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JPRS L/9019

4 April 1980

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 8/80)



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USSR REPORT  
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NATIONAL

PHENOMENON OF IL'YA GLAZUNOV

Paris SINTAKSIS in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 119-138

[Article by Igor' Golomshtok: "The Phenomenon of Glazunov"]

[Text] There would be no reason to write about the painter Il'ya Glazunov except for two considerations.

First, an entire legend has been created around his personality both in the USSR and abroad. The epithets "unofficial," "oppositional," "underground," "persecuted" were firmly attached to the name of the painter on the pages of the foreign press, while at the same time Il'ya Glazunov is the creator of a gallery of portraits of the Soviet upper crust, culminating in L. Brezhnev himself. On the one hand, he is an apostle of national and religious rebirth, almost a spiritual twin of Solzhenitsyn, while, on the other, a constant traveler abroad, a correspondent for KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Vietnam, a personal friend of the deceased Chilean President Allende. A year ago NEWSWEEK magazine published an article about him with a characteristic title: "Leonid Brezhnev, the King of Sweden and Gina Lollobrigida Have Something in Common: All of Them Had Their Portraits Painted by Il'ya Glazunov"--the authors of this article write and continue: "His success among the top has made him a privileged citizen. The dining room in his Moscow apartment is full of French furniture in the style of the Empire and portraits of the tsars; his two-story workshop is sufficiently capacious to contain 3,000 pictures and a portion of an old wooden hut."<sup>1</sup> The American journalist Barron in his recently published book "KGB" talks of these privileges as a reward for the fact that Glazunov has been "informing against Soviet intellectuals and foreigners," but the Russian National Association and the monarchistic journal CHASOVOY have raised their voices in defense of Glazunov, declaring him a martyr for the "Russian cause."

The creative path of Glazunov has been enshrouded in the dense atmosphere of the ideological mystic and the political detective. A glance at his creative work could bring us to the second consideration--to that which transforms this rather ordinary, but not rather bold, painter into a kind of "cultural phenomenon," who is at the center of attention of the presently inflamed "argument about Russia."

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This argument is long-standing and ramified; it has assumed the form of a philosophic literary polemic between Westernists and Slavophiles, that which translated into the language of politics, finds its embodiment in party decrees decrying "Great-Russian chauvinism" or "forelorn cosmopolitanism." At the present stage it looks somewhat different. The gist of this argument--in its polemical extremeness--boils down actually to one main question: is it that dark condition which has enmeshed the country for 60 years, a direct consequence of certain features of the Russian character, specific aspects of the country's history, or is it something foreign to Russia, brought from without--from the West? Directed at the sphere of culture, this argument is conducted somewhat on the same plane: are the ideology and language of Soviet art an extension of the national artist tradition or has the communist regime one thing or another from the modernist movement, which began to take shape in Europe toward the end of the last century? And--as a consequence of all this: should Russian art follow the common path or should it finally overcome renaissance individualism and European modernism and return to iconic conciliarism [sobornost'].<sup>2</sup> In this senseless argument, Glazunov's art begins to fulfill the function of a chief ideological argument, as it seemingly indicates a way out of a logical dead-end, points out the possibility of a path, which Russian artistic culture has seemingly already assumed and which will return it to the sphere of national originality. All this permits one to speak of the "Glazunov phenomenon"--a strange manifestation, occurring in an atmosphere of a cultural vacuum and ideological conformism and nurtured equally by an idealistic nostalgia for the past and by quite material considerations for the future, which would be impossible in a normal society.

Glazunov's name was first thundered in Moscow, in the Central Building of Art Workers, when an exhibition was opened of this quite unknown painter, who at the time was still a student at the Institute imeni Repin of the Academy of Arts in Leningrad. The halls of this building, jammed with enthusiastic crowds displayed his illustrations for Dostoyevskiy, landscapes, figure compositions... It was mostly drawings and to a lesser degree paintings. A certain freedom of dealing with form was for those times unusual, and all this initially seemed striking and original. But only at first glance. For one quickly gets the feeling in the process of examining these things that there is something familiar, that through the external garishness of form there begin to show long familiar (principally from reproductions found in old journals) images. Thus, the theme of his graphic series "The Leningrad Blockade" would appear to be something experienced in the life of the artist, but it is difficult to find in his artistic embodiment something reminiscent of an individual approach, an individual intonation by the author. The pedaled play of contrasts, the striking stroke, the heightened expression of the emaciated faces of children and old women--all this to the smallest detail reminded one of individual sheets taken from "The Weavers' Uprising" by Kathe Kollwitz, done in 1897. Another group of Glazunov's early works is also connected with a personal theme--the untoward side of Leningrad (or Petersburg): dense masses of houses, graphic patterns of cobblestones in the light of white nights, reflections in canals

