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22 April 1982

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 12/82)



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NATIONAL

POLL IDENTIFIES WEAKNESSES IN SOVIET MASS INFORMATION SYSTEM

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V SSSR: SERIYA I, PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA
in Russian No 1, 1982 pp 146-154

[Review by V. A. Chernova of book "Massovaya Informatsiya V Sovetskom Promyshlennom Gorode: Opyt Kompleks. Sotsiol. Issled. [Mass Information in a Soviet Industrial City: Attempt at an Overall Sociological Study] edited by B. A. Grushin and L. A. Onikov, Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 446 pages]

[Excerpts] The monograph contains five chapters, an introduction, and three appendices. It generalizes the result of an overall study which was conducted for 76 independent programs during the years 1967-1974 in Taganrog, Moscow, and Rostov-na-Donu. As the authors note, they set themselves the goal of a systematic study of the information structure and information processes in socialist society and the creation of a unique introduction into the sociology of information. The book is dominated by the fundamental level of the examination of such problems as: 1) mass information--the subject of the sociological study; 2) the diverse activities of the propaganda and mass communications media in producing and transmitting information; 3) information consumption by different groups; 4) the information level of the population and of its individual groups; 5) the activities of the population in producing and transmitting information.

Despite the enormous volume of the information which is produced and transmitted, it is relatively monotonous and poor in TAGANROGSKAYA PRAVDA of 1968-1973: 25 percent of the social objects are practically not reflected at all, 50 percent--are reflected extremely poorly, 75 percent--quite poorly, and only 25 percent are treated with a high degree of effectiveness. Over a period of three months the newspaper provided extremely negligible treatment of the work of health care, goods supplies for the public, municipal services, public catering, and the work of pre-school institutions. Fifty percent of the foreign information was devoted to five out of 26 spheres of international life. The intensity of the treatment of the basic population groups was not in proportion to their actual weight in the structure of the city's inhabitants. The attention of the diverse information media and channels is concentrated approximately on one and the same group of objects of each type. (pp 152-154) The authors emphasize that the "systematic and intensive treatment of one and the same issues and problems of the life of society and the systematic transmission of the same elements of content (this shows up in its most vivid form in the frequent repetition on radio and TV of the same plays, films, and so forth) combined with an almost complete oblivion

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to many (an enormous number!) others results, given the population's orientation toward the mass communications media as a most important source of social information, in depriving the population of many elements of culture and in narrowing the population's information needs, and so forth." (p 157) The authors see the solution of the problem in improving the structure of editorial boards, increasing the range of the specialization of journalists, improving their professional training, expanding the range of their social interests, and introducing the methods of content analysis into the work practice of the mass communications media.

The picture of the real consumption of information which has been obtained by the investigators is such that "the more the consumer is connected with the reality that is reflected in the newspaper, the less newspaper information he obtains about it." (p 239) Thus, the materials on industry to which the communicator gives his greatest attention, just like the issues of party life, are read less than others, and the important city problems, for which there is a great interest among the public are insufficiently reflected on the pages of the newspaper. The newspaper reflects reality inadequately with regard to those ideas which are developed in the various social groups during the process of direct practice. This inadequacy manifests itself in a lack of correspondence with the judgments (opinions) of mass consciousness, in the use of concepts and terms which are unclear and for this reason alien to the consciousness of the public, and in the fact that the newspaper does not give sufficient attention precisely to those problems of the city's life which are in the consciousness of the information consumers in the forefront.

One of the studies recorded a lack of coordination in the interpretation of texts: in seven out of ten cases the texts offered to the readers were interpreted inadequately to the purpose of the communication. (p 242) Stereotyped verbal formulas and clichés are a serious obstacle to the assimilation of information. This problem is especially acute in the sphere of newspaper headings. Suffice it to say, that for this reason the losses of TAGANROGSKAYA PRAVDA with the reading public came to: more than 60 percent with the regard to the materials under the headings of "Raw Materials for the Blast Furnaces" and "The Kolkhoz Lands Are Flowering"; more than 50 percent with regard to "Ahead of Schedule!" and "There Is An Annual Plan!"; more than 40 percent for "Let Friendship Strengthen," "Rapid Rates," and so forth. In addition the readers give the words different nuances which do not correspond to each other with the result that the reading of a word turns out to be not only different in coloring but also in meaning.

The study of the attitude toward the information "in terms of confidence in the existing official channels of information, satisfaction with the information which is provided, and motives for preferring one or another channel of information, and so forth" leads to the conclusion that the prestige of the mass communications media and the mass propaganda media is high among the population, and that the attention of readers is attracted by materials which elicit a deliberately positive attitude toward themselves; the agreement (non-agreement) of the public with the content of information is not marked by stability and depends first of all upon the problem being discussed.

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From the point of view of the character of the consumption of mass information a "final typology" of the city population is given in the work: 1) a group of extremely intensive consumption (1.5 percent of the city population); 2) a group of highly intensive consumption (6 percent); 3) a group of intensive consumption (35 percent); 4) a moderate consumption group (25 percent); 5) a low consumption group (29.5 percent); 6) an extremely low consumption group (2.5 percent); 7) a group of the complete nonconsumption of mass information (.5 percent of the city population). On the average, during an average day there is approximately 30 hours of information on the channels of the press, radio, television, and mass propaganda media per inhabitant of Taganrog.

