by your faculty collective. Do students and teachers often turn to you as a deputy?"

"They do, not on reception days but during the regular working day. I personally ask the question: is there justification for nominating candidates for deputy at a place of work or study if it is known beforehand that the majority of the voters will not know their candidates. This is all the more strange in the case of elections to local soviets whose deputy groups are called upon to address concrete issues for a specific but relatively small territory. Should not the deputies of a local soviet be local people, i.e., people who are familiar with the problems of their street, block or microrayon?"

"These are general problems, but what do you consider the main difficulty in the work of a young deputy to be?"

"Very often the simple lack of practical experience."

Aleksandr Ivanov, deputy from the Baumanskiy Rayonny Soviet, is 23 years old but he has more practical experience, the lack of which Svetlana complained about. He went to work at the Moscow Punched-Card Machine Plant in 1982, where he worked until he was called into the army. He served in Afghanistan. He has now returned.

"I am probably not the only one in this category," Aleksandr said. "The army made me a man. When I came back from Afghanistan, I definitely knew I could not go back to the old life."

"How did you live before?"

Sasha is silent, crumples an unsmoked cigarette and becomes excited.

"Before, nothing much touched me. Everything went by me."

The changes in Aleksandr have been noticed. He now heads the shop headquarters of the "Komsomol spotlight," is actively participating in the creation of a

club for reserve servicemen, and is preparing to join the CPSU. On 21 June 1987, 100 percent of the voters in Electoral District No 77 cast their votes for the young candidate for deputy.

"Sasha, did it occur to you that you might not be elected?"

"No, it did not. A deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet who works at our plant as a grinder told me: if you are approved as a candidate at a shop meeting, you are as good as elected. So there was no particular excitement."

I asked Aleksandr to describe his 9 months as a deputy.

He leafed through his deputy's notebook and reported that only two voters had come to see him on reception day. He had been able to resolve one question immediately and to resolve the second question on the job.

"Why, in your opinion, don't the voters come to you? Is it that the population doesn't have any problems?"

"There are plenty of problems. But old people are reluctant to bring their troubles to young people whom they don't trust. They try to see a deputy of the Moscow City Soviet. What is more, the people who elected me practically do not know me. At the plant, it is a different matter. Scarcely a day goes by that someone doesn't come up to me and ask how to do something better. The young people at the plant know me from the Komsomol and simply from working together. They know that I am a deputy. They elected me. But I cannot always help them. I have other things to do."

The talks with Svetlana and Aleksandr provide food for thought. Here is the picture that unfolds: a young deputy sits month after month waiting for the people who elected him to show up during his reception hours. At the same time, his youth, the closeness of interests, and his status and authority as a deputy could be used to maximum benefit among youth. I do not believe, for example, that Aleksandr is more needed on the permanent rayispolkom commission (to which he was assigned) on the family, the protection of mothers and children, and women's working and living conditions.

How can such distribution of deputy "resources" be explained? Probably here, too, the decisive role is played by the all-powerful distribution. Someone somewhere obviously deems it fitting that young candidate member of the CPSU Aleksandr Ivanov concern himself with women's living and working conditions.

Instead of formally representing youth in the soviets, would it not be better if Komsomol candidates were not nominated from the top downward but were rather delegated by Komsomol organizations from the bottom upward and if they in fact represented the Komsomol's interests in elective organs?

"It's another matter at the plant," Sasha said. But at the plant, he belongs to a five-man brigade that works under a single contract. And in order not to be a burden to his comrades, he has to do his "share" at inopportune times. (One experienced deputy confided in me that he spends almost half his working day on the performance of his obligations as a deputy. To be sure, his day is not normed and his practical experience and experience as a deputy—four convocations—enable him to get everything done). But what about young deputies who are "tied" to a machine tool or assembly line? What about those who have just created a family and have small children at home.

It is easy to say that the deputy must be able to handle everything because he is the "best of the best." But saying this still does not solve the problem.

Therefore, proposals to relieve the deputy of his basic work while he is performing his functions as a deputy seem to merit most serious study. Opponents say that he will inevitably be alienated from the collective. I am certain that this will not happen if the sphere of the deputy's activity is coordinated with his basic work, with people he knows well; people whose problems are also his, the deputy's, problems.

The constitutionally guaranteed right to vote and be elected is a great right that carries with it serious obligations. And in order not to denigrate its importance and the high obligations of the deputy, we must discontinue the practice of "handing down" the requirements for future deputies. I do not believe that most Soviet people care how many deputies are men, women, Komsomols, or noncommunists; the percentual relationships between representatives within these groups are still less important.

There is something else that is more important. Deputies must truly be elected by the people. And they must be elected not by people who are interested in placing in the Soviet someone who fits the desired requirements but rather someone who is elected specifically as the people's own representative.

Naturally, the problems described by Svetlana Chekhonadskaya and Aleksandr Ivanov primarily concern young deputies. But not only them. The notorious distribution during the preelection campaign, the formal approach to the formation of permanent commissions, the dependence of deputies on ispolkom workers—all these are common ills. That which some seasoned deputies have simply tolerated and become accustomed to takes on the form of the most serious contradiction between youth and bureaucratism, between the thirst for activity and the formal approach to work.

What is the opinion of the ispolkom workers in this regard?

"Yes, the young deputies have defined our sore points quite precisely," said V. Shantsev, chairman, ispolkom of the Perovskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies in Moscow. "Indeed the 'screening' of deputies on the basis of questionnaire data has had the effect of making them something in the nature of show figures. All the soviets' power today is vested in the ispolkom, in the apparatus.

Many problems have obviously accumulated both in our electoral system and in the deputies' practical performance of their obligations. After reading the material presented to us, V. Shantsev said that he would like to put a big question mark after it: what next?

How to raise the authority and increase the effectiveness of those elected by the people? This question can only be answered jointly: by the deputies and by those who elect them.

5013

SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Readers Discuss Party Conference Delegates

18000330 Moscow *SOVETSKAYA KULTURA* in
Russian 7 May 88 p 2

[Letters from readers: "A Word About the Delegate"; first two paragraphs are *SOVETSKAYA KULTURA* introduction]

[Text] Perhaps none of the letters published under the rubric "The 19th All-Union Conference, I Propose for Discussion" evoked such an ardent response, such a lively readers' participation, as the letter from Yuriy Andreyev, a resident of Leningrad, who was perturbed: Will the elections of delegates to the conference not proceed according to old schemes? ["Before It Is Too Late," SK, 21 April of this year].

Readers share the anxiety of the letter's author, because they connect too big hopes with the work of the 19th party conference and cannot be indifferent to the question of to whom the mandate of its delegate will be handed over. They express their proposals on the procedure of nominating party members.

Without Fail, With His Own Program

This conference, which all of us are awaiting, is a party conference and party members should elect its delegates. However, since it is of tremendous significance for the entire country, maximally broad sections of the population should take part in its preparation.

They should discuss the candidacies of delegates in their production collectives. Most important of all, every candidate should express before them his attitude toward the ideological model of society's renewal and promulgate

his personal program, with which he goes to the conference. At the same time, mass information media, primarily television, should be activated maximally. The people should see and hear those who will decide their fate.

All this will not only create a guarantee that true supporters of restructuring will get into the conference (because people will be able to compare the candidate's real actions with his words), but, most important of all, will draw millions of people into active political work, which is the basic guarantee of a truly socialist transformation of society.

