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16 June 1982

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 20/82)



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INTERNATIONAL

NEW AMERICAN CONSERVATISM ANALYZED, CONDEMNED

Moscow VOPROSY FILOSOFII in Russian No 3, Mar 82 pp 157-159

[Review by B.T. Grigoryan of a book "Sotsialnaya Filosofiya Sovremennogo Amerikanskogo Konservatizma" [Social Philosophy of Contemporary American Conservatism] by A. Yu. Melvil, Moscow, Politizdat, 1980, 143 pages]

[Text] The book is devoted to one of the most important subjects of contemporary ideological struggle--critical analysis of American neoconservatism ideology and social philosophy.

The turning of public consciousness in the United States and other Western countries to the Right and the noticeable strengthening of these countries' policy and ideology are a universally recognized fact today. The failure of integrational ideology and the illusions of class peace and "harmonious society" propagated by it, which manifested themselves with particular force under conditions of serious economic upheavals and mass anticapitalist actions in the latter part of the Sixties, has affected the entire bourgeois ideology--from philosophic theories to various trends of sociopolitical thought and led to strengthening and consolidation of conservative trends in them. The growing popularity of conservative sentiments in the United States, as noted correctly in the book, has been promoted by the discrediting of American liberalism's traditional optimistic sociophilosophical ideas and technocratic schemes of "A Society of Abundance," "A Society of Universal Prosperity," "A Postindustrial Society" and "Technotronic Civilization." The myth of reformist and bourgeois ideology of unlimited possibilities for the development of the capitalist society has been refuted by life itself. The author notes the political slump of Left radicalism and the ideological crisis of the "new Left" as another cause of the increased influence of conservative ideology. After stimulating the growth of sentiments of social criticism and mass discontent with contemporary capitalist society in the United States, the "new Left" found itself unable to offer any realistically positive program of social reconstruction. At the same time, the increased phenomena of leftist extremism and terrorism in their movement led to devaluation of the idea of "Leftism" itself in the eyes of average Americans and this has been greatly promoted by the bourgeois means of mass information through a skillfully directed propaganda campaign. On the other hand, the activity of the Right and conservative forces and groups as well as the general confusion and disorder among liberals and Left radicals has been favorable to the neoconservative turn in ideology (see p 5).

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A broad program of propaganda "reidologization," more active propagation of the bourgeois society's traditional ideals and values in a renewed form and the formation of an antidemocratic and antisocialist outlook with the aid of various philosophic and ideological ideas began to be implemented in bourgeois ideology from the early Seventies. During the Seventies and Eighties, the influence of conservative political and social and philosophic ideas reach a high level and the official internal and external political aims become more rigid. This policy and the ideology of contemporary conservatism are justly regarded in the book as an expression of definite reaction by the influential bourgeois circles in the West to the positive changes in international relations elicited by the process of detente and to the successes of peoples liberation struggle and general democratic movement in capitalist countries. Neoconservatism in the United States also reflects a reaction by the imperialist circles to the changed position and role of the United States and other developed capitalist states in the contemporary world. The increased aggressiveness of imperialism and, above all, of American imperialism, connected with further narrowing of the sphere of imperialist supremacy in the world and intensification of internal contradictions and rivalries in capitalist countries, has been noted in the CPSU Central Committee's accountability report to the 26th party congress. The various theories of contemporary conservatism are called upon to fulfill the function of rationalization and ideological justification of the reactionary policy in bourgeois society and in the international arena.

Beginning in the Seventies, western columnists and scientists proclaimed the coming of a "conservative revival" period and the appearance of conservatism on the proscenium of ideological and political life. Lately the phenomenon of neoconservatism has indeed become an important factor in policy and ideology of the United States, Britain, the FRG and some other countries in the West. The coming to power of such conservative figures as M. Thatcher in Great Britain and R. Reagan in the United States is often appraised in the West as a sign of a "new conservative wave," which supposedly will predominate in the next 50 years or even longer.

Strengthening of conservative trends in the sociopolitical sphere relies to a great extent on a specific ideological and theoretical base. In essence we are dealing with a serious ideological reorientation within the framework of contemporary bourgeois consciousness and ideology, which may have far-reaching consequences.

It is obvious that the study of a broad range of problems connected with contemporary conservatism is an extremely important task of Marxist philosophical science--in the plan of its theoretical significance and in political topicality as well. The question is about necessity of theoretical understanding and generalization of a principally new range of ideological and political phenomena, which are being pushed increasingly into the forefront of the ideological struggle.

In essence, the book being reviewed is the first monographic study in national scientific literature of the stated range of problems. The work has been done with material on social philosophy of contemporary American conservatism. At

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the same time, some of the conclusions are of general theoretical and methodological significance, concern problems of typology and criticism of bourgeois ideological orientations (first of all, of liberalism and conservatism) and extend to the cardinal questions of evolution of ideological strategy of contemporary imperialism. Main attention is devoted to the study of conservatism's social and philosophical basis, namely its world outlook and philosophical sources and its peculiar concept of peace, man, society, culture, history and progress.