This study, like others, showed a very small degree of dependence by information behavior upon the demographic and social characteristics of the public. The characteristics of peoples' activities in information consumption appears as a factor which actively differentiates the population: the intensity of the consumption of information is directly proportional to the degree of the development of a need for information, particularly to the level of the awareness of these needs. The level of the awareness of information needs among the surveyed public was uneven. On the basis of the frequency of the coincidence between actual and verbal behavior by the respondents the investigators broke the public down into four groups. The terms awareness and unawareness were not used very strictly, but quite justifiably, since the limits of their use were taken note of: the degree of correspondence between declared and actually satisfied interests. At the basis of the stratification of the public are such characteristics of the subject of information behavior as participation in public work, the degree of involvement in the system of mass information, and the fundamental characteristics of the consciousness of people (system of value orientations, characteristics of linguistic consciousness, and others).

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NATIONAL

NEW WORK ON SOVIET PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEWED

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI V SSSR: SERIYA I, PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA
in Russian No 1, 1982 pp 154-157

[Review by L. B. Volkov of book "Nauchnaya Organizatsiya Upravlencheskogo Truda"
[The Scientific Organization of Managerial Work] by A. A. Atayev, Ekonomika,
Moscow, 1980, 143 pages]

[Text] The book which is provided with a preface consists of an introduction,
three chapters, and a conclusion.

On the basis of the rich practical work experience of the apparatus of the Council
of Ministers of the Dagestan ASSR, it is stated in the preface which was written
by I. M. Solodovnikov, the monograph provides a detailed examination of the or-
ganization of management, the role of the correct use of structures and functions
and of information, and of the problems of work with cadres.

In the first chapter, "Theoretical Principles of a Study and Analysis of the Or-
ganization of Labor in State Institutions," on the basis of an analysis of Lenin's
theses concerning the role of scientific labor organization in state management,
the idea is put forward of the necessity for a direct creative application of the
theoretical principles of scientific labor organization when methodologies for
analyzing the work of the apparatus of concrete state institutions are developed
and introduced. This idea is illustrated by examples from the practice of or-
ganizing analytic and organizational work in the administration for the affairs
of the Council of Ministers Dagestan ASSR.

For the purpose of developing a methodology in 1970 the author conducted a pre-
liminary study of "all of the aspects of the work of the state administration
agencies of the Dagestan ASSR, and in 1974 of the Councils of Ministers of the
individual autonomous republics of the RSFSR." (p 23) In the process of this work
classifiers were made up which embrace the structure of the cadre contingent, the
types and forms of work, and also the "motives" for work and the relative indi-
cators of the work of the apparatus' workers.

In making up the classifiers an attempt was made to correlate the individual
groups of the cadre contingent to the functions performed by them, and to rational

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and irrational expenditures of time for various functions, and to discover the real significance of the distinctive characteristics relating to different functions.

The special characteristic of the methodology which has been developed by the author is connected with the inclusion in the classifiers of both rational and irrational types of work and of both creative and non-creative motives, and so forth. This method made it possible to compose a quite detailed empirical picture of the work of the apparatus and to discover the real correlations between the different types and forms of work and their results and resources expenditures. But in order to achieve this effect it was necessary, in addition to the actual data which had been discovered, to work out average normative data for the individual types of work with the help of expert appraisals and computers. This data was coordinated with the worker respondents. The book cites tables of actual and normative data and proposes a methodology for calculating the coefficients of the use of working time, and also "coefficients of efficiency" which are calculated on the basis of a determination of the relationship between planned and actual time expended for the performance of individual functions (the preparation of decrees, the fulfillment of assignments, and so forth).

The second chapter, "An Improvement of the Organization of the Economic Management Work of the Council of Ministers ASSR" contains a description of the different methods of realizing it differentiated for individual forms of work, and some proposals on improving it. A number of these proposals which are aimed, in the author's opinion, at increasing the practical thrust of the work of the Council of Ministers are, as is emphasized in the preface, of a discussion character. Among the recommendations which concern the organization of the meetings of the Council of Ministers is the suggestion to limit the circle of participants solely to people who have a direct relationship to the issue being examined, and, at the same time, to invite "in the event of necessity" people who are not its members for participation in the meetings. The author points to the necessity for "establishing a strict procedure under which non-members of the government are able to participate in the discussion only of those issues for which they have been invited." (p 43) The question is raised of regulating the periodicity of the meetings of the Council of Ministers of an ASSR--once a quarter.

Dealing with the character of the meetings themselves, the author emphasizes the importance of discussing at them opposing points of view, different decision variants, and the weighing of all "pros" and "cons." "The Chairman of the Council of Ministers must not impose his opinion, making use of the authority granted him. On the contrary, he makes maximum efforts to convince the members of the government by argument, if he is confident that it is his point of view which is correct." (p 46) Various approaches and points of view which make it possible for everyone to make his own contribution to the decision of an issue does not get in the way of the subsequent unity of opinions and actions. When decrees are adopted by voting, the members of the government who sometimes remain in the minority "exercise a certain influence on the remaining members of the government, especially on the chair, and compel them to be more cautious and attentive to the opinions of others." (pp 48-49).

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In the chapter there is also an examination of some of the problems in the work of the presidiums of the Councils of Ministers of the ASSR whose decrees have the same force as the decrees of the full Councils of Ministers. There is a detailed examination of the interrogatory procedure for adopting decisions which the author regards in a number of cases as practically advisable and effective.