The fact that people will see and hear strong, talented individuals, for whom their high position—delegates to the fateful party conference—is not a means of receiving special privileges and joining the cohort of the elected, but a means of searching for ways of development that will help the great nation to find its befitting existence, will be the best method of bringing back the people's faith in the ideals of socialism, about which the defenders of Stalinism are so hypocritically concerned.

A great deal depends on how to explain to the people that the path to a sharp improvement in their living conditions is not the "pavement of Nevskiy Prospekt"—it is complicated and difficult. It is also important who will explain this. I often had occasion to see how intensely simple people listened to Mikhail Ulyanov and what a response his publications evoked. The most forcible argument—his splendid human destiny—stands behind his every word.

Three years of restructuring have already given sufficient data to answer the question: Who is who?

Inflated authority burst and the authority of those that at one time did a great deal, but then stopped, resigned themselves to stagnation, and "joined" it, faded. No one intends to deny their past services—this would be immoral. Now, however, those that did not resign themselves, those that marched in the first assault lines of restructuring, should decide the country's fate.

I should very much like to be mistaken, but too much indicates that the opponents of restructuring are getting ready to wage at the conference a decisive battle against the policy of renewal. There are more than enough incentives for this—from the striving engendered by unrestrained social egoism to hold on to one's privileges at any cost to the fear of an honest discussion about the past. This is precisely why I subscribe to Yuriy Andreyev's idea that, not losing a minute, it is necessary to concentrate principal attention on the main question—who will represent our party and our nation at the forum that will have to decide the country's fate.

Ye. Blomkvist, party member, candidate of philosophical sciences, docent at the Department of Marxism-Leninism of the Moscow Higher School of Industrial Art (b. Stroganovskoye), Moscow

Not Officials, but Fighters

The results of the elections to people's courts and local soviets, even if in our Rostov Oblast, held in 1987 can be a graphic example of what can happen with the election of delegates to a conference.

As the list of candidates and the list of elected people published in newspapers showed, either managers of different ranks, or young people under the age of 30, who often had no opinions of their own and, when issues were decided, raised their hands, glancing at the authorities, got into both oblast and rayon soviets.

Veterans of the Great Patriotic War and labor veterans, who carried on their shoulders all the difficulties of wartime and the first postwar years, that is, citizens 58 to 80 and older, constitute only a fraction of a percent among the elected deputies of both oblast and rayon soviets. As though we no longer need their life experience and their unblemished work for society is forgotten.

We must not permit a repetition of the experience at the All-Russian Congress of Teachers, into which innovative teachers famous throughout the country did not get.

I cannot visualize a party conference without the participation in it as delegates of such writers as I. Vasilyev, V. Belov, S. Zalygin, and V. Rasputin and such journalists as Yu. Cherinchenko, A. Vorin, and A. Vaksberg, who have been writing in the press on the most urgent issues concerning our society's life for more than a year.

E. Panikas, Rostov Oblast

I Will Not Transfer Trust to Anyone

How the forthcoming party conference is prepared, who will be elected as its delegates, how they will be disposed, how the conference will proceed, and what resolutions will be adopted—these are now the chief things in our restructuring. The entire party in the person of all its members should take the preparation for the conference in its hands. This important matter should not be entrusted to the party apparatus alone.

I should not like to create the impression that such a conclusion represents mistrust of the apparatus. No, this is not mistrust, but nontransfer of trust. There are moments, periods, and affairs, when one's duties should not and cannot be entrusted to just anyone. Such a time, such a moment, is now. All of us must manifest awareness and activity so that the conference may provide a strong incentive for a confident course of restructuring.

R. Petropavlovskiy, party member since 1948, Moscow

With Instructions From Party Members

The presently adopted model for the formation of the body of delegates creates the danger of a decisive influence of the local party apparatus on this formation. Therefore, I believe that **it is extremely important to carry out openly the process of nominating delegates to the conference. It seems that a list of recommended candidates should be published in advance in the local press.** Possibly, the right to nominate candidates should be granted to big primary party organizations.

In any case control both from below and above is needed so that the body of delegates to the conference, reflecting the diversity of positions of the party mass, does not shift toward the conservative side. In my opinion, it is also reasonable that the basic problems submitted to the conference for discussion be discussed, even if in the form of a summary, in primary party organizations. The delegates to the conference should be informed of the generalized opinion of these organizations. How? Perhaps delegates should be given imperative mandates based on the results of discussions proposed by me? I realize that not much time remains before the conference, but such meetings can be held quite promptly.

L. Liss, party member since 1953, docent at Novosibirsk University, Novosibirsk

Both Supporters and Opponents

The words "strictly," "will require," and "unequivocal preference" constantly appear in Yuriy Andreyev's letter about the elections of delegates. What is this? Volitional command methods? This is the beginning of antidemocracy, shutting the opponent's mouth with a big mitten. Some are let into the room for a discussion of complicated problems, while others are not. As yet no one knows who is right: restructurers or antirestructurers.

Glancing at history, no one knows on whose side truth is: on the side of Stalinism, or on the side of Bukharinism.

The discussion should be open and joint—by supporters and opponents. Or is this impossible in politics? **In single combat there should be humane justice, without knocking out the sword from the opponent's hands.**

Yu. Perfilov, Penza Oblast

Man from the Rayon

Less than 2 months remain before the conference, but we, party members, do not know how delegates will be elected to it. Will they again be appointed? Those appointed will vote only for one thing—for preserving the apparatus method of management.

Why should delegates not be elected directly in rayons? Two delegates, only those that work in the rayon and are members of the rayon party organization, not those that

work somewhere in Moscow or Kiev and are not familiar with rayon problems, should be elected from 7,000 to 10,000 party members. Thirty percent of the places can be left for managerial personnel, who can be appointed at the discretion of the CPSU Central Committee.

V. Boyko, pensioner, party member, Odessa

I Vote for Journalists

I have 40 years of party service. I have been working at one enterprise for 36 years, have not been aloof from party life, and know very well the "kitchen" for nominating delegates to high and not very high forums. As a rule, the nominated workers are people pleasing to the authorities and, moreover, are especially trained by them. Sometimes, according to an order, this is a worker who has long forgotten where his work place is.

I should very much like representatives from every press organ, be it a newspaper or a journal, to be delegates to the all-Union party conference, because (in honor of their workers) people turn to them with suggestions and for help and share their doubts and concerns with them, of which, I am confident, unfortunately, not every party committee can "boast."

N. Franeva, Leningrad

Not To Please the Percentage

Independently thinking people, the flower and intellect of the nation, not representatives of functioners on the party schedule, should be at the conference. The entire country is familiar with the names of the fighters for restructuring, who think broadly and in a party spirit. Among them, first of all, I would like to mention dramatist A. Gelman, journalists Yu. Chernichenko and Yu. Feofanov, economists O. Lapis and G. Popov, academicians T. Zaslavskaya and A. Agayagebyan, commentator F. Burlatskiy, writers V. Bykov, D. Granin, M. Shatrov, A. Rybakov, Ye. Yevtushenko, S. Zalygin, V. Korotich, S. Barudin, G. Vanlanov, A. Ananyev, and I. Vasilyev, actor M. Ulyanov, producer G. Tovstonogov, worker V. Sernkov, historians V. Polikarpov and Yu. Afanasyev, Ivanovo Association director V. Kabayadze, people's academician T. Maltsev, and kolkhoz chairmen V. Bedulyo and V. Starodubtsev.