A concrete Marxist analysis of causes and peculiarities in the current intensification of conservative trends in American sociopolitical and ideological life and of increased interest in philosophical ideas of conservatism is contrasted in a well-reasoned manner by the author with the widespread thesis in western literature on an ideological "cycle," an alternate interchanging of "Right" and "Left" trends. The main causes of increased popularity of conservatism lie in the sphere of a deep crisis, which today defeated the ideology of liberal etatism that has ruled the United States and other countries in the West since the Thirties.

The book's merit is in its attempt to develop methodological aspects in understanding the ideology of conservatism and to analyze its inner typological structure and basic features. Defining conservatism as a "particular type of thinking in social sections whose position in society is threatened by objective trends of social progress" (p 12), the author reveals sufficiently firm ideological mechanisms by means of which one or another "cutdated" ideology acquires a conservative function. A debatable conclusion is offered regarding conservative ideology being "secondary" in all its variations and that it is derived from some other forms of ideology which are assimilated by it only after they have "exhausted" their primary set social function (see p 14). Special attention is devoted to exposing the anticommunist essence of contemporary conservatism.

The author's analysis goes with good reason beyond the framework of the already traditional dichotomy of "liberalism-conservatism" and reveals the real inner heterogeneity of conservative ideology. Contemporary American conservatism includes trends which can be traced to feudal-aristocratic ideology, the free enterprise ideology and the ideology of state monopolistic capitalism. Their specific philosophical sources, particular ideological mechanisms of their formation and the social class base peculiar to them are exposed.

Research in the book is based on a historical and typological principle. An analysis of peculiarities of American ideological tradition serves as a basis for revealing the basic stages of formation of conservative thought in the United States and its ideological and theoretical sources. Among them one must note the ideological traditions of classical conservatism which have been placed into service of contemporary bourgeoisie and on the basis of which the "traditionalist" variety of contemporary American conservatism is formed. The second such source are the traditions of classical liberalism with their "free market" ideal, which acquire a conservative function in changed social conditions and become a base for the formation of the

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the "libertaristic" ("market") version of contemporary conservatism. And finally, the third line in formation of the conception of contemporary American conservatism is appearance of a strictly "neoconservative" opposition to the theory and practice of neoliberalism. It is precisely neoconservatism that is in a leading trend position of bourgeois ideology in the United States today (and in some other Western countries) and to a great extent represents the ideological and theoretical platform of those conservative political circles which currently set the tone in Washington and advance a program of attack against the workers' standard of living and rights in the country and of deliberate aggravation in the international situation.

In revealing the origination and peculiarities of neoconservative ideology. the author views the problems in the context of deepening crisis of capitalism and intensification of its socioeconomic and political contradictions.

Neoconservatism (its leading representatives in the United States--(D. Bell), (S. Lipset), (I. Kristol), (N. Gleizer), (P. Podhoretz), (S. Huntington) and many other leading bourgeois philosophers, sociologists and politologists) advances a program of a new moral "justification" of capitalism. However, attempts made within its framework in search of ways and means for ideological reorientation of contemporary bourgeois consciousness and to ensure "viability" of the capitalist system have been unsuccessful and in fact have only testified to the further deepening of critical phenomena in imperialism's strategy in the Seventies and Eighties.

It would have been expedient to devote somewhat more attention to precisely this most important aspect of problems being examined in A. Yu. Melvil's monograph. At the same time, there is no doubt that as a whole the book being reviewed is an interesting research of some principally new trends and phenomena in the ideological and political life of the West.

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INTERNATIONAL

OFFICIAL CRITICIZES U.S. POLICY IN CARIBBEAN, CENTRAL AMERICA

PA131757 Havana PRELA in English 1232 GMT 13 May 82

[Report by Juan Buria]

[Text] Havana, 13 May (PL)--The secretary general of the Soviet Foreign Office, Yuriy Fokin, indicated that his country calls for "the cease of all subversive activities against Cuba and Nicaragua and other countries of the Caribbean and Central America."

Fokin gave an interview to PRENSA LATINA, in which he spoke about his visit to Cuba and analyzed (?aspects) of the international political situation.

He expressed the condemnation of the USSR to the U.S. attitude "of stepping up the tension around Cuba, Nicaragua and in general in Central America and the Caribbean."

"That policy," he said, "does not favor the cause of peace. It bothers the peoples of the region and undermines their efforts aimed at a quiet [word indistinct] way."

He also referred to the conflict of the South Atlantic, in which Argentina, while defending its sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands, is facing an aggression of the war fleet of the British Government.

"Those British actions," he stated, "are aimed at the reestablishment of the colonial situation in the Malvinas, which contradicts the resolutions of the United Nations."

In his declarations, the secretary general of the Soviet Foreign Office also spoke of aspects regarding the meeting of the Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev, and of U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

The Soviets estimate that a dialogue of such a level requires a special preparation and a previous examination of all the topics to be analyzed by both presidents.

"The Soviet Union is in favor of preparing well the meeting and of holding it next spring in one of the neutral capitals of Europe," expressed Fokin.

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"We would like the United States to have a (?constructive) point of view, for on this depends the results of such an important meeting."

Fokin has just ended a 6-day visit to Cuba, heading a delegation which held talks with the Cuban Foreign Ministry.

His visit to Havana, he said, was related to the next holding of the special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on disarmament.

The Soviet diplomat stated that the socialist countries and the nonaligned ones will work together, in order to help this UN meeting, which begins in June, "to be carried out in a constructive atmosphere and to reach positive and true results."