Data is cited in this chapter which points to the amount of the actual workload of the individual elements of the apparatus of the Council of Ministers of the ASSR and of the individual members of government and which makes it possible to arrive at a judgment about the structure of the problems being considered and about the initiative level of the agencies being studied. On the basis of this data and of work experience the author makes suggestions on improving the structure of the work of the Councils of Ministers and their apparatuses. The chief idea in these suggestions is a refinement of and a strict compliance with the competence of each element and a profound professional study of all of the issues being considered and decided upon.

The third chapter is "The Scientific Organization of Labor and the Efficient Use of the Working Time of Employees." The central issue of the topic being considered is the usefulness and effectiveness of the use of the working time of the workers of the state apparatus. The book takes note as a defect of the "mosaic character" of the working time of employees, their constant switching from one unresolved issue to another, and their great time expenditures in waiting. The introduction of scientifically substantiated technological work schemes, of thought-out correspondence circulation, self photography, organizational equipment, and other scientific methods have made it possible to greatly improve the work of the apparatus of the Council of Ministers of the Dagestan SSR, although they did not result in the complete elimination of the above-described shortcomings. The author regards the constant tendency to overload executive workers and specialists with technical functions out of their range as being one of the most difficult defects to eliminate.

The importance and common nature of the managerial functions of the Council of Ministers of all levels, it is pointed out in the conclusion, requires a constant scientific analysis of the organization of their work in order to strengthen "the beneficial influence of the top actuating and executive elements of state power on the accomplishment of economic tasks."

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NATIONAL

SECOND ISSUE OF ANTIRELIGIOUS ALMANAC

Moscow ARGUMENTY in Russian 1981 (signed to press 21 Aug 81) pp 1, 48-49, 58-60, 92-93, 96, 126

[Title page, table of contents and excerpts from book "Arguments", edited by P.M. Komarov, E.I. Lisavtsev and P.V. Makartsev, Politizdat, 200,000 copies, 127 pages]

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After John Paul II assumed the papal throne Radio Vatican patently reinforced its attempts to oppose the legitimate process of the atrophy of religion in socialist society. The reasons for this can be interpreted in different ways. The fact that that a cardinal from a socialist country was elected as Pontiff of Rome refuted the slanderous myth that the church there "is silent." Western journalists accompanying the Pope on his visit to Poland (June 1979) "discovered" there a religiosity free from sanctimony and demonstrative pomp and peculiar to the parishes of the bourgeois world. To the point, the new head of the Catholic Church strongly advertises precisely the kind of religiosity that exists under the conditions of a socialist society, forgetting, however, that it would be in vain to mechanically transfer it to the "free world" where there is no true spiritual freedom--a freedom to make a deliberate choice between religion and atheism. At a meeting with teachers and students from the Catholic University in Lublin on 6 June 1979, he said that people whose world outlook is determined by conjunctural considerations and who choose it not by proceeding from the voice of their own conscience are people who are dangerous and unnecessary

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both to the church and, he remarked, to the "other side." The Pope has also repeatedly offered the assertion that the church does not desire privileges for itself. It is not, however, understood how all these assertions tally with the statement that freedom for atheistic propaganda is tantamount to an infringement on freedom of conscience. On the contrary, it is precisely this that creates the essential prerequisites for a conscious choice between religion and atheism.

* * * * *

In contrast to his predecessors, the new head of the Vatican regards their flimsy claims more favorably. The very choice of Karol Wojtyla by the Pope in Rome was the cause of great joy and greater hopes among the Uniate leadership. Immediately after the synod, the secretariat of Cardinal Slipoy sent a greeting to the new pope in which it stated that the leadership of "the Ukrainian Catholic Church" hopes for his understanding and support since he, they say, has come from the hierarchy of a "martyred" church and knows how to suffer, to be persecuted and to have no rights. The letter expressed the conviction that John Paul II will act decisively in defense of the "divine rights of man." It particularly drew attention to the fact that this is what the "Ukrainian Catholic Church" and people need most of all.

It should be noted that the the new Pope is justifying these hopes. Whereas Paul VI was not in favor of the idea of creating a patriarchy for the "Ukrainian Catholic Church," and refused permission for the convocation of a synod of the Uniate bishops, the new Pope immediately gave this permission. Literally in November 1978 the bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church held their meeting, after which the Pope received them and had a long audience with them. According to the official report, at the meeting there was an examination of the position of the "ukrainian Catholic Church" and a document was agreed on this matter and handed to the Pope during the audience.

On 12 March 1979 the Pope sent a message to Slipoy and the Uniate hierarchy in connection with the preparations for the millenium of the Christianization of Rus'. In this document the thought was expressed on the Catholic sources of Christianity in Rus', and the "deep" religiosity of the Ukrainians, and the history of the Brest Union and of Graeco-Catholicism as a whole was falsified and its role in the social development of the Ukrainian people extolled. In the message the Uniate was illegally identified as the national adjunctum, and it spoke of some kinds of "sufferings" and "trials" of the nonexistent Graeco-Catholic Church after World War II and stated that it should "enjoy respect and religious freedom," and an attempt was made in connection with the millenium of the introduction of Christianity in Rus' to activate all religious life in the republic.

Along with this message, the new Pope took a number of other steps aimed at supporting the Uniate. He several times received Slipoy, the Canadian Metropolitan [Maksim Germanuk], the Argentine bishop [Andrey Sopelyuk] and other Uniate hierarchs. The thesis put forward in the program encyclical "Redemptor Hominis" (1978) that "No borders exist for Christ" and the Pope's support for a Catholic Church of the Ukrainian rite, that is, the Uniate Church which dissolved itself in 1946 at the Synod of Lvov, have a definite meaning in the context of bourgeois anti-Soviet propaganda.