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and man--small and lonely in this ghost-city, octopus-city, poem-city. All this would have been very good if it had not been depicted 50 years before Glazunov by such artists as Dobuzhinskiy, A. Benoit, Lancere... In some cases the resemblance to the originals was so close that the artist could be suspected of plagiarism.

If we were to speak of the stylistic sources of Glazunov's work, they would be first found in the work of the "World of Art," a movement arising in Russia toward the end of the last century as a reaction to the national seclusion and esthetic conservatism of the Wanderers [peredvizhniki] and having for its purpose "throwing bridges from Russia to Europe." There can be no mention of a "Russian idea" in Glazunov's early work: the consciousness of that generation was still aware of the bacchanalia of Stalinist patriotism and the image of "Russia as the motherland of elephants." The public would not have taken to such ideas. Let us remember that in those times the painters of the "World of Art" were considered as representatives of "reactionary Western modernism" and their works had already been gathering dust in museum storerooms, hidden even from specialists. It is therefore not surprising that the public greeted the imitation of these examples as the birth of a new art. It is namely that this, unknown by anyone as a sanctioned, exhibit served as the basis for the legend of Glazunov as an innovative painter, an oppositionist and unrecognized genius.

The Soviet artistic administration reacted to the exhibit correspondingly, but not too severely: he was accused of modernism and was given a grade of three [passing mark] on his final examination. But Il'ya Glazunov's star did not set.

At the outset of 1963, shortly after Khrushchev's program at the Moscow Manege of Young Artists-Nonconformists, which set from that time on the bugbear of Western modernism (the world masters [miriskusniki] had been by that time, albeit posthumously, but nonetheless partially rehabilitated), Glazunov showed up in Italy, where he opened his own large and personal exhibit. In his interviews with the Western press, Glazunov stated that he was not a proponent of modernism, moreover, he opposed its lack of spirituality and at the same time was contending against Stalinist naturalism for the rebirth of truly national, Russian cultural values. Glazunov had chosen a very successful time for such enunciations: the leftist and pro-Soviet press picked up his statements, which made it possible to give the impression that in the Soviet Union regular discussions were going on on questions of art within the framework of free exchange of opinion and that dissident artists were in no way being suppressed in their rights--they could even travel abroad and set up there their own exhibitions. The legend of Glazunov as an oppositionist became popular even in Western leftist circles.

But through a very strange combination of circumstances, a year later (in July 1964) a tremendous personal exhibit of Il'ya Glazunov opened in Moscow's Manege, where only a short while back Khrushchev had covered with

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spittle R. Fal'k, E. Neizvestnyy and other modernists--old and young. The occasion was unprecedented: even the biggest socialist realists had not been granted such an honor, including Glazunov's teacher--the then president of the USSR Academy of Arts B. Ioganson. This exhibit differed from the preceding one, but its content was also extraordinary. At the Manege, in the center of Soviet official presentation [ofitsioz], there peered from the walls stylized faces of saints, church cupolas, covered with gold leaf, glittered, the head of the murdered Tsarevich Dmitriy reigned in space. But the highlight of the exhibit was to be found in the large, strikingly depicted portraits: elegant ladies with slightly elongated proportions and exaggeratedly large eyes, occupying almost half the side of the face, affected the imagination of the viewers with the daring of the manner of painting and external spirituality. The eyes especially, appearing almost without change in portrait after portrait, produced an almost hypnotic effect through their multiplicity. Another group of Glazunov's works was connected with the historical theme, the theme of motherland, people, patriotism: ancient Russian heroes, princes, warriors, boyars, Tatars... And while the author here did not manage to be without pictorial excesses and elements of church props, these works strangely reminded one of the jingoistic patriotism found on the canvases of Stalin's time, promoting greatness, power and priority of the socialist motherland in all spheres of human activity. Here works were hanging dealing with completely orthodox themes--tribute to officialdom (such as Lenin in exile or komsomols at a construction project--I no longer can recall).