It doesn't matter if the usual mechanical representation suffers. To elect, indeed, the conscience of the party is the chief thing.

V. Tseydler, party member since 1946, Ioshkar-Ola

Paragraphs From Letters

I should not like the delegates to include someone from former apologists of the "cult of personality" and "period of stagnation," or from present organizers of the publication of the article "I Cannot Waive My Principles," or from those whose shoulders were straightened, whose chests were stuck out, and whose heads were raised by this article for 3 weeks...

Yu. Afanasyev, Moscow

I propose that delegates to the 19th party conference be discussed only at general meetings of enterprise and organization collectives. Their candidacies should be put forward well in advance in order to eliminate formalism in the implementation of such an important measure.

A. Stukalo, Donetsk Oblast

11439

Reform Opponents Barred from Election as Delegates

PM1605155388 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 13 May 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 1 under the headline "Elections of Delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference Have Begun: Trust in the Champions of Restructuring" a 300-word boxed item which reads:

"In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum resolution, delegates to the 19th all-union party conference are to be elected in closed (secret) ballot at plenums of union republic Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms.

"Yesterday such elections were held at a plenum of the Kalinin CPSU Obkom. Let us recall that the representation quota is one delegate per 3,780 party members. The Kalinin Oblast party organization elected 44 delegates.

"Yes, the question of delegates was ultimately resolved at the plenum. However, the candidacies were not determined there alone. The obkom plenum was preceded by extensive preparatory work. Via party raykoms and gorkoms, the obkom consulted primary party organizations and labor collectives in order to ensure that true champions of restructuring were elected as delegates.

"A careful selection of candidate delegates took place in party organizations on the Upper Volga (and there are more than 3,600 of them), CPSU Obkom First Secretary N. Tatarchuk relates. It was a selection which was marked by democracy and glasnost and which took place with the participation of nonparty people, without regimentation, instructions, or pressure from above. The only barrier put up was to ensure that people committed to the old ways, the apologists of stagnation, are barred from the conference....

"At different times the candidacies of more than 100 party members were discussed. Then came the final open party meetings in labor collectives before the plenum. Our correspondent attended a number of them. His account is published on page 2."

On page 2 PRAVDA carries a 2,100-word report by own correspondent N. Popinako, datelined Kalinin Oblast, in which he profiles three conference delegates—an electrician, a weaver, and a sovkhoz director—and cites an interview after the plenum with Kalinin Obkom First Secretary N. Tatarchuk, who will "head" the oblast's delegation to the conference. Tatarchuk notes that, although the delegates include a number of raykom and gorkom first secretaries, none of them is chosen for his titles.

IZVESTIYA Views Conference Delegate Selection
PM1705095588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 May 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Vladimir Nadein article under the rubric "Event and Opinion": "Must the Second Be a Woman?"]

[Text] The chief political event of the week was the meeting at the Central Committee with leaders of the mass media, ideological establishments, and creative unions. The general secretary's speech was undoubtedly its core.

The speech included facts, impressions, thoughts, and warnings. I think you will agree that not just the study but even the simple reading of such documents is work. Work of thought, memory, and conscience. It is difficult because it is attended by a choice. Left alone with a newspaper page, every one of us defines his own personal position.

"I believe that conservatism is the chief factor applying the brakes to restructuring," we read from M.S. Gorbachev. But what do you believe? What does he, she believe? There are no readymade answers. There is a clash of opinions. Let us recall: According to PRAVDA's data, three-fourths of those who sent the editors their comments actively supported the points made in the well-known editorial article. But do we have the right to disregard another entire one-fourth, who disagree?

Or this point: "We must inflict a defeat on conservatism along the paths of restructuring." Consequently, by using the methods of restructuring: openly, publicly, through honest comparison and competition of positions. And furthermore: so that no one is afraid to express his opinion.

Will all who sincerely consider themselves champions of restructuring agree with this principled adherence to democratic procedure? No. Many still put their trust firmly in the effectiveness of practical conclusions. Why stand on ceremony with them, they say? Whoever is not with us is against us. As children of our time, we are only

with difficulty arriving at the realization that the administrative-edict system cannot be broken down by administrative-edict methods and that, in the final analysis, "progressive" bellowing is just as dangerous as "reactionary" bellowing.

Of course, when the general secretary speaks, this is not just an invitation to reflect on something. There is both a program and instructions. For Communists they are obligatory. For the whole country they are of fundamental importance. For example: "Very many people are concerned about who will be selected for the conference and in whose hands the fate of adopting decisions on vitally important, fateful problems of our society and of socialism will lie.... The CPSU Central Committee has given its opinion on the procedure for selecting candidates for election as conference delegates. We have formulated the position that ardent champions of restructuring and active Communists must be elected delegates. There are to be no general schedules, as was the case in the past—so many workers and peasants, so many women, and so forth."

On 13 May PRAVDA described how candidate delegates to the 19th all-union party conference are selected. The strengthening of the principles of the democratic process and glasnost and the involvement of the public in the discussion of candidacies were noted. But does such an approach prevail everywhere?

I have before me two telegrams from our own correspondents, dated 12 May. A. Yezhelev from Leningrad: "At yesterday's meeting of representatives of the mass media Comrade A.Ya. Degtyarev, secretary of Leningrad party obkom, was asked many questions about the procedure for electing delegates to the all-union party conference. Comrade Degtyarev explained that the procedure will be as follows: Candidacies are nominated in the organizations, then they will be examined at the obkom, and the list will be made more precise, amended, and sent back to the organizations for final nomination. The following facts were heard in statements from the provinces: The editor of the Slantsevskiy Rayon newspaper said that the raykom had warned: We are recommended to nominate a mine worker and no one else as our delegate to the party conference."

N. Baklanov from Kiev: "As secretary of a primary party organization, I was invited to the Ukrainian Communist Party's Pecherskiy Raykom to discuss the nomination of candidates for the conference. I was struck by the fact that there was an unusually small number of us. It turned out that we had been previously split up into groups according to sector. We 'ideologues' were addressed by Raykom First Secretary A. Pilipenko. He said that, of the seven delegates from the rayon, two must be reserved for the republic's leadership. It was not specified for whom precisely.

"We believe that comrades representing leading fields in our rayon must be elected to the party conference," A. Pilipenko said. "From industry, public education, and science. Women must probably be elected too..."

"We people from the primary organizations expressed doubt that ordinary Communists would support such a procedure. But after several reminders from the raykom secretary that 'no one among us has abolished democratic centralism,' the debate died down. Candidates continued to be nominated according to the sector principle and on the basis of sex."

So far, such reports are isolated and scattered. However, even if general schedules are not being handed down from above, this does not mean that they might not be drawn up locally, albeit with many "ifs," "maybes," and "probably's." This is why the references to the source of instructions are impersonal: "it is recommended," "it is deemed." Clearly, such impersonality could conceal a personal interest. "The second must be a woman," a responsible functionary recently reported, making it clear that the first "must" be himself.