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NATIONAL

FORMER PROPAGANDIST DESCRIBES WORK, CENTRAL ASIANS IN MILITARY UNIT

Munich KONTINENT in Russian No 31, (1982) pp 189-207

[Article by Anastasiya Poverennaya: "Russia and Reality: Coming Down From the Lectern (Reflections on the Work of a Soviet Propagandist)"]

[Excerpt] When I was just starting out, callow youth made everything seem new and exciting: new places, new people, interesting encounters.... Time and experience showed that though places and people could vary, the problems remained the same all over....

In my home town I could speak before whatever audience I chose: at a scientific research institute, a House of Culture or an educational establishment. In the provinces there was no choice. Lecturers usually traveled to the "backwoods" at the invitation of some oblast committee and usually delivered their lectures at a regular meeting of the party or party-administrative aktiv as part of the obligatory education for upper-echelon party bureaucrats. The lectures were listed as "patronage" [shefskiy] and, therefore, no fee was forthcoming. There was, however, a covert understanding between local party organizations and the "Znaniye" society, with which we were all listed, whereby they did their best to provide us with as great a "load" as possible in the form of several prearranged lectures for a fee at city and oblast enterprises. We were thus often able to deliver as many as 30 lectures per week, so we were not too bad off. No lecturer would ever think of traveling away from home without such an incentive, whatever the moral code of a communist might prescribe.

I especially liked to travel up north, to Petrozavodsk, Murmansk or Kandalaksha, at the height of the Arctic day. My most memorable trip, however, was to Arkhangel'sk....

Upon arriving, I went at once to the oblast committee, obtained the necessary materials and quickly began to prepare myself for the role of "the person from the center" omniscient of everything, including the state of affairs in Arkhangel'sk and the oblast, their achievements in the last 5-year plan, their prospects for the future and their current "bottlenecks." I went over the reports of enterprises, memorizing the names of the best plants and enterprises,

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their executives and foremost workers, as well as those who had defaulted on the plan and were, therefore, open to severe criticism. This was the most important and difficult part of the job. To be sure, only the first lecture, the one for the executives, required such serious preparation. When it was over, it didn't really matter where they took me or before whom I spoke. I would pump my guide en route (and I think I have traveled by virtually every means of transportation, from airplanes to a hearse!), and we would agree on the topic of the lecture. But I came well-prepared for my first, "patronage" lecture. At last I would be ready, having committed to memory all I would conceivably require.

My brain would discard all that trash the very next day, but for the lecture it was essential: such were the instructions of the Central Committee's Ideological Department: Wherever we spoke and whatever the topic, be it "The International Situation," "The Economic Achievements of the USSR in the Epoch of Developed Socialism" or "Problems of Communist Moral Upbringing," every lecture had to be "dovetailed" to the life of the collective providing the forum for it. The impact was indubitable, and I could always see how readily our listeners succumbed to the hypnotic effect of the lecturer's art. They took delight in whatever criticism was leveled at them, pleased that the "person from the center" had something to say about them specifically, which meant that "up there" they were known and remembered. In this way the lecturer established rapport with the audience and at the same time strengthened the masses' confidence in their own soviet power!

Someone once said: "If a person knows how to do something, he does it himself, if he doesn't, he teaches others; and if he can do neither, he teaches to teach." Unfortunately, all our lectures, my own and my associates', fitted this aphorism completely. For we would be telling knowledgeable people who knew their jobs how to teach their associates and subordinates to "fulfill and overfulfill," to "catch up with and pass..."

So there I was in Arkhangel'sk. I had the best room in the best hotel in town; I took my meals in the restaurant downstairs (for which I was issued a comfortable sum for expenses "to be reported subsequently"). And there I was on the lectern, commencing my lecture. As I talked I watched the chairman out of the corner of my eye (the lecture being part of the conference proceedings, the presidium remained in place on the stage). I immediately took note that the chairman was no novice and was pleased to see how deftly he sorted out the notes with questions to the lecturer coming up from the audience. He divided them into three little piles: the first, I knew, he would pass on to me; the second would be divided between the secretary of the city party committee and the chairman of the oblast executive committee--these dealt with local questions, with specific problems, so to say. He would do his best to surreptitiously destroy the third pile of questions as soon as the lecture ended. These were impermissible questions which one did not answer. Our work was judged "upstairs" by, among other things, the questions asked by our listeners. We also had to report to our superiors about the political atmosphere in the audience, attaching a list of listeners' questions (from the first pile, of course) to the memo on the lecture we were supposed to submit to the party organization.

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This time, however, I was more interested in the third pile and, taking my seat next to the chairman after the lecture, I unceremoniously scooped it over. First question: "Tell us openly: is pilot Belenko a traitor? The PRAVDA report about him was phoney." Second question: "Who conceived the idea of the 'After Midnight' TV show for northern regions? What for? According to statistics in our and neighboring oblasts, this has caused a big jump in job related accidents and injuries. Do you hope to keep people from listening to Western radio stations?--this a costly way of fighting bourgeois propaganda." Third question: "For many years the state budget lumps heavy industry together with the light and food industries. Everyone knows that the heavy industry also includes expenses for the war industry. Why are they concealed? After all, it is obvious that the sum of 17.4 billion rubles under the item 'Defense Capability' is hardly enough to just cloth and feed the army. But what about armaments?" Or take such a question: "Do you know that there is a huge personal herd of the President of Finland Urho Kekkonen grazing in our tundra; it is assigned to one of the collective farms, and the Soviet authorities will confiscate it if the Finns refuse to return defectors?"