After three days, the exhibit was closed down. Indignant viewers arranged a sit-down strike at the Manege building. On whose instructions this strange exhibit was opened and who ordered to close it ahead of time remain in the realm of the unknown.<sup>3</sup> In any case, Glazunov's reputation as a painter, on the one hand, hounded and, on the other, great--was decisively enhanced. Then after a year, perhaps two, following a long resistance of the relatively liberal, then Moscow branch of the Artists Union, he was accepted as a member of this organization.

About this time, Glazunov matured as an artist. Some time in 1962-63 his "Russian theme" appeared; and since then his creative personality became defined and it has not changed even up to the middle of the 70's. All the rather copious artistic productions made by him in this period may be arbitrarily broken down into several groups.

*/The continuing Petersburg theme/.\** It is sometimes enriched by Roman bridges or French castles; occasionally the view of the city becomes a form of illustration. But neither graphic style nor the emotional imagery of the plates of Glazunov show change because of this. This pattern for him continues to be Dobuzhinskiy and other artists of the World of Art, to whose vision Glazunov fails to add a grain of anything new, while lagging significantly behind them in mastery.

\* Text enclosed in slash lines is in italics.

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/Portraits/. Their range is tremendous: from Sergey Mikhalkov to Federico Fellini and from the celebrated kolkhoz farmer Pelageya Kovrova to Maria Kazares. Vladimir Osipov in his enthusiastic article on Glazunov tells how he did portraits of Italian cinema stars at the time of the Moscow cinema festival of 1961: "The Europeans were definitely overcome as soon as Il'ya began to paint. In two hours, four portraits were completed. Gina's portrait was done in 20 minutes. Astonished, they invited him to Italy."<sup>4</sup> Actually, the ability to render quickly a portrait likeness and include it in this or that esthetic stereotype (lyric, dramatic, salon or festive) is characteristic of Glazunov's astute brushwork. But there was no particular reason for the Europeans to be so astonished. Every evening in London in Trafalgar Square (in Montmartre in Paris, Spanish Square in Rome...) painters bring out their easels and invite passersby to have their portraits made in a few minutes. Of course, motion-picture stars do not come here, which is a pity: it would have proved to be cheaper, and the effect would have been the same.

/Illustrations/. They frequently serve as a camouflage for Glazunov, which provides him with the possibility of passing through censorship the semiformal ecclesiastic entourage. It would be very difficult to weed them out of the general corpus of his works, because the descriptive illustrative character is the main characteristic of the artist, being manifested in everything emanating from his brush or pen. But the illustrations of Russian classics display still another trait of Glazunov: the absence of an individual artistic vision, the stamp of awareness of the generalized clichés of Russian and Soviet realistic graphics. It is true that there are sometimes added to these clichés "audacious" borrowings from the arsenal of Soviet cinematography: USSR People's Artist B. Cherkasov in the role of Ivan the Terrible in the second part of the Eisenstein film (illustration for A.K. Tolstoy's novel "Prince Serebryanny," 1969), the artist Yakovlev (a 1956 illustration for Dostoyevskiy's "Idiot") and so on.

/Russia, more accurately--Rus'/. Since 1963 this theme has become the chief one for Glazunov; its treatment determines in the final analysis the character of that which could be called the "phenomenon of Glazunov." One must give one's due to Glazunov: he was the first artist of his generation to understand the attractive force for the heart of the Russian individual of this theme, which had been neglected since the times of the pompous historical compositions of the Stalin prize winners, who somewhat shifted the axis of its content from state patriotism in the direction of Orthodox national traits and who was able to bring them into the halls of official exhibition buildings (incidentally, it would appear that so far he is the only one to make use of this privilege). All this, possibly, allows one to speak of Glazunov as a Russian patriot, but patriotism by itself, just like any other civic virtue, does not make an artist of a person. To be such, it is necessary first of all to find one's own form and style, expressing a non-banal attitude (provided it exists). But the capacity to create a new form is not among Glazunov's talents. The stylistic range in which he resolves the "Russian theme" is rather broad but does not exceed