Of course, things are only just beginning. But we must see to it that the old trend is not revived. It is dangerous. Its essence is that certain leaders on an oblast, rayon, and even lesser scale, despite all outward signs of following the spirit and letter of Central Committee decisions, have appropriated the right to arbitrarily interpret reports, speeches, and resolutions.

Let us recall enterprise economic accountability [khoz-raschet] and kolkhoz independence. The words have not yet died away and the newspaper ink is still fresh, but people are already being called to a conference at which, supposedly toeing the line, the rayon secretary dashingingly refutes the general secretary. And those who object, who stubbornly believe in the meaning and force of the new, can be driven out and expelled.

The list of such examples would be a long one. Or would it? I reread once again: "No general schedules, as was the case in the past...." And I think that it is possible to break through to tomorrow from yesterday only from two directions, namely: from above—[as exemplified by] this quotation; and from below—[where] we [stand].

SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Discusses Election of Delegates

18000347a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in
Russian 14 May 88 p 2

[Article by Department of Party Life: "Not To Lag Behind the Race of Time"]

[Text] There are as many opinions as there are letters. And all of them are about one thing—the forthcoming 19th All-Union Party Conference. Most of them are concerned with today's main problem: To whom should the mandate of the delegate be handed?

"Delegates—'people afraid lest something happen' and 'yes-men'—should not be admitted to the conference" (Shchepina, Bryansk).

"If we let the elections of delegates take their course, many party workers may not be included among the delegates. Active loudmouths will take their place. Yet it is party workers who pull the whole cart of urgent and enormous matters" (G. Velkovskaya, Saratov).

"Obkom and kraykom buros, if they want to strengthen their authority, should do their utmost so that true, not nomenklatura, fighters for restructuring and its supporters become delegates to the conference" (Yu. Ivanov, Petropavlosk-Kamchatskiy).

"There are Party Rules, there is an instruction on the election procedure, and there is a decree of the June (1987) Plenum of the Central Committee on the number of delegates—they should be followed" (I. Kryunov, Saransk).

"The number of delegates should not be determined by the hall's capacity. Let them be fewer. Mature political culture, intellect, adherence to principles, and a real contribution to restructuring, not only plan overfulfillment, should give the right to a delegate mandate" (K. Anisimova, city of Kirov).

The concept of socialist pluralism is becoming ever more firmly consolidated in our political lexicon and this is gratifying, because the multiplicity and diversity of political, economic, and spiritual life are indispensable conditions for a full disclosure of the potential of our socialist system. Different opinions, views, and positions exist and this cannot be ignored. Truth is determined in disputes and clashes.

"Every candidate-delegate must express on the pages of the local press his position in restructuring and discuss with party members the proposals that he would like to express from the conference tribune" (L. Elyashova, Leningrad).

"In the last 2 years not a single prominent or medium-level leader in the republic has written in the press even once. Don't they have something to say to the people? With what do they intend to go to the conference and is it worth electing them?" (O. Vovnenko, Kiev).

"If Mikhail Ulyanov is not among the delegates to the conference, I will stop believing in restructuring" (V. Kurashov, Leningrad).

It is difficult to recall in recent times an event that has caused such impatience and such a splash of people's political activity. The conviction that socialism does not exist without democracy and politics, without morality is one of the decisive features of the new thinking.

Therefore, in view of the great importance of this event, regarding the principles of elections of delegates with special interest, people propose that the traditional approach be rejected here.

"All our best commentators, who have prepared restructuring and are now fighting for its victory, should be named as candidates" (K. Sibov, Leningrad).

"You are naive people if you propose a new instruction for the elections of delegates. It will not be. Party functionaries will hold the elections in a manner that is convenient for them" (A. Dymov, Taganrog).

The election procedure was established as follows: obkom, kraykom, and Union republic communist party central committee buros prepare lists of candidates, which should be published in the local press for the widest discussion in primary organizations. Elections will be held at party committee plenums. Everything seems to be correct. A democratic approach to the formation of delegations from oblast, kray, and republic party organizations is ensured. What alarms people? The fact that this procedure has a great deal of the existing and established form of elections both to party bodies and to soviets, in which there is simply no room for individual initiative—it is simply not needed. However, how can it be without individual initiative? Without the very "individual initiative," which, in the language of sociologists, is indissoluble with the concept of "democracy." There is no "individual initiative," nor are there democratic elections—there is an appointment formulated at the concluding stage by the voting procedure with a predetermined outcome. If today we want to democratize our political system, we must stop playing at elections. This is the virtually unanimous opinion of the letters' writers. How to ensure this?

"A party member must steadily fulfill the party law—prescribed regulations providing for the widest field of activity—and in elections as well. This applies to everyone—first secretaries and rank-and-file workers" (A. Kumenko, Poltava).

"The Party Control Committee should assume control over the course of nomination and elections of delegates in order to avoid unfair shuffling" (N. Morozov, Orenburg).

Is such concern illegitimate? What, in the opinion of our correspondents, can hamper the changes in the election procedure? It seems that definitely none other than the interest of the conservative bureaucratic part of the apparatus in retaining its position and than the social self-interest of the forces of hindrance. Alas, there is no doubt that these forces will try to find arguments in favor of the inviolability and sanctity of the status-quo. Their main argument, which is already heard, is "it is so accepted," "it is so prescribed," "it is so written in the rules and the instruction and no one has revoked them."

The tribute to habit, formalism, and lethargy hidden behind these magical, unquestionable sayings costs us a great deal. In no way do we urge a breach of regulations, rules, or instructions. But from time to time it is worth pondering: Do these documents meet present requirements? Perhaps they have become obsolete and lag behind our impetuous times?

It is still difficult to conjecture how the elections of delegates will proceed. One thing is clear: **The Central Committee of the party prohibited the use of the notorious orders determining the percentage of representation according to the type of occupation and social affiliation and by sex and age.** The composition of the 19th All-Union Party Conference will depend on the adherence of local party committees to principles and on the activity and fighting spirit of primary organizations, which, incidentally, can also include their own candidate on the list.

"How much trouble was brought on society by those that were elected to various bodies only to raise their hands punctually for any decision. Will back-stage games also be held this time?" (V. Zhukovskiy, Krasnoyarsk).

Anxiety, concern, and a cry of the soul... Letters express impatience, distrust, a lack of desire to live as before, and the fear that the right to decide and determine the country's future will fall to people, who long for changes only in words. It seems that these fears did not ripen on barren ground. Long years of disregard for democratic principles in the falsification of the national "will" taught people to have a skeptical attitude toward the nomination of candidates, toward elections, and toward voting for seemingly the most important decisions for the country. Now a real opportunity has appeared to put an end to the deception and to establish truly democratic principles in our life. People's anxiety is also due to the fact that the party conference will have not merely to "approve" and "outline," but to fundamentally solve the problem of the country's viability.

"Most of the proposals published by the newspaper can and should be implemented. But here is a question: Does the party conference have the right to make decisions on the implementation of such proposals? After all, almost all such proposals presuppose a change in Party Rules, but the Party Rules in effect do not give the all-Union conference the right to change them. Article 33 openly indicates that the examination and solution of the most important problems of party and state life, election of central party bodies, and change in Party Rules pertain to the jurisdiction of the party congress" (E. Orlovskiy, Leningrad).

Yes, this reminder seems to be true: The Party Rules in effect left not many prerogatives to the party conference. It seems that it is time to turn to history.