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The petty intrigues of the Zelenetskiys, the Slipoys and the Yanivs and other supporters of fascism about the Polish-Ukrainian past cannot be regarded as anything but pharisaical. Like the friendship of the Polish people with the entire Soviet people, the friendship of the Polish and Ukrainian peoples came about and was strengthened and made indissoluble in the common struggle against the exploiters, in the terrible years of revolutionary battles, in the general heroic struggle against the Hitlerite invaders. In the struggle for this friendship the peoples of the USSR and of Poland have always been on the same side of the barricades, but the present "sponsors" of cooperation with Polish antisocialist circles are on the other side, along with the deadly enemies of the Poles and the Soviet people.

From what has been said it is obvious that in the Vatican, just as in the time of Pope Benedict XV and his successors Pius XI and Pius XII, as before the Uniate hierarchy is regarded as an instrument of anti-Soviet intrigue, as a special kind of clan of the obedient executors of the will of the papacy, which under the guise of "missionary work" is to insure the penetration of Catholicism to the East. In this connection it is impossible not to draw attention to the noisy propaganda campaign organized by the Uniate pilgrims and their sponsors in the Vatican around the personality of the former Polotsk-Vitebsk Uniate archbishop Iosafat Kuntsevich (1580-1623), well known for his strong-arm methods in bringing Catholicism to the area and for his cruel reprisals against the clergy and believers of the Orthodox Church. In December last year Pope John Paul II also joined this campaign. Speaking to participants at the "synod" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, he named Kuntsevich "an apostle of the unity of the churches" and "a martyr for his faith" who, if you please, "as it were sealed with his own blood" the Union of Brest in 1596.

Historical analogues are always dangerous. They are triply dangerous when they pursue a definite political goal and are designed to resurrect old bankrupt ideas. To set a "martyr's" halo above a bellicose Jesuit who more than 350 years ago was killed by the revolting working folk of Vitebsk who had endured gross social and national-religious oppression and to turn his name into a banner for the struggle to resurrect the cadavers of the Union will scarcely succeed. These times are gone!

Despite the widely advertised denial of the flagrant attacks on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and the Vatican's desire, on the official level, to draw a veil over its anticommunist attitudes using religious terminology, the direction of the present political course of the apostolic city is illustrated also by the fact that during the 2 years of his pontificate, John Paul II, while repeatedly declaiming for the more active penetration of clerical ideology into the socialist countries, has been unable to find the words to condemn U.S. imperialism and its aggressive militarist policy which has led to the present exacerbation of the the situation on our planet. The silence--we say it with forthrightness--is quite indicative.

* * * * *

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Without a careful concealment of its true aims, any antipopular political movement would be dead before it was born. This applies in full to Zionism--the ideologues of chauvinism and a policy of anticommunism by the grande Jewish bourgeoisie organically linked with internationalist imperialist circles. It would be no exaggeration to say that the supertask of Zionist propaganda is precisely this--to conceal the social genealogy of Zionism and prevent Jewish workers (and not just Jewish workers, either) from seeing its true class penetralia. The "best minds" that determine the course of the World Zionist Organization consider one important method of masking and "sanitizing" the theoretical postulates of Zionist doctrine and the practical actions stemming from it on the exploitation of "higher values" is through the Judaic religion.

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1 NATIONAL

BRIEFS

CONFERENCE ON SIBERIA REPORTED--On 13-15 October 1981, an all-union conference was held in Novosibirsk on the problem "Siberia in the Past, Present and Future." It was arranged by the History Department and the Institute of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy (NIFF) of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences to coincide with the 400th anniversary of Siberia becoming a part of Russia. The conference was opened with introductory remarks by Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences Academician V.A. Koptug. NIFF director Academician A.P. Okladnikov presented a report "Four Centuries of Siberian History." The Russian state and the opening up of Siberia (end of 16th to beginning of 19th century) were the subject of a talk by V.A. Aleksandrov. The economic development of Siberia was described by Academician A.G. Aganbegyan, director of the Institute of Economics and Organization of Industrial Production of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences. [Excerpt] [Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII in Russian No.2, Feb 82 p 144] 7697

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REGIONAL

USUBALIYEV ON SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM

Moscow VOPROSY FILOSOFII in Russian No 12, Dec 81 pp 10 - 23

[Article by T. U. Usbaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee: "The Leading Role of the CPSU in Strengthening the Unity of the International and the National in the Soviet Way of Life"]

[Excerpts] The Soviet nation is a fundamentally new historical community the likes of which humanity has not know before. The multinational associations, which now exist in the capitalist world, are torn -- just as in past social formations -- by antagonistic contradictions which have been engendered by the exploitation of some classes by others, of backward nations by stronger ones. The Soviet nation radically differs from them since it is a community which is free of antagonisms of this type and which is based on the mutual trust, unbreakable friendship and fraternal cooperation of all working classes and social layers, nations and nationalities.

The dialectic of the whole and of the part is clearly demonstrated in the relations between the Soviet nation as an international community and the nation and nationalities which compose it. The Soviet nation itself is not a social and ethnic community which is similar to the nations or nationalities. At the same time, it is not a nation-less formation and not an alternative to socialist nations. In this connection, the attempts of bourgeois ideologists to depict the Soviet nation as a "Russian-Soviet nation", in which the ethnic features of non-Russian nations have allegedly been dissolved and disappeared are completely groundless. In actuality, the Soviet nation is an international community in which the unbreakable unity of the nations and nationalities, who are preserving their distinctive ethnic features, is being cemented by the social unity of all workers regardless of their national affiliation. Each of the nations and nationalities, which compose the Soviet nation, is an integral part of it; and the Soviet nation is a social and international whole in relation to them. The interests of the Soviet nation -- an international community -- do not contradict the national interests of any one of the national ethnic communities which compose it, but embody in themselves their main substance.