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ready-made patterns and forms. Here is the soft lyricism of early Nesterov and Kustodiyev with their realistic birches, expanses, secluded monasteries, religious pilgrims and the cupolas of churches (in the case of Glazunov, all this is transformed either into a realistic etude or into an ingratiating allegory), or a Roerichlike almost ornamental stylization, or the monumental iconic character of Pavel Korin. The entire range of his works could be included under what is called "kitsch" in the West--a product intended for mass consumption, which is lower in taste than any existing cultural standards or simply not considered as such (something like the very old bazar rugs with swans and beautiful maidens on them). A typical example: the series "Russian beauties" by Glazunov--in carefully executed pearls and kokoshniks gilded and silver-plated, against the background of cupolas, towers and icons. Kitsch elements can be found also in many of the historical and religious canvases of the artist. They are to be distinguished from the stylization of the usual (say, Kustodiyev) type in terms of the meaningfulness and persuasion of the author in the genuine beauty of his models (or materials--gold, pearls, silver), when when put on canvas are sufficient to make of it a work of art. Incidentally, in this case one could entertain a doubt about Glazunov's seriousness; these are more likely exotic fabrications for foreigners of some demand on the Western market together with bast sandals, samovars and balalaikas.

/Finally--Soviet style work/. With it, Glazunov, like some perfectly official Soviet poets, balances his esthetic opposition. "At the very beginning of his creative career, Glazunov turned to the Lenin theme. As a student, he painted a work 'The Return of V.I. Lenin to Petrograd. A portrait of V.I. Lenin by Glazunov is to be found in the State Museum of the Revolution. However, even today, the artist continues to work on the image of the leader, trying to embody in the portrait all the diversity of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's genius." From time to time, he goes on creative trips --to Central-Asian kolkhozes, to the construction of a hydroelectric power station--and, simultaneously with the other-world faces of Sergey Radonezhskiy and Tsarevich Dimitriy, creates galleries of fully socialist-realist images of outstanding cottongrowers and electric welders. In 1967, Glazunov went to North Vietnam as a correspondent for KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA. His travel sketches and easel works are no better nor no worse than the numerous comparable series by Goryayev, Ossovskiy and others.

Quite possibly, the entire corpus of works by Glazunov executed up to the middle of the 70's can be included in this range of themes, images and stylistic devices.

A curious detail exists in Glazunov's breathtaking career--from the three in his graduation examination to the portraitist of Brezhnev and the Swedish king. A lot has been written about him in the Soviet press, and most of it has been in an enthusiastic and encouraging rather than in a critical tone. He has been written up by VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA and the magazine OGONEK, by engineers, physicists, writers and generals. But not a single specialized journal--be it the official ISKUSSTVO or the more liberal TVORCHESTVO

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--has had a serious art critic mention his name in a positive context. The same applies to Glazunov's foreign judges, to which his defenders like to refer. Here Indira Gandhi, and Italian cinema stars, and the ruler of Laos, and the wives of various premiers, chancellors, presidents... of persons associated with art, mention is only to be found in Paolo Ricci, who published a monograph on him in Italy, and a friend of Glazunov the late Alfaro Sikeiros--a fiery fighter for freedom, who in the last years of his life had the idea of decorating the Berlin wall with frescos. In this instance it is not a matter of professional jealousy or a conspiracy of silence, as is asserted by those same partisans of the painter. It is simply that the "value" of his work elicits no doubt to a professional specialist. This applies to the ability acquired in commissions (it is of no importance whether they come from the Ministry of Culture or from diplomatic ladies), to the craftsman making able use of cliches, imitating styles that are not familiar to the broad public and playing on themes that are not encouraged at a given moment by the Soviet authorities. If what he has created requires some kind of designation, then that designation would be socialist realism, but one that is thickly encrusted with the salon. The salon has always been popular with the broad public. It is also in demand in the West. The worth here is in Glazunov's national kitsches and stylizations utilizing old Russian images that are little known to the Western public. Someone has even called him a successor of Andrey Rublev.