The first conference of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party was held instead of the proposed 4th party congress, whose many delegates, owing to the first Russian revolution that flared up, could not arrive at Tammerfors. Introducing a higher collective organ—the conference—into the practice of party life, delegates leaned on party decisions that had already been adopted: General party conferences were envisaged by the resolution of the 3d congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party in April 1905. Even during the prerevolutionary period it became clear that according to the significance of the adopted decisions conferences could be equated with congresses. Seven party conferences were held before October 1917 and each of them confirmed that a collective discussion of key problems concerning current policy and intraparty life was the natural need of both party leaders and rank-and-file party members. Nine conferences were held from 1919 through 1929. The statute on them was introduced into Party Rules, but it disappeared at the 17th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks in 1934 and was restored at the 18th Congress in 1939. The 19th party congress again eliminated the point on conferences from Party Rules. It reappeared only at the 23d party congress in 1966, but the functions and powers of the conference were defined somewhat vaguely: "for a discussion of urgent problems of party policy."

Today, with the return of Leninist norms, the party also returns to the idea of holding party conferences. Historically, the conference is one of the most democratic institutes of party life, which is called upon to solve not only current problems and issues, but also those concerning tactics and strategy unexpectedly facing the party. At the same time, virtually all, including key, problems solved by the congress can be within the jurisdiction of the conference. M. S. Gorbachev recalled this a year before the convened 19th conference: "Many conferences at parallel stages in history solved problems far exceeding the limits of tactical problems. In a number of cases they put forward problems of a strategic nature and made changes in the norms of Party Rules and in the composition of central party bodies." It seems that now there is precisely such a crucial time for a fundamental solution of tactical and a definition of strategic problems. The most urgent issues were put on the agenda: "On the Course of Realizing the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, Basic Results of the First Half of the 12th Five-Year Plan, and Tasks of Party Organizations Concerning Intensification of the Restructuring Process" and "On Measures for the Further Democratization of the Life of the Party and Society."

Therefore, people are concerned, that the preparation itself for the conference, especially its concluding stage, is in full accordance with truly democratic norms of party life, those that are now being revived in the party. Therefore, they are so troubled by the possible representation at the conference of those that also today determine to a considerable extent the face of party committees elected for the most part before the 27th party

congress. Therefore, they are concerned that the "usual apparatus measure" does not happen (G. Kostromin, city of Kuybyshev).

"We are sick and tired of all the measures taken and decisions adopted secretly in party apparatus offices, which imagine themselves to be the party" (A. Dubinin, Moscow).

"Party functionaries still keep an eye on everything that is happening in the country. However, they are waiting for something not expected by those in charge of restructuring to manifest itself. They will try to have their say during the period when the body of delegates is formed" (A. Sadykov, Pushkinskiy Rayon, the Azerbaijan SSR).

During the long years, which are now called stagnant, we have somehow forgotten and many have not known that any party and government decree is only the condition of a problem, but its specific solution should be sought locally. In our country, however, once a circular is adopted, it must be in effect from Moscow to remote areas. The structure, forms, and procedures of work of party committees (more accurately, of their apparatus) are still subordinate to such a "method"—to fulfill. It appears that even now, waiting for a long time for an appropriate decree on the procedure of holding elections of delegates to the conference, we have lost some time. There is a danger that this very important procedure will be carried out hastily, without a sufficient discussion of candidacies, and without including in lists more than the number of candidates determined by the limit, so that there would be from whom to elect and so that the "soul and conscience of the people" (V. Polikarpov, Pskov) would gather at the conference. There is one guarantee for this—activity and adherence of all party members and each one separately to principles.

P. S. In the huge piles of letters with the note "Proposals for the 19th All-Union Party Conference" there is not a single letter from party workers of any level or rank. Do they really have nothing to propose?

11439

Reader Complains That Apparatus Fixes Choice of Delegates

PM1705085588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 88 p 4

[D. Shevchenko "Two Questions at the End of the Week" feature in which public figures respond to the following questions: "1. What Events Gladdened You This Week? 2. What Events Annoyed You?"]

[Excerpt] Doctor of Economic Sciences Prof Gavriil Popov:

What gladdened me?

The central question today is the nomination of delegates to the 19th party conference. How the party conference turns out for the party and the country depends on these nominations.

In this connection I am gladdened by the news from the capital's primary party organizations. There was a lot of talk to the effect that Muscovites have been spoiled and pampered with hothouse conditions and are capable only of unanimously approving either directives themselves or initiatives organized on the basis of directives.

But the discussion began, and I am hearing increasingly often of organizations where traditional candidacies are "going up in smoke." Instead they are nominating Rector Yuriy Afanasyev, economist Otto Latsis, and other worthy Communists. And almost 400 Communists at the Moscow State University Economics Faculty adopted with one vote against and one abstention a resolution condemning as undemocratic the procedure for nominating candidates proposed by Moscow's Leninskiy CPSU Raykom.

It turns out that the Moscow Communists themselves were not passive and conceited. It was the leaders who exploited the atmosphere of stagnation to fill the rungs of the apparatus hierarchy who tried to keep them in this role. But the Moscow Communists do not want to see them as their candidates. How can you believe their speeches when you see before you Moscow's shops, Moscow's transport, and Moscow's clinics and hospitals? How can cadres who cannot cope with the elementary sugar-vodka problem, all the details of which have been known throughout the world for centuries, now organize robotization or computerization?

One can only pay tribute to the personal courage of those who have such faith in the ultimate success of restructuring that they are not afraid to vote openly against candidates proposed from above.

That is why I am now proud to say that I am a Moscow Communist. For the glorious traditions of the Moscow Bolsheviks are being revived.

What annoys me?

Of course, I did not expect the apparatus to relinquish the list of candidates without a fight. But even in the worst period of stagnation I did not see such an unpardonable, impudent, and ostentatious refusal to find out the opinion of ordinary Communists and an attempt not to take this opinion into consideration. Then they at least looked for some camouflage. But now?

For instance, a raykom only assembles party organization secretaries to discuss the candidates.

Or the discussion is entrusted only to committees and bureaus. As a last resort they recommend that the aktiv be assembled after thought has been given well in advance to its composition. But there must be no general meetings of Communists!

The apparatus—usually extremely receptive to everything coming from above—became completely deaf when its interests were affected. It simply "did not catch" the opinion of the CPSU Central Committee expressed recently by M.S. Gorbachev that candidates must without fail be selected with the participation of party organizations, labor collectives, and the general public. Precisely with the participation of organizations (and not the bureaus or aktivs) and precisely with the participation of all labor collectives (they have been simply forgotten, just like the role of the whole people in the selection). And why not discuss the candidacies of party and government leaders at the same time?

Apparatus personnel are preparing for a conference devoted to democratization using methods which prevailed during the time of braking. [Popov ends] [passage omitted]

PRAVDA Readers Comment on Election of Delegates

PM1805105788 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 17 May 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 2 under the rubric "Elections of 19th All-Union Party Conference Delegates Under Way" and the headline "Test of Maturity" a roundup of three readers' letters prefaced by the following editorial introduction:

"Elections of delegates to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference are continuing. To judge from telephone calls to the editorial office, telegrams, and letters, this campaign has aroused people's tremendous interest. Very many are concerned about who will be selected for the conference and who will hold in their hands the fate of the decisions adopted on vitally important problems of our society and of socialism.