It is also impossible to mix up the features and signs which are inherent in all nations with those which are only characteristic of nations of a certain historical type and which indicate their social and class nature. Thus, social unity, collectivism in relations between people, and the subordination of the workers' vital

activity to their common interests -- whose most consistent spokesman is the working class -- are common to all socialist nations. These signs, which typify the essence of socialist nations, are a concrete and historical commonality which is international. It expresses the vital interests and communist ideals of the working class with whose origin the principles of internationalism were developed for the first time in history. It is necessary to emphasize that the international features and qualities, which characterize the social and class nature of the socialist nations and their way of life, are the determining ones in their development.

However, there is not only a commonality but also a peculiarity, which distinguishes one nation from the others, in the social and class nature of a nation and in its ethnic features. V. I. Lenin emphasized that it is extremely important in the struggle for the socialist reconstruction of society "to explore, study, look for, divine, and catch national peculiarities and national specifics in the concrete approaches of each country to the solution of a unified international task"¹ Within such a multinational country as pre-revolutionary Russia it was very necessary to bring out the peculiarities for leading the various nations, which inhabit it, to the solution of the international task of constructing socialism.

As is known, one of the most important was the question concerning the peculiarities in a transition to socialism by nations which had not undergone the capitalist stage of social development. In justifying the opportunity for such a transition, V. I. Lenin pointed out specific ways to realize the general conformities to law of socialist construction, considering such peculiarities of the backward nations as their underdeveloped economy, poor class differentiation, and the obstruction of the people's consciousness by the remnants of patriarchal and tribal notions and religious ideology. In accordance with these peculiarities, specific measures and transition forms: such as land and water reforms, tribal kolkhozes, etc. in the economic sphere; peasant councils in the area of the political organization of society; and others, were used in the practices of socialist construction in Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

With all its peculiarities, however, the path -- which all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union followed to socialism -- was a common one for them. This path meant developing the economy based on socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, the improvement of social relationships based on the growth of the leading role of the working class and the strengthening of its union with the peasants and the intelligentsia, the unfolding of socialist democracy and the development of a culture which was varied in its national forms but unified in its international content.

The friendship of USSR peoples was, is and will be a very important feature in the socialist way of life. It ensures their victorious movement toward communism. The revolutionary transformations which have taken place in Kirghizia with the comprehensive help of the people of fraternal republics, especially the great Russian people, are a convincing witness to this. It is possible to say without exaggeration that the unselfish and generous fraternal help of the Russian working class and of the Russian people in eliminating the actual inequality of the formerly backward outlying nationality districts is a great international exploit and a concrete embodiment of the CPSU Leninist nationality policy.

Socialist internationalism was and remains an objective force in the development of Soviet Kirghizistan and the other fraternal republics and the source of our successes. The workers of Soviet Kirghizistan, just as all Soviet people, know this; and all their achievements in the construction of communism are linked with the further deepening of the process of internationalizing the economy and social, political, and spiritual life.

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Social and political activity occupies a special place among the components of a socialist way of life since the role of the popular masses as the creators of history and the scale and depth of the conscientious creativity of millions of workers are most clearly revealed in it. The qualitatively new nature of the historical process under the conditions of a communist structure is distinctly revealed here. It is completely natural that the CPSU, as the decisions of its 26th congress once again clearly testify concerning this, and the communist and workers parties of the other countries in the socialist commonwealth are devoting a great deal of attention to developing the social and political aspect of the socialist way of life.

As the scales and complexity of the tasks in communist construction increase, the importance of subjective factors in their fulfillment grows more and more. This requires an intensification of the role of the party, the common state, and the public organizations of the workers; and an intensification of the activity of worker collectives and of each Soviet citizen. The importance of the unity of the international and the national in the sphere of social and political activity is also growing correspondingly. This dictates the necessity for a further strengthening of the social unity of the Soviet people and of all the nations and nationalities forming them.

A developed socialist society is characterized by a high level of social uniformity. This is reflected first in the fact that its social foundation is now the indestructible union of the working class, the kolkhoz peasants, and the peoples' intelligentsia-- which became possible thanks to the enormous changes in the make-up of these basic social groups of workers and as a result of which they drew considerably closer together in their fundamental qualitative indicators. Second, a uniform social structure was affirmed for all Soviet republics. The fundamental feature of this uniformity is the fact that the leading position in the social and political life of the republics belongs to the working class -- the social nucleus of all the Soviet people and of each of the nations and nationalities composing them. Third, a uniform social structure took shape not only in all of our Soviet republics in general with their multinational populations but also in the indigenous nations and nationalities representing them. This is especially important in strengthening the unity of the international and the national in the workers' socialist way of life. Fourth, the ratio of the urban and rural population has been brought considerably closer in all republics. This has great significance for developing a socialist way of life since the city is the bearer of the most developed state and public property in its industrial form. The vanguard of the workers -- the industrial working class and the great bulk of cultural workers -- operates here; and the predominant number of party organizations and party members are concentrated here. All this permits the city to be -- in many respects -- the

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trail-blazer of what is new and progressive in a socialist way of life. Consequently until the essential differences between the city and the village are overcome, the urban way of life will be the leading one in respect to the way of life of the rural population. Fifth, the active involvement of women in all spheres of public life has become typical of all republics and all nations and nationalities in the country. This is especially remarkable and important for the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan where the position of women having no rights in society had been cultivated for centuries.