Three years ago, Glazunov decided to expand the span of his creative work. He was drawn to the solution of world problems--to canvases that were epic, ideological and even philosophical. Last year he brought to the FRG (or--according to other information--he made it there and brought it back) a tremendous--3 by 6 meters--canvas entitled "The Mystery of the 20th Century," including among its personages Lenin, Nicholas II, Trotskiy, Stalin, Mao, Christ, Solzhenitsyn, Churchill, Einstein and many others. On arriving in Moscow, Glazunov announced that he would refuse to have a personal exhibit if it did not include his new chef d'oeuvre--the fruit of ten years of thinking. A part of the foreign press assessed this as a new persecution of the talented painter, skeptics also could not understand why Glazunov found a need for this new hullabaloo around his name and to what degree of his professional career it would take him. But the fog soon cleared up: Glazunov came up with a new statement in which he accused the Western press of distorting his words and shortly, on 2 July 1978, the exhibit of his works opened with pomp in Moscow (and again in the Manege!).

"The Mystery of the 20th Century" was naturally absent from it. But to make up for it, it would seem, the central place was occupied by his canvas "The Return of the Prodigal Son." A comparison of these two works could throw light on the development of the "Russian idea" in the form in which it has been interpreted in the most recent stage of Glazunov's work.

As written by Glazunov's adherents, in "The Mystery of the 20th Century," "the artist draws back the curtain and, as it were, invites the viewer to look at the world in which he has lived and still lives."<sup>6</sup> This world is

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immersed in an Apocalyptic gloom in which idols of Western civilization hold sway (Albert Einstein is openly showing his tongue to the public, Charlie Chaplin is cavorting on the stage), political demagogues, false prophets, material modernists... enemies of the people... hirelings of atheism... haters of Russia. When you attempt to analyze the content of this picture, you inevitably are sucked into the murk of Soviet ideological clichés and hysterical slogans, where only certain aspects are presented, where only certain words are replaced by others without the meaning being changed.

In "The Return of the Prodigal Son," the emphasis is on the positive ideal. The foreground contains fat pigs in mud, a modern-day skyscraper and a table conveyor given in compressed perspective on which the body of a man is stretched out in the midst of the remains of a banquet (a detail borrowed from the fresco of Sikeiros). This is that same contemporary world, spiritually corrupt and wallowing in brutality. In the background--crooked huts and church cupolas. And in the center--a seminaked man in jeans is clinging to the arm of the Good Shepherd in the streaming cloak of St. George the Victorious. Behind them--in the upper left corner of the picture--the severe faces of figures of Russian state, science and literature are frozen in hieratic immobility. It would be possible to speak of the "iconic character" of such compositions of Glazunov only in the sense of putting in iconic form certain ideas and personages, which, incidentally, is a persistent tradition of Soviet art that is to be found in all the 60 years of its development; only in place of the faces of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, we are shown new saints: Petr I, Sergey Radonezhskiy, Suvorov, Pushkin, Yesenin descending like light from Grace in atonement of sins and in the salvation of our thoroughly rotten civilization.

The meaning of these ideological allegories is rather transparent. The Moscow priest Dmitriy Dudko expressed a universal enthusiasm for the last exhibition, reiterating: "Here is to be found the Russian spirit, here you can smell Russia." Glazunov's Russia does indeed smell, but the odor is bad: with hate toward everything foreign and with chauvinistic intoxication, the Stalin-Prize winners A. Gerasimov, Avilov, Bubnov... sinking into oblivion: here indeed contemporary Russia is frothing and seething, falling from the complex of social inferiority into the sin of national pride. This, possibly, constitutes the "phenomenon of Glazunov"--to attribute as an inveterate instinct all the "sins of our motherland eternal" to spies, saboteurs, Trotskiyists, Jews and--now--to the plagues and ills of Western civilization eating away at the body of Holy Russia. But these sides of the "phenomenon of Glazunov" are outside the province of artistic examination and sphere of competence of the author of this article.