No, I didn't know that, of course, just like many other things. Now I do, as well as many other things.

After the meeting I, as usual, made a rapid estimate of the percentage of tricky questions with respect to the number of people present: there had been seven such questions from the more than 800 people in the audience, that is, less than 1 percent. This was not worth our attention. Only numbers mattered. But I would add them to the card file I had been assembling for several years. I had started out with the very best of intentions: I wanted to understand, grasp and evaluate the reactions of my listeners.... This is what it has led to: I am an enemy of the people.... Can it be that my work associates believe this?

My colleagues were all really nice people--kind, responsive, good comrades. Newcomers joined us rarely, and we had grown used to each other, like one big family. Every day at 1000 hours our chief assembled us for a short meeting or briefing, but we usually came in at 0900. During that hour we felt completely free and unconstrained, as if without our official uniforms. We chatted, bantered and swapped political jokes. That hour, I think, brought us closer even than our friendly drinking parties (which, incidentally, were fairly frequent). Most of the jibes and wisecracks were, I recall, aimed at our Leader and Chief Agronomist, of whom it was said that he had managed to garner a bumper harvest from his "Malaya Zemlya." Those moments were the safety valve which made it possible for us to breathe easier before getting into the straightjacket of our official uniforms which, though customary, were tight, oh how tight! To be sure, at the time none of us probably even realized it. What did we know about freedom and what it was like?

The first crack in our rock-hard positions was, it seems, caused by the Czech August of '68. I remember that during that period even our merriment declined somewhat. But soon, armed to the teeth with Soviet patriotism and the principles of international friendship, we contained our personal, to put it

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mildly, astonishment. Every day we spent hours on the lecterns; we organized endless meetings at factories, enterprises and scientific institutes; we held rallies and seminars. Many people at the time wondered, couldn't understand and were even indignant. It was our job to help them to appreciate the events correctly, that is, to accept the official line. We defended the Soviet understanding of the term "international friendship" from our lecterns as good as our tanks in the streets of Prague....

I was neither a dissident nor a rights defender; I never read any banned literature--that was an entirely different world of which we knew only what we were supposed to know. I would never have matched up to the exploits of those people, even if I had considered them to be right. Together with everyone from our circle of so-called "party elite" I first denounced them and later simply failed to understand them, thinking of them as "playing populists." It is hard for me to say exactly when I began to change; it matured gradually, somewhere in my subconsciousness. A definite part in this change was played by the "impermissible" questions from my listeners. Frequent trips into the "boondocks" were also very important because I could see Soviet reality there without any embellishments....

My trip to Arkhangel'sk was especially memorable.... It was there that I acutely realized the utter uselessness of my work; during my encounters with my listeners, I saw that we were poles apart and would never understand each other. I will describe it as it happened.

After my lecture at the Arkhangel'sk City Committee, I was whisked away to a lumber camp. I was greeted by the secretary of the party committee, who told me that he had announced my lecture to the workers on the day before and that it would be held between the end of the second shift and the beginning of the third shift.

"They are all there, waiting," he explained as he led me to the Red Corner. "We have to work three shifts now, plus holidays, to take advantage of the summer weather to get ahead with the plan. We have been lagging, so now we have to catch up..."

The forest path took us to the newly built wooden club. The party secretary unlocked the door, which opened into a fairly large hall with a stage on which stood a table covered with a red cloth and a new lectern... and not a soul inside! The windows were wide open.

The party secretary spread his hands, his face as red as the cloth on the table.

"Well what can you do with such people? I locked the door so they have escaped through the windows! What a crowd! I am sorry, do not be angry. It is pretty hard on our workers right now, being springtime, and they all have gardens to tend. If they don't plant on time, there will be nothing to eat in the fall. I should not have told them beforehand, of course.... But we will punish them--they will not get their thirteenth pay. Besides, we will pay your fee for the lecture anyhow, only do not report this to anyone anyone..."

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I was angry and disappointed but tried not to show it. I got into the car and went on to my next "target," the "Trud" [Labor] sewing artel for manufacturing worker coveralls.

After the lumber camp with its new, bright buildings and the refreshing fragrance of the woods, everything at this settlement seemed bleak and dismal: there was not a tree, not a flower, nothing but mud and puddles around.... I was taken directly to the shop. The women ceased their sewing and crowded around me, unconcealed curiosity showing on their dusky faces.

The chief of production, a young woman, introduced me and announced the topic of the lecture. The women went back to their sewing machines, two long rows of them. Their faces were hidden and all I could see were flowery headscarves. I felt uncomfortable: it was hard to talk without seeing any faces. Nevertheless, I began, but after a few words the clatter of a sewing machine interrupted me. I fell silent and the woman who had begun to sew said good-naturedly, "Don't you mind me, honey, go right on with your yarn. I will get some of my plan in while listening."

The other women objected loudly.

"Oh, come on now," the woman said, but stopping the machine nevertheless. She reached over for a shopping net containing some food. "If I cannot work, I can at least have a snack. Haven't had a morsel since morning."