The fundamental principle which insures the steady strengthening of the unity of the international and the national in the social and political sphere of vital activity and in the Soviet way of life on the whole, is the principle of democratic centralism. The correct combination of centralism and democracy is an indispensable condition for this. The slightest retreat from this principle inevitably leads either to strangling the initiative of the masses, production collectives and individual persons -- i.e., to bureaucratic distortions of this principle; or to an overstated and unjustified exaggeration of local interests to the detriment of common ones. The 26th CPSU Congress directed party organizations toward an uncompromising struggle against perversions of this type.

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The unity of the international and the national, which is characteristic of the Soviet way of life is also demonstrated in its spiritual sphere, in spiritual culture. In this connection, it is necessary to pay attention to some methodological items which have important significance for disclosing the correlation between a way of life and a spiritual culture.

First, since a way of life is an integral characteristic of the activities of all of society's subjects and is unthinkable without the spiritual -- especially the ideological and moral -- aspects, a spiritual culture itself is in a certain respect one of the necessary elements of a socialist way of life and an important structural component of it.

Second, the place of culture in a way of life does not boil down to the use of spiritual values, but assumes -- and this is the main thing -- creative activity to create them -- work in which the active vital position of the Soviet people is expressed.

Third, the national and specific is demonstrated to greater degree in spiritual culture than in the social economic and social political spheres. This is linked with the relative independence of national traditions, national psychology and language. The ever more solid combination of the international and the national in the spiritual sphere, which is primarily caused by such objective factors as the development of the country's unified national economic complex and the strengthening of the Soviet people's social and political unity, is a characteristic feature of mature socialist.

Fourth, although the spiritual side of a way of life is defined in the final analysis by economic and social factors, it is at the same time not passive, but plays an active role in the development of these factors.

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The growth in the role of the way of life's spiritual sphere is caused by the workers' ever deeper mastery of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The formation of the broad masses' world outlook based on it and the development of their political awareness are the main content of the party's ideological and indoctrinational work.

Socialist collectivism occupies the central place in the system of the Soviet people's convictions and moral qualities which form the spiritual features of their way of life. Collectivism and internationalism in the convictions and behavior of the Soviet people are inseparably linked with society's concern for the welfare and all-round development of each person -- this concern is characteristic of the socialist way of life. The essence of real humanism, which is opposed to the individualistic tendencies and racial prejudices which permeate the bourgeois way of life, lies in this.

Fraternal solidarity between workers, regardless of class and national affiliation, engenders in each one of them confidence in their future and in the further undeviating improvement of the conditions and content of their vital activity. This optimism of the Soviet people is radically different from the fear of the future and the pessimistic attitudes which the bourgeois way of life creates. The confidence of the members of Soviet society in their future is based on the realization of the fact that it is being created by their combined efforts and by their joint creative activity. The effectiveness of this activity, which is directed toward the common good, essentially depends on the active vital position of each one of its participants. This is also a distinctive feature of the socialist way of life and an important factor in its continuous improvement.

All these features, which characterize the spiritual side of a socialist way of life, make up the general -- the international which is inherent in all socialist nations and nationalities and which determines the nature of the process of drawing together and the interaction of their national cultures.

Under the conditions of socialism, the interaction of the national cultures of the peoples of our country has permitted the separation and narrow-mindedness, which was typical of them during the pre-revolutionary period, to be overcome and has allowed them to enter onto a wide path of prosperity. Thus, under the beneficial influence of the culture of the Russian and other fraternal peoples, the ancient and distinctive culture of the Kirghiz people not only received powerful development, but also acquired new forms which were unknown to it before. For example, the Kirghiz people did not have an operatic art, but now they do. They did not have classical dancing, but now the Kirghiz ballet is known far beyond the limits of the republic. Painting is being developed, and applied art has been significantly enriched. The works of Kirghiz writers, musicians and cinematographers have received wide fame.

Therefore, the assertions of bourgeois ideologists that the drawing together of national cultures leads to the extinction of national distinctions and to their unification and leveling have been deprived of any basis. It is just the opposite. It is only thanks to this drawing together that it is possible to reveal and develop everything that is valuable. The richer that each national culture is, the greater will be its contribution to the treasury of a culture which is common to all mankind. L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out: "Any national culture, which is

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buttoned up in itself, inevitably losses and sheds the features of its commonality with all mankind".²

The international is an expression of the ideology, interests, yearnings, and historical goals of the working class. Based on the ideology of the working class, the development of elements common to all mankind in the spiritual culture of each nation receives unlimited scope. Everything, which hinders their development, is eliminated thanks to this ideology.

The Russian language as the language of international intercourse has enormous importance in the intensive interaction and mutual enrichment of national cultures. The mass yearning to study the Great Russian language has indeed become a new social and general phenomenon which is exerting a deep influence on all aspects of the socialist way of life.

The broad spreading of the Russian language and its ever growing role in the development of the Soviet people are two of the clear manifestations of the unity of the international and the national and an important feature of the international nature of the Soviet way of life. For the first time in history, the common language of a multinational state -- the Russian language -- has become not only the language of daily intercourse but also, speaking in the words of V. I. Lenin, the language of the fraternal unity of peoples. In this regard, the maximum favorable conditions for the development of the national languages and for the flowering of the national cultures of USSR peoples are being created. The role, which the Russian language as a means of international intercourse for the peoples of the USSR is playing, can justifiably be called historically unique. This objective evaluation is supported by the fact that the Russian language is gradually becoming the means of interstate intercourse within the framework of the world socialist commonwealth and one of the major world languages in many international forums and congresses.