If this phenomenon be considered in the context of development of Russian artistic culture, it would then come completely within the design of its evolution: cycles of disconnection of Russian culture, its turning to the West, its understanding of itself as a part of the European whole, alternate with cycles of it turning within, its opposition to all other human

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culture. Thus, in the middle of the last century, the Wanderers reverted Russian art to national problems; the subsequent generation--the next generation--the painters of the "World of Art" (Glazunov's first teachers)--turned their eyes to the West, and this process eventually led to the unrestrained internationalism of the Russian avant garde of the 10's and 20's; next, the Stalinist socialist realists blocked off the country with the Chinese Wall and the Iron Curtain from any and all foreign influence; finally, shoots of free creativity began to emerge on the scorched earth of Russian culture, expanding in the last 20 years into a powerful movement of unofficial art. Representatives of the latter have tried to restore the sundered ties and to draw upon the whole depository of world culture. Glazunov's opposition is directed not so much against an already sufficiently decrepit socialist naturalism as against those tendencies in the direction of liberation of the new culture taking shape in Russia. "While his colleagues of the brush and confreres of the pen, in aspiring to the heights of contemporaneity," were becoming drunk on Kafka and were being overcome with the daubings of the unfettered Picasso, who had taken the bit between his teeth in his flight from nationalism, Il'ya Glazunov spoke of Russia and made people listen."<sup>8</sup> This is how another partisan of the "Russian idea," V. Osipov, perceived Glazunov's work; in approximately the same way--and this is what constitutes the ominous paradox of the contemporary Russian situation--it is even accepted by Soviet official circles, which had condemned Vladimir Osipov to 8 years of camps but given the green light to the production of Il'ya Glazunov. But Glazunov is counting on this opposition to unofficial culture. He proposes a return from the cosmopolitical homelessness of Western culture to the people, to the blood, to the soil; from its formalistic affectations to plain language, which is understandable to the broad popular masses, shifting the old slogans of the Stalinist times in the course of things into a new key. In this lies the explanation (provided one keeps in view the exclusively artistic of this problem) for his official support and the inflation of his reputation.

Nationality, love of everything Russian, nationalism... This has been excellently described by Nadezhda Yakovlevna Mandel'shtam: "'The World of Art' and 'Jack of Diamonds' ['Bubnovyy valet'] in painting were a time of the gathering together of forces, a period of learning from the West, when many capable people mastered the elementary skills of the noble craft, decorating them with elements of primitive Russicism and wretched nationalistic tendencies, which never find their way to the forefront during a time of real flourishing of painting. Cezanne never concerned himself with adding to his work specifically French traits. Both the Russian icon and Rublev's work have traits of great European traditions through which the soil and man of old Rus' break through. Russian tradition and nationalism constitute a basic layer of consciousness. When it emerges into the foreground, obscuring the foundation, it is a symptom of sickness rather than health, of shallowness rather than depth."<sup>9</sup>

In the 20th century, the movement for the creation of a national original culture has usually been accompanied by a struggle for political

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self-determination of dependent, backward, poorly-developed countries. Striving for independence, these peoples and countries oppose the grown-decrepit culture of the Western (or American) persuasion with healthy national forces and inexhaustible potentials rooted in ancient tradition that at one time had been broken away from and are turning from contemporary modernism to idols, pyramids, pharaohs and icons. Such a movement, which gets its energy from the transient slogans of political struggle, may provide a brief splash but, as a rule, soon becomes a peripheral phenomenon not just for world culture but even for the art of these very countries, because contemporary art as a whole in its "heedless flight from national art" turns to these same roots, making them an integral part of itself (recall the "African period" of Picasso's work or the icon's influence on Matisse). Such a precipitous ascent and just as rapid a descent, for example, was experienced by the Mexican school of monumental painting in the beginning of the 20's, the "Indigenous" movement in Brazil and several other countries of Latin America. In our days, comparable movements have been observed among so-called progressive painters of the new Arab and African states, coming up like mushrooms after a rain.

With this historical informational note, we end the article on the "phenomenon of Glazunov," which it might have been better not to have started at all.