I was well aware that all over the country the "Znaniye" society lecturers usually spoke before worker audiences during the lunch break, and this always made me angry. What right did we have to keep the workers from resting? This way, in those 40 minutes they enjoyed neither their meal nor the lecture. This was the first time for me, and my spirits plummeted, but I went on with the lecture. Soon the women began to leave their seats and surround me in a right circle. 'Well,' I thought, 'at least I've got them interested!' I told them about the Soviet way of life, about the problems of free time, about the psychological microclimate of a Soviet collective.

I then went on to compare all this with the capitalist world, demonstrating our superiority with facts and figures, when suddenly someone plucked at my sleeve.

"You are spinning a nice yarn, but listen to me for a moment! And look around, too. Zinaida," she turned to the manager, "take her to the cutting department and show her the material they are cutting for our team and the kind their using for Lenka's. They get all the finer material, without any tears, and the best quality thread.... Is that fair? We barely manage to get the plan done while she has it all overfulfilled and is awarded the oblast banner. And they got a bonus, too. We complained to the director, but he says it is an honor for us all. And that the artel's bonus would go to repairing the kindergarten.

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The kindergarten, by the way, has been closed down for over half a year: one authority closed it down saying it was in a condemned condition, while the other says there is no money for repairs. So now we take turns to run off during work hours to look after and feed the kids.... That is all talk! He is obliged to provide a kindergarten without any banner...as if we were fools and did not understand! All he wants is to get his own bonus!"

And there I was telling them about how to make better use of their leisure time! Did they know the meaning of the word? And what did they care how workers lived in the capitalist world when their own lives were so hard? And yet my visit had given them some hope. In the simplicity of their souls they gave me a warm send-off. Totally ignorant of the party hierarchy, they saw me as some big chief, and I could hardly keep up jotting down their complaints. How, indeed, could I tell them that there was nothing I could do to help them, that I had no authority whatsoever. Not even the authority over my own convictions, in fact.... And they were growing weaker and weaker after every such an encounter, so that each new day began for me with the question: "What can I do?"

The same question was worrying another person whom I met out there. Only recently a student, he was now the chief engineer of a butter and cheese factory in Arkhangel'skaya Oblast, and he seemed somewhat out of place there. We chatted in his office while I waited for a car to take me to a lecture I was to give at some army division.

"All my workers are women," he told me. "You have seen them: all wearing rubber boots and dirty brown, once white smocks, and all swearing four-letter words without end."

"How do you manage here?" I asked.

"I do my job. I want to rebuild this little plant: we've received new Hungarian equipment, and I am excited by the opportunity to make the women's work easier. To this day only 30 percent of the jobs are mechanized. The other 70 percent are done with female hands. There are only three men at the factory: the director, a stable-hand, and myself. It is hard work, though actually they all ought to be booked for theft: they steal something awful. You know for yourself: can you get butter or cheese at the store? At first they were cautious, sizing me up, but now they know I will not report them, so they are at it again. Every 10 days I have an inspection of the teams: how much milk came in, how much was made from it. They come to me quite openly and ask, 'Grigoryich, what is my shortfall for these 10 days?' 'Quite a bit,' I say, 'you are short 10 kilograms of butter.' 'Don't you worry, Grigoryich, I will make it up over the next 10 days with a 100-kilogram surplus...' And they do..."

"How do they do it?" I asked.

"We cover up all shortfalls with cheese. Have you seen our cheese vaults? They are above criticism. A head of cheese should shrink in the vault by 11 percent by the end of the year, but the humidity is so high that it actually shrinks by hardly 7 or 8 percent. Besides, with our technology it is impossible to determine the percentage of fat exactly and a variation of plus or minus 2 percent is permitted. My lady cheesemasters have learned how to save 2 percent on fat for every kilogram of cheese. So that I even run up some comfortable surpluses for the factory as a whole..."

"I was listening to you," the young man continued. "You talk nicely, but if you lived here for a while you would understand what your lectures lack. And after a while, you would most likely prefer not to give them anymore. In the 2 years that I have been here I have matured a full 20 years, so that now I cannot help wondering: What next? I would like to return to the capital and go in for science. I want to get away from all this."

There he was: 20 years old, knowing everything, and his mind made up. But what about me? Where could I go from here?

At that moment all I had before me was just another lecture. Prior to my visit to the butter and cheese factory, I had received a phone call from the city committee asking me to speak at an army division where some military brass from the Main Political Directorate or the Military District's political directorate were on an inspection tour. They were assembling the officer and propaganda personnel for a meeting and wanted me to give a lecture on the subject of "Problems of Ethical Education in the Materials of the 25th Party Congress."

I was back in my right place, cast in my usual role, with only commanding officers in the hall. That was good. It is so much easier to convince the convinced. The words flowed light and freely, I was back "in my own element" again. I told them (as well, indeed, as myself) what was ethical and unethical from the point of view of the party norms of life. The customary words flowed freely forth as I quoted passages from Lenin. Everyone was pleased, they gave me a round of applause--another familiar reaction, but none the less gratifying for that.