Under the conditions of mature socialism which is characterized by a growth in the cooperation, mutual assistance and friendship of the country's nations and nationalities and by their unprecedentedly intensive intercourse, the voluntary use of an international language is an urgent necessity. The Russian language well serves the cause of the international unity of Soviet nations and nationalities, the improvement of the country's economy and the mutual enrichment of national cultures; and contributes to the successful solution of the tasks of constructing communism.

The representatives of more than 80 nationalities, who -- in maintaining contacts between themselves in the Russian language -- are increasing the republic's contribution to the general struggle for communism through their combined work, live and work as a single friendly family in Soviet Kirghizistan.

The Kirghiz people, just as the other nations and nationalities of our country, have been firmly convinced of the constructive role of the Russian language by their own experience. The Russian language has opened up for the Kirghiz the path to knowledge, science, technology, and the heights of native and world culture; brought the Kirghiz people closer to all the fraternal peoples of our motherland; and given them an opportunity to master the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the theory of scientific communism.

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The Russian language is exerting an enormous effect on the development of the Kirghiz language just as on the languages of the other Soviet people. The creation of a national written language, the enrichment of vocabulary, the formation of terminologies -- especially public, political, scientific, and technical, and the development of their own expressive and artistic terms for the Kirghiz and other national languages -- all these processes took place and are taking place under the beneficial influence of the Russian language. In the consciousness and spiritual world of a Soviet individual of any non-Russian nationality, the Russian language as an inseparable part of his knowledge and culture occupies a firm position along with his native language. Therefore, a progressive bilingual process justifiably arose and is being rapidly developed in our country. Today, we, the representatives of non-Russian nationalities, call the Russian language a second native language with complete justification.

The higher the national culture interpenetration process -- in which the role of the Russian language is so great -- is; the richer and more varied the unified multinational culture of the Soviet people becomes, and the stronger its influence on improving the socialist way of life is.

As a result of carrying out profound social, economic and political transformations and the cultural revolution, the ideology of Marxism-Leninism -- the world outlook of the working class -- has become the ideology of all workers and of all Soviet people; the international basis of the spiritual sphere of the socialist way of life was thereby formed and strengthened. At the same time, the national cultures of all the country's nations and nationalities received a powerful impulse in their development. The grand successes in developing the national cultures of peoples who had been backward for a long time serve as a convincing example of socialism's superiority over capitalism. They possess an enormous attraction for all the people who have been liberated from the centuries-old colonial domination of the imperialist states.

Thanks to the flourishing of national cultures, the truly widespread, truly mass, truly multifaceted and equal cooperation of all our country's nations and nationalities in cultural development -- a cooperation which leads to the ever greater internationalization of the spiritual life of the Soviet people and the spiritual sphere of the socialist way of life -- has become possible.

The development of literature and art in the Soviet republics is a clear indicator of the spiritual flourishing of national cultures and of the ever greater enrichment of their international content. Thus, Kirghizia, which several decades ago did not even have its own national written language, now stands in the ranks of the more developed republics in the area of artistic creativity. The Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee is seeing to the further development of the republic's artistic culture, directing the efforts of artist unions and art institutes toward raising the ideological and political level and the professional skill of literary and artistic workers and toward the creation of a business-like creative atmosphere in collectives.

The fostering of reasonable demands is an important feature of the socialist way of life. The 26th party congress paid special attention to the need for a

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purposeful formation of the interests and needs of Soviet people, corresponding to the tendencies in the formation of communist social relationships. We are primarily talking about studying the improvements in the demand structure which have taken place during recent years, analyzing the basic tendencies in this process and the effect of the growth in prosperity on the development of the people's spiritual wants, and -- relying on this analysis -- forming a series of measures for overcoming the urge for incessant egotistical consumption and the cult of things.

Literature, art and the mass information media, by helping to strengthen progressive traditions and the people's reasonable demands, are playing a large role in the internationalization of such an important component of the socialist way of life as daily living. Basically, daily living is the same for all the nations and nationalities forming the Soviet people. At the same time, certain differences have nevertheless been preserved in this important sphere of the social life of the different nationalities. National peculiarities in daily living are caused by the distinctive features of the natural and climatic factors and by the historical development of the people.

The customs and usages, which are passed on from generation to generation, take shape spontaneously for the most part. The force of centuries-old traditions exert a large influence on them. Remnants of the past, such phenomena foreign to the Soviet way of life as bribery, rudeness, drunkenness, nepotism, bride-money, etc., are still adhered to in daily life. Their relatively large survivability in the consciousness of individual population groups is caused by the fact that they are transmitted to the younger generation primarily in a daily life which has been least of all subjected to public influence. L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out: "Unfortunately, we still have occasion to often encounter displays of egoism, money-grubbing and a consuming attitude toward life. It would be incorrect to underestimate the danger of these negative phenomena".³ The struggle against them forms one of the important tasks of the systematic, purposeful, political, indoctrinational, and ideological work of party and other public organizations.

However, as was pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th party congress, there are still "those individuals who desire to give less and to snatch more from the state". Egoism, petty bourgeoisie, acquiring, and indifference towards the concerns and work of the people appear on the soil of such a psychology. In this matter, we must be consistently guided by the instructions of the 26th congress which require that "conscientious workers be encourage in every way possible and that no loophole⁴ be left for slackers and bad workers to lead a good life with very bad work".