## FOOTNOTES

1. NEWSWEEK, Jun 6, 1977, p 10.
2. See concerning this, for example: B. Mikhaylov, "The Art of Agitprop," VESTNIK RUSSKOGO KHRISTIANSKOGO DVIZHENIYA, No 125, 2, 1978, pp 214-231.
3. To an opinion I once uttered (but not for the press) to the effect that this exhibition (like the preceding one) had been approved by some higher powers located outside the country's artistic life, I was rebutted with the stern rebuke: "One would have to think that these are powers in whose existence Golomshtok does not believe; the power of Russian national self-consciousness, the power of the painter will be this self-consciousness in the souls of broad spheres of the public not well conversant in matters of art; the eternal power of Russia; ("Russkaya idea ili KGB?" [Russian Idea or the KGB?], a publication of the journal CHASOVOY, p 67). Does the editor of CHASOVOY really think that exhibitions in the USSR are opened by the will of the "broad public" in whom national self-consciousness has awakened? Or do they sacrosanctly believe in the existence in the Soviet upper crust of certain liberal protectors of the movement of spiritual rebirth and Orthodoxy? It is surprising how persistent among partisans of the "Russian idea" is the belief in the "good Russian tsar," even of a Soviet one.
4. The journal VECHE, No 6. Cited according to ARKHIV SAMIZDATA, No 1599, p 166.

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5. I. Yazykova, "Il'ya Glazunov." Moscow, izdatel'stvo "izobrazitel'noye iskusstvo", 1973. (In this strange monograph, filled with descriptions of the pictures of Glazunov and a senseless selection of Soviet stamps, the pages for some reason or other are not numbered.
6. "Russkaya ideya ili KGB", op cit, p 80.
7. RUSSKAYA MYSL', 24 Aug 1978.
8. ARKHIV SAMIZDATA, No 1599, p 161.
9. N. Mandel'shtam, "Vtoraya kniga" [Second Book], YMCA Press, 1972, p 44.

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Golomshtok, Igor' Naumovich--was born in 1929. Graduated from the department of history of arts of Moscow University. Worked as senior scientific association at the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow. Taught at Moscow State University, worked for the All-Union Scientific-Research Institute of Technical Esthetics. Was a member of the Soviet Artists Union. Author of a number of books and monographs on questions, history and theory of West-European art. Has resided in England since 1972.

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NATIONAL

NATIONAL PRIDE, UNITY OF SOVIET PEOPLES DESCRIBED

Moscow DRUZHBA NARODOV in Russian No 12, 1979 pp 175-182

[Article by Aleksandr Gavrilov: "A New World of Unity"]

[Excerpts] A love for their fellow man and internationalism are integral characteristics of the Soviet peoples. The air that we breathe and all socialist reality are filled with these characteristics. The Soviet man is raised from childhood in a spirit of friendship with other peoples. The ideas of the proletarian internationalism and the friendship of peoples have become an important social factor and a powerful moving force for the development of Soviet society. The close cooperation of peoples, which was born out of the Great October socialist revolution, forged in the fire of the civil war and World War II and which achieved thorough development during the construction of socialism, was one of the most important prerequisites for the building of a developed socialist society and for the successful building of communism in the Soviet Union.

The strength and vitality of the brotherly close cooperation of the peoples of the USSR are inherent to a socialist public order, where a Leninist national policy is subsequently being pursued. The victory of socialism in the USSR destroyed oppression and all forms of national oppression, created objective conditions for overcoming hostility and alienation between nationalities, and united workers of various nationalities. "The old world, the world of national oppression, national squabbling or national isolation," wrote V. I. Lenin, "is contrasted by the workers with the new world of unity of the workers of all nations, in which there is no room for privilege or for any oppression of man by man."

V. I. Lenin creatively developed the basic ideas of K. Marx and F. Engels, created an ordered study of the national problem, and devised a national program and Party policy, which were aimed at unifying the workers of all Soviet nationalities into a united revolutionary force. The Great October Socialist Revolution, won under the banner of proletarian internationalism, displayed to the entire world an example for the subsequent implementation of the Leninist program for solving the national problem in organic unity with carrying out fundamental socialist reforms in the economy, politics,

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culture, and in all other spheres of public life. V. I. Lenin also foresaw that the most important position for the Party to take concerning the right of nations to self determination was made a reality not by alienating peoples but by bringing them closer together and joining them together to struggle for the building of a new society.