After the lecture the division commander invited me and the high visitors to dinner. The service was sumptuous: antique china and silver, the dishes were already on the table, perched on little spirit stoves to keep them warm. We took our seats and pitched into the food. There were fish of the most expensive varieties, salad with fresh tomatoes, cucumbers and scallions.... This was the season when cucumbers went at Moscow's Danilovskiy Market for 8 rubles a kilo, and tomatoes for 12.

"Where did all this fine food come from?" I could not help asking.

"We confiscated the fish from poachers," the commanding officer explained, "and we grow our own vegetables in hothouses."

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"So you feed your men fresh vegetables the year round?" one of the visiting brass asked.

"Not the whole year, but on Victory Day and the October holiday for sure," the commander replied.

I looked at him attentively. He had the rank of colonel even though he could not have been more than 40. The club manager had mentioned that he was from Moscow and was there without his family. So he'd most likely come for his general's shoulder straps: now it is impossible to get them serving in Moscow or Leningrad. From the confidence he exuded, from the flare he assumed, I could see that he probably had the backing of the Main Political Directorate.

There was no vodka on the table for some reason or other, so they'd be having their drink in the evening, after I was gone.

Out in the yard by the mess-hall I found a major with construction battalion insignia waiting for me.

"Please come to our unit," he pleaded. "It's not far from here. Give a lecture for my men, they have just taken their oath of allegiance. I will have you taken right back to your hotel when it is over."

I would have preferred to get back to it at once, I was so tired, but I could not refuse, and besides, I could do with the money. The military, you should know, are orderly in everything: your lecture is hardly over when there they are with an envelope containing the cherished tenner. They pay on the spot, not like the "Znaniye" society!

On the way we discussed the topic of the lecture.

"Perhaps I could tell them about the international situation?" I suggested.

"No, no," the major objected. "That's too complicated a subject for our construction battalion men. I know their level, so many of them have passed through my hands. I asked one from the last call-up he hailed from. 'Tambov,' he said. 'Do you have any relatives living abroad?' 'Yes.' 'Where?' I asked. 'In Shuya!' he said. Better give them something simpler."

All right, I thought, let it be something simpler, say "The Tasks of the Youth Alliance in V. I. Lenin's Speech at the 3d Komsomol Congress."

When we got there we went straight to the club. The hall was packed. I began to resound the difficulties of the first years of the Soviet government, the participation of Komsomol members and young people in building up the Soviet state. But as I was going through the introductory remarks I felt the absence of any communication with my listeners. What was wrong? I went on, quoting a brief historical aside they should have known from school. I felt that it was getting harder and harder for me to speak. Didn't they understand me? I was speaking distinctly enough, and the microphone was in order. But

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they just sat there very still, without moving, the whole hall like one face, all with close-cropped heads, all in the same clumsy-fitting uniforms, all with dark, somewhat slanted eyes which seemed to contain a mute question, or was it just my imagination?

I was getting nervous. What had happened to my years of experience in the art of lecturing? Why wasn't it helping me? Were Lenin's words that "the task is to study, to study and to study" so hard to understand? Why every Young Pioneer knows them! Or had I been too vague explaining the harm done to the development of Soviet culture by the theory and practice of the "Proletkul't" association?

I cast a pleading look at the deputy commander for political affairs, begging for support, as I kept throwing the words at the quiet audience which seemed to be listening but apparently heard nothing.

They finally came to life when I finished and the political officer stood up and began to clap his hands and thanked me for "such a fine lecture, delivered on a high ideological and political level." At that they all stood up, too, and joined him with their applause.

I walked over to the political officer and asked why the men had not been listening.

"On the contrary," he assured me, "they were most attentive. I was watching them. The thing is that some of them are Kirgizians who understand no Russian except for general commands..."

I was literally at a loss for words, and tears of dismay caused my throat to contract. "How could you do that!" I barely managed to say, choking on the words.

The major, however, was quite pleased. "Don't let that worry you," he comforted me. "We all have our let-downs on our jobs. The lecture has done them no harm, and it is served a useful purpose because /a start has been made/ [*italics*]. Their political education has begun!"

I have been living in the West for 2 years now, and my life has changed completely. But have I changed? Yes and no. The past still has a grip on me in some ways; it is not at all easy to pull out one's deep roots. Although I have gained freedom, I am still not entirely free. One thing, however, is for sure: having abandoned the Soviet propaganda rostrum, I no longer participate in its lies.

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Anastasiya Poverennaya was born in 1939. She was the secretary of a rayon Komsomol committee in the town of Murom, on the Volga River, and later worked there as the director of a House of Culture. She was subsequently the director of a lecture office in Novgorod, then worked as lecturer-consultant on Marxist-Leninist education at the Officers' Club of the Leningrad Military District's Political Directorate. She is presently residing in West Germany.

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NATIONAL

STRUCTURE, FUNCTIONS OF LOCAL COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT DESCRIBED

Leningrad RAYKOM I NAUCHNO-TEKHNICHESKAYA INTELLIGENTSIYA in Russian 1981 (signed to press 11 Sep 81) pp 25-30

[Excerpts from book "The Rayon Committee and the Scientific-Technical Intelligentsia", Lenizdat]

[Excerpt] The comprehensive approach in planning presupposes a social orientation in plans, a rational combination of sectorial and territorial development and intersectorial and intrasectorial proportions, strengthening of economic balance, and fuller consideration of the interests of consumers in shaping production assignments.