"The CPSU Central Committee has spoken out clearly and precisely on these questions: Ardent champions of restructuring and active Communists must be elected as delegates, there must be no quotas and no overregimentation, but a maximum of glasnost and democratism, and the public must be involved in the discussion of candidacies. Is such an approach triumphing everywhere? Here are the opinions of our newspaper's readers."

The first letter (500 words) is from V. Upolovnikov of Osh in the Kirghiz SSR. He describes how the party conference delegate at Osh Large-Panel Housebuilding Production Association was selected by the plant party organization secretary without any consultation with the work force, and the delegate himself did not know he had been chosen until the writer of the letter informed him of

the fact. He concludes: "I thought that willful, edict-style methods, secrecy, and formalism had been condemned. But, as we see, there's life in the old dog yet. Some people, while verbally campaigning for democratic approaches, are continuing to keep everything in their fist behind their back."

The second letter (1,100 words) is from O. Yakimov, editor of the Yakutsk newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA YAKUTIYA, who describes the "democratic" way in which nominations for party conference delegates were discussed in various labor collectives in the Yakutsk ASSR and also at an obkom plenum. Toward the end of the letter, however, the writer states that "certain plenum participants voiced dissatisfaction that no critical remarks or comradely advice to the obkom first secretary, the chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, or other leading workers had been heard from the rostrum."

The third letter (300 words) is from S. Gribakin, senior foreman at an aluminum plant in Krasnoturinsk, Sverdlovsk Oblast. He describes how he learned from the local radio that the conference delegate had already been chosen in his name at a hastily convened plant meeting at which no other candidates were allowed to be nominated: "It was all over in a few minutes—according to the old yardsticks of the stagnation period. Things evidently proceed more calmly like that. Why consult ordinary Communists, as the Central Committee demands? They will suddenly produce their own delegate candidates, different from those of the party committee and the party gorkom."

Nomination of Conference Delegates 'Rushed'
PM2305164788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 May 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent N. Matukovskiy report: "Accountable to Tomorrow. Notes From Minsk Party Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] Two issues were discussed at the obkom plenum: The improvement of the public education system and the election of delegates to the 19th party conference. They are both, in their own way, important and, I believe, to a certain extent interconnected. Whom should the modern youth "take as his model in life"?—this is the thought uniting both items on the agenda.

It is probably natural that the capital's oblast is setting the tone in the republic. There is a greater number of highly qualified cadres and a greater opportunity to "test" theory in practice here. But there were no boastful words in the report of obkom First Secretary A.A. Malofeyev. On the contrary, he spoke chiefly about what has to be done.

Those who spoke in the debate also "went along" with the keynote speaker. But some did not like this abundance of "negatives." Why, they said, castigate ourselves like this? A great deal has been done: We have built a lot of schools, produced a lot of teachers, and strengthened the base.

All this is true—they have built, produced, and strengthened. But here is the other side of the coin. There are no secondary schools on the territory of one-third of the farms, 29 kolkhozes and sovkhozes have only primary schools, and 7 have no schools at all.

And do the health and the bad physical condition of the rising generation not create alarm? Children spend 94 percent of their time in school immobile. Therefore one-fifth of young men of predraft age cannot pass the norms of the GTO [Ready for Labor and Defense of the USSR] complex. What is the worth, after this, of the assurances and declarations from platforms that "children are our future and must be taken care of"? Whom will we leave after ourselves?...

Unfortunately, this concerns not just the body but also the mind. Schools are still bad at resolving their basic task of providing in-depth, sound knowledge. By supplementing universal compulsory secondary education with universal vocational education, the reform aggravated the position of both the school and the college [uchilishche]. Both the keynote speaker and the obkom members who spoke in the debate cited simply terrible facts.... Some 72 percent of first-year vocational and technical school students have now failed to cope with the control work in general educational disciplines. Almost one-fifth do not know the multiplication tables.... Subjects in the arts cycle occupy secondary roles in all educational institutions.

The family is to blame for many of the rising generation's troubles. Recently, however, it has become shaky and fragile. Here are some facts cited by A.A. Malofeyev. Last year one family in every three broke up in Minsk, and one in every four in the oblast. Two-thirds of the "broken" families include under-age children. In the oblast there are 11,000 orphans and children left without parental care. Approximately 80 percent of them are orphans...whose parents are alive. Why does this happen?

Discussion of the second item had already begun, but I was still thinking of those 11,000 orphans, three-fourths of whom are orphans with living parents. Then a thought occurred to me: Had collectives asked the future delegates to the 19th party conference what they think about the most important thing—about who will make our future in the 21st century and how? Yes, all 64 delegates elected at the plenum are, as it were, the creme de la creme, progressive workers, innovators, initiators, but.... But do the people know the thoughts and ideas of each one of them? Do the latter know the thoughts of the people, of all whom they will represent at the unusual

party conference? Perhaps an atmosphere of less haste would help this mutual familiarization? Who ordered (or directed) that candidate delegates to the conference be nominated so hastily, why, and for what purpose? Why was it necessary (and who needed?) to "rush through" this most crucial matter in a few days? See what a race there was. On the morning of 16 May I was telephoned, as a member of the Belorussian SSR Writers' Union Party Bureau, to attend a bureau session at 1400. I was asked not to be late, as the bureau had to give its views on candidacies, and a party meeting was scheduled for 1500 to nominate the candidacies. We had not had time to get even halfway through the discussion at the bureau session before...we had to go to the party meeting. And back at the party bureau session the gorkom's representatives had recommended whom we must nominate—which at once created an explosive atmosphere: No, let us do it ourselves!

I emphasize: All this happened 16 May. And 18 May I was present at the obkom plenum which "officially" elected the delegates.

I must point out that the entire election procedure was scrupulously observed. It was directed by party obkom First Secretary A.A. Malofeyev. And, as I have said, the creme de la creme were elected delegates. But only some of them had passed through the fine "sieve" of selection in their own collectives. At the bearing plant, for example, the candidate delegate was chosen from among 13 people, in the Writers' Union from among 10, and so forth.

Nevertheless, the haste gives cause for concern. To a certain extent, I believe, it not only prevents Communists from taking a closer look at the future conference delegates. It is no good for the candidates themselves either. If he had time, each of them could make better preparations to set forth his program, and this would show "who's who."

And then...doubts overcome me: Is it right that 64 candidacies were included on the list for secret ballot? Exactly the number laid down for the oblast according to the norms of representation. For this is a kind of regimentation. With this approach it is possible, as formerly, to register only likes. No candidacies for dislikes are left.

There is still enough time before the 19th party conference. And perhaps it makes sense not to be in too much of a hurry over approving candidate delegates at plenums. Let the creme de la creme be selected in all party organizations, let the maximum number of Communists go through the selection procedure. Setting forth their program and their position in life and in the party. Things have never been worse because of having a choice. Particularly as we are talking about a fateful conference.

Party Committees Manipulate Delegate Elections
PM2505093588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 88 Se cond Edition p 2

[Own correspondent V. Cherepanov report under the rubric "Delegate Elections to the 19th All-Union Party Conference Under Way": "The Stereotype Was at Work"]

[Text] Chelyabinsk—"Please tell us how our oblast's delegation to the 19th all-union party conference is being formed," a group of readers wrote to the newspaper CHELYABINSKIY RABOCHIY. This desire is entirely understandable.