A very fierce ideological struggle is now taking place around the way of life problem. It is connected with the fact that the merits and shortcomings of this or that social system, which are reflected through the way of life prism, are becoming more evident. It is natural that our party is devoting a lot of attention to publicizing the socialist way of life and to unmasking bourgeois fabrications.

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In examining the leading role of the CPSU in the formation of a Soviet way of life and in strengthening the unity of the international and the national in its development, we see with our own eyes how the scale of the party's transforming work is being expanded in the progressive movement of our society toward communism. Based on the creative development of Marxist-Leninist science and in close union with the life of the people, the CPSU is directing the activity of the Soviet people toward the complex solution of all the main tasks in the construction of communism, including the development of a socialist way of life. The Soviet way of life not only is acquiring enormous significance in creating the material and spiritual foundations of communism, but is also demonstrating ever more clearly and fully to all the world the historical advantages of the new social system.

FOOTNOES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 41, p 77.
2. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leniniskim kursom. Rechi, privetstviya, stat'i, vospominaniya" [A Leninist Course. Speeches, Greetings, Articles, Reminiscences], Vol 7, Moscow, 1979, p 172.
3. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rechi i stat'i" [A Leninist Course, Speeches and Articles], Vol 5, Moscow, 1976, p 49.
4. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS [Materials on the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 217.

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REGIONAL

STATUS OF USSR'S KURDS DISCUSSED

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[Article by Norman Cigar]

[Text] Although numerically small, the Kurdish community of the Soviet Union is of considerable interest. These Kurds are relative newcomers to the area, having arrived in what was then Tsarist Russia during the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries as a result of fleeing from various forms of repression in Iran and the Ottoman Empire.

The exact number of Kurds now living in the Soviet Union is a matter of some conjecture. While the most recent official figure available is 116,000 (1979), independent sources make the total some three times that number. Soviet estimates of minority ethnic groups are not always reliable and frequently appear inconsistent. In the case of the Kurds, part of the inconsistency may arise from the vagaries of local pressures on them to register with other ethnic groups.

Unlike other minorities, even smaller ones, the Soviet Kurds no longer have a separate administrative unit, although a Kurdish Autonomous Republic did exist in Central Asia for a short time during the 1920s. In part, this is due to their geographical dispersion.

About 25 per cent live in the Caucasian Republics of Armenia and Georgia, while the remainder are in both homogeneous and

mixed settlements in the mainly Muslim Central Asian Republics of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Some of the latter were deported from the Caucasus to Central Asia in the late 1930s.

Living as they do in generally fertile agricultural areas, the Kurds have been relatively prosperous with about 60 per cent still working on the land. However, by force of circumstance, most have had to adapt to their surrounding ethnic environment. By 1970, about 56 per cent of Soviet Kurds spoke another language besides their own, compared with a national average of 21.5 per cent who were bilingual. Of this 56 per cent, twice as many have learned Soviet languages other than Russian (nine times the national average), indicating assimilation into local society more than "Russification." Only 88 per cent of Kurds still consider Kurdish to be their native language, which is below the national average.

Assimilation has, to some extent, been unavoidable. In Central Asia, for example, Kurds have been pressured into conforming both linguistically and culturally, largely because separate ethnic facilities have been discouraged. The fact that Central Asia is mainly Muslim has facilitated this process. Only about 10 per cent of Kurds are Yezidis, the rest

are all either Sunni or Shia Muslim. Though the Soviets claim that religious distinctions "are used only in the ethnographic sense," now that "the bulk of the Soviet Kurds have abandoned religion," it is clear that religious distinctions still play an important role in the Kurds' identity. Religion has, for example, hindered assimilation with the non-Muslim population of Armenia and Georgia.

Despite pressure and inducement, however, it seems that Kurdish awareness of belonging to a wider community has by no means been entirely erased. While

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Soviet Kurds may have developed along different paths from their fellow Kurds in the Middle East, they retain strong emotional ties. Most Soviet Kurds still know the names of the villages and tribes left behind when they migrated. They listened closely to the programmes broadcast by the rebel Iraqi Kurdish radio when it was in operation. Individuals are reported to be eager to contact the Syrian and Iraqi Kurdish students who visit the Soviet Union and there are even reports that Mustafa Barzani's photograph could be found in many Soviet Kurdish homes.

It is, perhaps, not altogether surprising that the most self-aware and culturally significant Kurdish community is to be found in Armenia. Kurdish language and literature are taught in school, a daily newspaper and books (printed in the Cyrillic alphabet used for Russian) are published, and Kurdish radio programmes are broadcast. Kurds in Armenia enjoy a high standard of education and are well represented in the Party and administration.

In fact, the Kurds of Armenia have produced a number of intellectuals who have made significant contributions to Kurdish studies. There are several flourishing research institutes devoted to this field which have provided study facilities for Kurds from the Middle East, thus boosting Kurdish self-awareness and culture among the larger Kurdish community.

The Soviet authorities have actually encouraged these study centres, which not only serve as centres of attraction for non-Soviet Kurds but provide useful information for government policymakers considering the question of "Kurdistan."

Given the small number of Kurds in the Soviet Union, it seems unlikely that the authorities see them as a serious threat. However, something which might cause concern to the Soviet regime would be the challenge based on religion in which the Kurds might unite with their more numerous fellow Muslims.

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