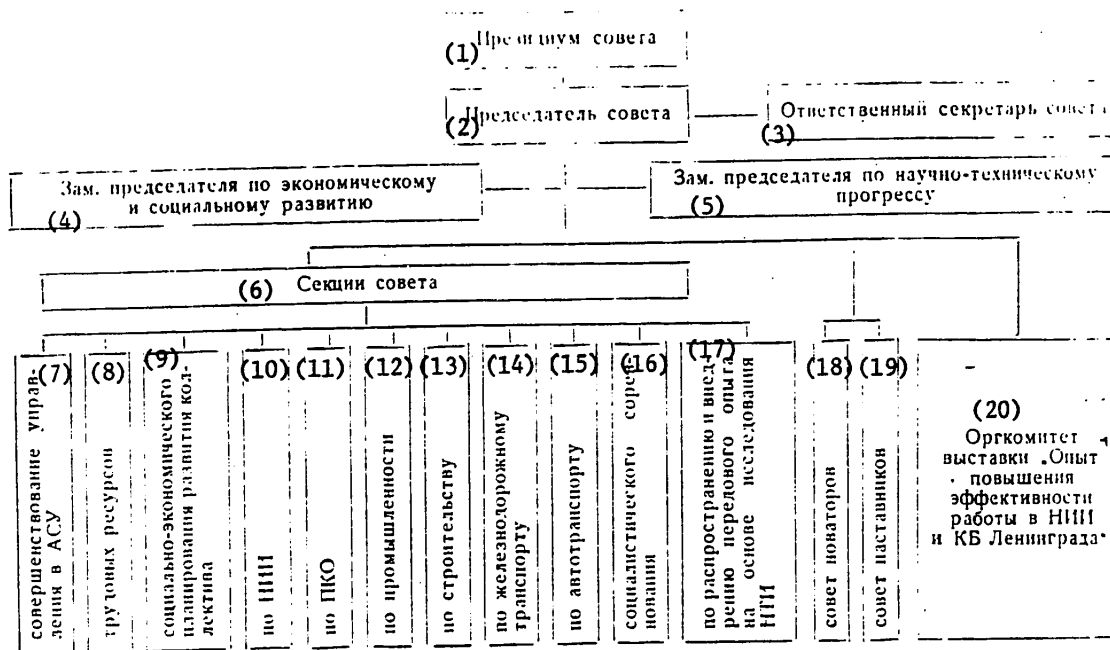
The party has always considered the comprehensive approach to be a key principle of social planning which permits thorough consideration of the requirements of proportional economic development and resolving social problems.

Seven years ago a public council on economic and social development was set up at the Smol'ninskiy Rayon committee of the CPSU. The purpose of the council was to provide methodological and practical help to the rayon party committee in organizing and managing integrated economic and social development of the rayon. The council is a public body under the rayon CPSU committee (see diagram on next page) and works directly under its leadership. The council determines the ways and methods of solving particular problems of economic and social development of the administrative region and of production and labor collectives, and orients them to raising work efficiency and quality. The council summarizes and disseminates progressive know-how in working out and implementing comprehensive plans of economic and social development, and organizes fulfillment of its resolutions and recommendations.

The principal areas of activity of the council are the following: improving organization and management of the public economy; improving the efficiency of the use of labor, material, and financial resources, and the use of fixed production capital and capital investment. The council also concerns itself with questions of raising the technical level and efficiency of production and the quality of labor and output produced through the efforts of specialists. The council gives close attention to communist indoctrination of the working people and population, refining forms and methods of socialist competition, and to questions of maintaining a clean, healthy environment.

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The Council of Economic and Social Development of the Smol'ninskiy Rayon CPSU Committee.



- Key:
- (1) Presidium of the Council;
 - (2) Chairman of the Council;
 - (3) Accountable Secretary of the Council;
 - (4) Deputy Chairman for Economic and Social Development;
 - (5) Deputy Chairman for Scientific-Technical Progress;
 - (6) Sections of the Council;
 - (7) Improving Control in Automated Control Systems;
 - (8) Labor Resources;
 - (9) Socioeconomic Planning of Development of the Collective;
 - (10) For Scientific Research Institutes;
 - (11) For Planning-Design Divisions;
 - (12) For Industry;
 - (13) For Construction;
 - (14) For Railroad Transportation;
 - (15) For Motor Vehicle Transportation;
 - (16) Socialist Competition;
 - (17) For Dissemination and Introduction of Progressive Know-How Based on Scientific-Technical Research;
 - (18) Council of Innovators;
 - (19) Council of Tutors;
 - (20) Organizing Committee for the Exhibition "Experience with Raising Work Efficiency at Scientific Research Institutes and Design Bureaus in Leningrad."

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Leading workers, scientists, engineering-technical personnel, and party, Soviet, and economic managers take part in the work of the council.

The council is headed by a presidium. The chairman of the presidium has two deputies in charge of economic and social development and technical progress. Organizational work is assigned to the accountability secretary. The working units of the council are 11 sections, the council of innovators, the council of tutors, and the organizing committee for the exhibition "Experience with Raising Work Efficiency at Scientific Research Institutes and Design Bureaus in Leningrad."