Meeting the request, the editorial office published an article by L. Rabchenok, chief of the CPSU Obkom Organizational Party Work Department, under the headline: "Candidates Nominated in Collectives." Discussing in detail the democratic procedure for electing delegates to the conference, the norms laid down for representation, and the need for extensive glasnost in this matter, the writer summed up: "The oblast party organization has always sent its best representatives to the party's supreme forums. That will be the case this time too."

However, scarcely had the newspaper reached its subscribers than phones started ringing at the PRAVDA correspondent's office. One of the first calls came from the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine: "We have nothing against steelworker N. Vertoletskiy (his surname was distorted in the article—V.Ch.), who was allegedly nominated by the collective at our No 1 open-hearth furnace. Furthermore, we think that he is entirely deserving of the nomination. But in fact we have not actually nominated anyone yet, the meeting is only just at the planning stage. But why hold it now that everything has been decided without asking us?"

I got in touch with N. Kuklinov, first secretary of Magnitogorsk's Ordzhonikidzevskiy CPSU Raykom.

"Unfortunately, the stereotype was at work," he said. "We are now correcting the mistake."

It turns out that, having been instructed by the obkom to immediately report back as to whom the party organization and labor collectives were nominating for election as delegates to the all-union party conference, the raykom did not bother with extra trouble and concerns but phoned party committees and enterprise leaders and "agreed" on the candidates without leaving the phone.

Cases of "nominations" of this kind have also been reported by the Kartaly Railroad Station and the Kolyushchenko Road Machinery Plant. And it was quite awkward when, on the day of the Tsentralnyy Rayon party aktiv meeting, which had only just nominated the most energetic campaigners for restructuring, the evening newspaper published a roll of candidates from

the city party organization, including some from...Tsentralnyy Rayon. And the list was very limited: Of the 11 candidates proposed by the rayon's party organizations and labor collectives, only 2 were indicated.

Selection of Conference Delegates Criticized
PM2405101188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 22 May 88 p 2

["Letter to the Editors" from L. Amelkina, CPSU member and senior laboratory assistant at Moscow State University's Soil Science Faculty: "The Public Disagrees!"]

[Text] Whom are we electing to the 19th party conference? Who will debate there the fate of restructuring, and who will determine its paths?

It turns out that we do not know who. We have not been asked about this. Everything proceeded so quickly and smoothly at our Moscow State University [MGU] that primary party organizations learned of the candidates put forward only after they had been nominated.

The MGU Party Committee instructed the faculty party bureaus urgently to discuss within their organizations the candidacies nominated for the 19th all-union party conference. At the same time, the party committee also proposed the candidacies themselves—the rector of the MGU and the secretary of the MGU party committee. Almost all the faculty party bureaus "discussed and approved" this in the usual efficient manner. In certain cases additional candidacies were proposed, and dissatisfaction was expressed with the limited time for discussion.

But the candidates were nominated!

And an impression of total well-being was created. But, hold on, the party meeting at the Economics Faculty condemned the election procedure and, hold on, the Biology Faculty and the Mechanics and Mathematics Faculty also refused to conduct a "discussion" in such a form.

And it was in such a mood, or suspecting nothing at all, that the Communists of the Soil Science Faculty went to a routine meeting 18 May. And suddenly, on a proposal from the hall, a new item was included on the agenda—"on the nomination of candidates for the 19th party conference." It is impossible in a letter to describe everything that happened during those 4-odd hours. I can say one thing—there was a breath of restructuring! The meeting condemned the procedure for nominating candidates for the 19th party conference proposed by the MGU party committee as violating the norms of internal party democracy and running counter to the spirit of democratization and glasnost. The meeting deemed the results of the candidates' nomination invalid, and by a

majority of votes Professor A.M. Yemelyanov, corresponding member of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, a pedagogue liked by students, and a man of restructuring, was nominated as the candidate from among the four candidacies proposed.

Why am I turning to your newspaper? Because all this is happening in the university before the eyes of students, postgraduates, and young Communists, yesterday's Komsomol members.

Delegate Elections Still Face 'Inertia'
PM2605135688 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 25 May 88 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondents B. Prokhorov, V. Ovcharov, and L. Gladysheva reports under general heading: "According to the Law of Glasnost" and the rubric "Election of Delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference in Progress"]

[Text] Barnaul—The school of democracy is based on political dialogue. The election of delegates to the all-union party conference is not a bad dialogue in this sense. The collective of one of the sectors of the "Sibenergomash" Association in Biysk named its candidate. But a different candidate was proposed at a session of the association aktiv. He got through. However, both candidates were invited to the party gorkom plenum. After a comprehensive discussion the plenum gave preference to mechanic I.I. Maksimov. In Mikhaylovskiy Rayon a pensioner has been elected as a candidate. I was not particularly surprised. I know K.A. Aydarkhanov. Before he retired he was head of the Mikhaylovskiy party raykom and did a great deal for the socioeconomic renewal of the rayon....

Is it possible to say with any certainty that the election of candidates has gone totally smoothly? Hardly. Inertia and old attitudes still have a firm hold on some party workers. The Novosibirsk Gorkom telephoned the kraykom: Who should we elect? Whomever people think best. But which organization should nominate the candidate for delegate? You know best. But could we perhaps this time not elect a railroad worker? The same old familiar questions. The stereotyped caution still lingers: What will the reaction be at the top? But the lower levels will make no mistake—they know who is in favor of restructuring. In Kytmanov I.V. Aparin, first secretary of the party raykom, was named candidate at the meetings without any doubt or hesitation. People associate his name with the good changes that have begun in the region. I interviewed Ivan Vasilyevich and another delegate, L.V. Markin. What ideas will they be taking with them to Moscow and what will they be fighting to achieve?

I.V. Aparin:

I agree with those who propose holding a discussion on the party and its role at the present stage. But I think of this discussion as a practical exercise as well as an exercise in theory. What kind of actions could enhance the party's prestige? It could do a number of things, as a large river has many tributaries and streams. Here is an example. It must sadly be admitted that at present our country has too many leading production workers who are not party members. Another point. We decide for the masses, and not always accurately. We have often acted as substitutes for economic workers and continue to do so. But it is not simply a question of the stereotyped ideas we still have in our heads. Changing our style is not the same as turning over a record. I have been in the party for 19 years and have had it up to here with our sluggishness. Because we are so tied up with economic concerns we do not have time for people's spiritual needs.

There has been so much talk and so many dreams of kolkhoz independence, but last year farms in our rayon were forced to sell 13,000 tonnes of grain from their own stocks in excess of the plan. How did this come about? Moscow issued a command and Barnaul backed it up: You must surrender your grain. We sent for farm leaders and said: You must surrender your grain. We were on bended knee. Then farms were forced to buy mixed feed for their livestock. They paid three times more than the cost price of the grain. So how can real economic accountability be introduced in practice?

The party's prestige is strengthened by the solution of these problems and our persistence. But I must point out that some Communists would like to stay put behind the party's broad back. It will not work. We say loudly and clearly that every Communist must play a leading role.

L.V. Markin, director of the "Transmash" Plant:

All our thoughts and concerns are for restructuring. One gratifying feature is that glasnost and democracy are making it possible to disclose flaws and shortcomings and have opened the way to developing more efficient forms of economic management. What is distressing, unfortunately, is that quite good decisions and proposals do not always carry real weight in practice. Old approaches to doing things and stereotyped ideas—the whole braking mechanism—are still making themselves felt. It is not proving so simple to knock them from their perch. I went to talk to my own ministry—the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building—about the problems standing in the plant's way. I could feel that they did not really understand what I was talking about. Then I produced my biggest trump card, so to speak: the Law on the Enterprise.

I think the conference should give a principled assessment of the negative phenomena that have become apparent. Some enterprises have adopted an oversimplistic interpretation of independence—they regard it as

an opportunity to relax their efforts and to have no obligations to their partners. Everywhere we are reiterating the indisputability of the law on contract deliveries but this law is falling into decay. Fines do nothing to improve the situation....

In short, I am full of ideas on ways to restructure. I hope that the conference will answer many questions, strictly assess certain phenomena, and make it clear exactly what stage we have reached in the restructuring process.

Cheboksary—Does a Communist have the right to his own opinion? Does a party organization have the right to its own opinion? This right is enshrined in the party Statutes—there would seem to be no problem. There are problems, however. The main problem is that after many years of "command centralism," when the discussion of any proposal from above in the lower echelons amounted to nothing more than "unanimous approval," we have forgotten how to exercise our statutory rights, including the right to have an opinion of our own.

These ideas colored a discussion with working people from the Cheboksary Unit Plant who came to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondents' center a few days before the Chuvash party obkom plenum. They were exasperated by the party committee's formal approach to nominating a candidate for delegate to the 19th all-union party conference. The shop "quadrumvirates" and a handful of engineers and employees were hastily assembled in the training unit in the middle of the working day, a few banal speeches were made, followed by a quick vote, and then the meeting was wrapped up. This kind of truncated democracy is not to the workers' liking....

I would say that commitment is one of the most noteworthy features of the campaign to elect delegates to the 19th all-union party conference. I.P. Prokopyev, first secretary of the Chuvash CPSU Obkom, said during our conversation before the plenum. We have been keenly aware of this at meetings nominating candidates for delegate and from the letters and telephone calls the obkom has received. The unit plant also telephoned, incidentally. Old, stereotyped ideas have clearly been at work there, because they have had to correct comrades and hold extra meetings in the workshops. The second feature I would like to point out is that people who take an active social stance have been able to progress.

This, for example, is how the candidate was elected in the Cheboksary Instrumentmaking Plant collective. Having failed to reach a unanimous opinion after long debate, the party committee left the choice totally open to the Communists themselves. The debate continued for over 3 hours. Eventually the instrument-makers arrived at their final proposal: They recommended engineer-regulator L.A. Slonimskaya as candidate for conference delegate.

So why did they settle on the young engineer L.A. Slonimskaya? Many at the plant recognize her as an enterprising person with character and a mind of her own who never ingratiates herself with the bosses and always stands up for her own honest, principled opinion. She does not try to get out of working but, on the contrary, endeavors to take the most difficult tasks upon herself.

Taking as much as they can on themselves, fighting for new ideas, standing up for their own opinion—almost all the candidates nominated at the Chuvash Obkom plenum as prospective delegates to the all-union party conference can, with full justification, be said to have these important social qualities.

So the plenum began the election of delegates. The discussion lasted for more than an hour. The Chuvash party organization had never known anything like it. As well as making observations and giving advice for the benefit of the future delegates, the speakers also addressed proposals to the conference itself.

After the plenum I asked M.I. Fedotov, deputy chief of the obkom organizational department, whether he was satisfied with the way the elections had gone.

I now feel that a great deal could have been done differently. After all, essentially we are still only learning practical intraparty democracy. It is very hard to break the cliches and habits we have adopted.

An honest opinion.

Vladimir—A total of 35 delegates will represent the Vladimir Oblast Communist organization at the 19th all-union party conference. The party obkom bureau has recommended 35 of the 128 candidates nominated by party committees and bureaus, labor collective councils, and social organizations.

The ordinary person still finds it strange to have to think about this choice beforehand. It is also strange for the party committees to have to make independent decisions, because until recently they were given instructions from above as to whom to elect.

So many blunders occur because people would like to vote for one person but someone else is persistently recommended to them! But the main tragedy is the loss of individual opinion and the right to cast your vote for the person you trust.

Often the same people were "trusted" because little was known about others, who did not feature on the list.

Suddenly there is no restrictive bureaucratic system. There are people—real living people who are not indifferent, who are interested. They argue, discuss, stand up for themselves. When they cannot reach a unanimous opinion they nominate two, three, four candidates.

Last November the CPSU Central Committee discussed the question "On Glasnost in the Work of Party and Trade Union Organizations and Soviet Organs in Vladimir Oblast," so the nature of preparations for the all-union party conference in a way reflects the lessons learned from this resolution. It was as a result of the resolution that new forms of direct communication with people appeared in the oblast, which have helped to deepen democracy and develop glasnost—direct telephone link-ups, Friday talks at the Political Education Center, a public opinion institute at the newspaper PRIZYV. It would have been to the benefit of the cause to see them involved in the election of delegates!

This did not happen. A mere 5 days before the party obkom plenum PRIZYV published the lists of nominated candidates. But there was not enough time left to discuss them.

The election of the delegates was the first item on the agenda of the scheduled plenum (in some oblasts cases have been known of elections being started after 3-4 hours of intensive work on other issues, so that the voting was doomed to haste and indifference).

The candidate delegates invited to the plenum sat in the front rows of the auditorium. Their presence and their agitation also created a special atmosphere. That is probably why, when discussing the nominations, everyone wanted to say the most appropriate, distinctive, sincere things about them.

I talked to Natalya Ignatyeva, deputy director responsible for youth education at the Sverdlov factory: What does she find attractive in the character of Galina Yefremova, first secretary of the Kameshkovskiy party raykom? What are the special qualities that have gotten her elected as a delegate to the all-union party conference?

Perhaps I am not saying the most important thing, she replied, but whatever difficult problem we have—social, personal, or connected with work—we go to her for advice, for judgment, for confession. It is always hard to get hold of her in the "primary organizations" and the raykom. She never loses her temper or raises her voice—she always treats you like a person, even when she is strongly making a point of principle. I once heard some people talking about her in a store: Given half a chance, they said, she would be off to a new apartment. But she has always lived on the fourth floor of a prefabricated block with her family. She goes to her garden plot by bicycle, but even that is rare—when does she have the time? She spends too long working on subbotniks and at the cooperative youth center.

V. Fedorov, director of the Kovrov V.A. Degtyarev Plant, recommended party committee secretary V. Martynov for election as conference delegate:

Valeriy Borisovich has risen from milling machine operator to party committee secretary. He is a real advocate of restructuring.

The plenum participants discussed with interest the candidates nominated at grass roots level. But then a name emerged from the so-called "central list"—V.G. Klyuyev, USSR minister of light industry. This seemed

to be a suitable moment to ask the minister (a proposed-delegate!) what he had done for restructuring? It was not, however. Following the well-worn rut, people only come to him with requests.... They do not ask questions, and there has certainly been no certification of the 6 (out of 13!) members of the obkom bureau whose names are being entered on the lists for secret ballot.... The custom of not discussing the people at the top is still very much alive....