Each section has a chairman, a deputy, and an accountable secretary. The sections are usually headed by managers of science-production associations, enterprises, or organizations.

The sections of the council include experienced specialists, scientists, engineering-technical personnel, and party and trade union workers. These are people who not only have a good knowledge of their occupations, but also have a broad outlook. For example, the deputy chairman of the section on scientific research institutes is communist V. Ya. Paul', head of the division of development, organization, and economics of scientific research at TsNIIMF [Central Scientific Research Institute of the Maritime Fleet]. He is one of the authors of the methodology for comprehensive evaluation of the efficiency and quality of work at scientific institutions and the organizer of socialist competition among the science-production associations and scientific research institutes of Smol'ninskiy Rayon.

L. V. Ivanova, head of the sector on technical-economic substantiation at TsNIIMF, also works actively in this same section. She is a highly skilled specialist who regularly analyzes the economic activities of the scientific research institutes in the rayon. The results of her analysis are taken into account in evaluating the efficiency and quality of their work.

The sections perform the following functions: systematic analysis of the state and developmental trends in their areas; investigation of timely problems of raising the efficiency of public development in the rayon; determining ways and means of solving these problems; giving organizational and methodological help to the rayon party committee and executive committee, and to enterprises and organizations; submitting informational materials and analytic, forecast, and innovative proposals to the presidium of the council on improving management of the economy of the rayons; organization of quarterly socialist competition according to a comprehensive system for control of work quality and efficiency (KS UEKR); and, summarization and dissemination of progressive know-how at seminars, meetings, and science-practice conferences.

Here is how the work of the council is organized. The presidium and its sections compile plans of work for the year. They are reviewed at meetings of the sections and of the presidium and coordinated with the bureau of the Soviet at the oblast party committee.

The work plans of the sections include conducting scientific-technical conferences, rayon seminars, quarterly "quality days," special days in honor of specialists and innovators, competitive inspections, and scientific-technical exhibitions.

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To prepare for and conduct the planned activities the sections form working commissions made up of the most experienced specialists. The commissions have 3-5 members.

Monitoring performance of the plans of the council and its sections is assigned to the accountable secretary. Each year before 15 January they compile reports and send them through the section for dissemination of progressive know-how at the Leningrad Central Scientific Research Institute to the Soviet of the oblast party committee.

The territorial-sectorial principle of managing socialist production and the intensified role of party organizations in solving management problems necessitate the development and use of new forms and methods of managing the improvement in work efficiency and quality at enterprises and organizations of the rayon.

One of the major projects carried out by the council in the 10th Five-Year Plan was development of an integrated system to manage work efficiency and quality. It is in operation today alongside sectorial systems and supplements them with respect to sociopolitical matters. In setting up this system the council made use of the experience of the L'vovskaya Oblast CPSU committee, the Mytishchi City CPSU committee, and the Moskovskiy Rayon CPSU committee in Leningrad.

The comprehensive control system contemplates planning improvement in work efficiency and quality, keeping track of it, monitoring it, and evaluating the results. The evaluation is done by comparing work efficiency and quality coefficients achieved by enterprises, organizations, groups, and the rayon as a whole with similar coefficients for a corresponding period of the preceding year.

The main principles of the evaluation are uniform methodology, establishing a base indicator for work efficiency and quality, prompt and periodic evaluation, comparability and objectivity, and publication of results.

The crucial indicators in the methodology for evaluating scientific research institutes are the economic impact from introduction of new developments and their high scientific-technical level, while for planning-design associations the main indicators are reducing the estimated cost of construction of planned projects and conserving materials and energy.

Each quarter the commissions of the council together with the industrial-transportation division of the rayon CPSU committee review the report data submitted by enterprises and organizations, process it, and report on it to participants in the rayon efficiency and quality day. The results of work on the KS UEKR are totaled at the same time as the results of socialist competition in the rayon. Appropriate places are awarded according to these results.

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SUGGESTED LECTURE TOPICS ON BREZHNEV TRADE UNION SPEECH

[Editorial Report] Moscow SLOVO LEKTORA in Russian No 5, May 1982, carries on p 17 a 500-word list of "Themes of Lectures, Reports, and Conversations for the Explanation of the Speech of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev to the XVII Congress of Trade Unions of the USSR." Among the 40 topics listed are: "We will fulfill the decisions of the XXVI Party Congress," "We will support the new and advanced," and "Trade unions in the political system of Soviet society."

OBKOM SECRETARY ON RAISING LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

[Editorial Report] Moscow SLOVO LEKTORA in Russian No 5, May 1982, carries on pp 43-45 a 3,000-word article titled "In the name of creative and interesting work" by A. Vorob'yev, secretary of the Zaporozh'e oblast' committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. The article suggests that the selection of good lecturers and the preparation of interesting lectures will promote improved productivity among workers in increasingly mechanized enterprises.

OBKOM SECRETARY ON TRANSFER OF PARTY EXPERIENCE TO KOMSOMOL

[Editorial Report] Moscow MOLODOY KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, January 1982, carries on pp 8-13 a 6,000-word article titled "The Wealth of Party Experience to the Komsomol" by M. Trunov, first secretary of the Belgorod oblast committee of the CPSU. The article describes the efforts of the Belgorod party organization to involve Komsomol activists in its work in order to develop their leadership capabilities.

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