One of the primary results of the October Revolution was that it involved all peoples in the pursuit of social progress. The next stage of development was the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The principles of proletarian internationalism in the political, national-governmental, economic and cultural construction were the realistic practice of the Soviet government. Questions concerning Soviet national-governmental arrangements were solved in the spirit of Leninist principles of socialist federalism, which provides a truly democratic combining of common interests of the multinational USSR and the interests of the republics comprising the USSR, each republic of which is an equal and sovereign state. The Soviet Union personifies the state unity of its people and joins together all nations and peoples for the joint building of communism. The USSR has become the highest form of socialist cooperation between peoples, which organically combines the mutual interests of all Soviet people with the specific peculiarities of each nation and nationality.

The flourishing and rapprochement of nations and nationalities are interconnected and interconditional. Their economic basis is the socialist method of production; their political basis is the Soviet system of government; and their ideological basis is Marxism-Leninism.

The force cementing the unity of Soviet peoples, which was formed following the victory of the October Revolution, was the working class which is international in point of view and composition; the leadership of the Communist Party was the pledge of this unity and joining together in the struggle for socialism. The subsequent accomplishment of the principles of proletarian internationalism in the organizational building and work of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was of decisive importance for the development of an unifying movement of Soviet peoples and their achieving of actual equality, flourishing and the coming together of the nations and nationalities of the USSR.

In creating a new kind of Party V. I. Lenin relied upon the fact that "all economic and political conditions in Russia require absolutely of social democracy the conducting of the merging of workers of all nationalities in all proletarian organizations without exception (political, professional, cooperative, educational, etc., etc.). Neither the federation in the Party structure nor the formation of national social-democrat groups, but the unity of proletariats of all nations of a given location with the conducting of propaganda and agitation in all languages of the local proletariat, with the joint struggle of the workers of all nations against all national privileges, with the autonomy of local and oblast Party organizations." Elsewhere he wrote, "We are particularly fond of the slogan for unity of all and every organization of workers of all nationalities, which was put to a practical test in our social democratic organization."

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The intolerance of V. I. Lenin and his followers toward separatism and federalism of various nationalistic groupings and their stubborn and lengthy struggle against nationalism, right and "left" revisionism and opportunism led to the victory of the principles of proletarian internationalism in the building of the Party. This, in turn, was an important condition for carrying out the Party's avanguard role in the revolution, in defending its achievements, in establishing brotherly cooperation between the peoples of the multinational Soviet state, and in strengthening the solidarity with all vanguards of the world communist movement.

Today the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which V. I. Lenin created and fostered, is the living embodiment of internationalism: within its ranks are the finest sons and daughters of all nations and peoples of the USSR. Oles Gonchar, a delegate to the 25th CPSU Congress and Ukrainian writer, with great pride for our Party and people characterizes the atmosphere that prevailed in the Great Kremlin Palace during the congress: "A sovereign man of labor, the Leninist friendship of the peoples of our nation, the spiritual growth of personality, the reality of new, socialist relations between people - this reality is here in this auditorium. I see the sons and daughters of our multinational Fatherland, who have come from various republics of the Soviet Union; I see the workers, who have won the respect of the Party and the people through their responsible labor. I recognize among them in the glitter of medals: the miner and farmer, the poet and cosmonaut; I recognize those I have met on the front roads and those modest knights of labor whose bravery was praised in the blinding steppes of the Kherson campaign during the heated battle for the Ukrainian billion."

All work of the 25th CPSU Congress demonstrated the steadfast loyalty of Lenin's Party to the principles of socialist internationalism, which received further development at the congress. From the rostrum of the Party forum sounded the words that the defense of proletarian internationalism is the sacred obligation of every Marxist-Leninist. Firm resolve was confirmed to do everything necessary in the future to strengthen the positions of socialism in the world arena, to expand ties with the brotherly parties, and to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement. A program was outlined for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation, which was aimed at bridling the forces of war and aggression, for ensuring the rights of people to freedom, independence and social progress. In the declaration "Freedom to the prisoners of imperialism and reaction", which was passed by the Congress, it states: "The CPSU, the peoples of the USSR will in the future steadfastly adhere to the Leninist traditions of effective solidarity with their comrades-in-arms in the struggle for the great and noble goals and will always be true to the cause of proletarian internationalism." The monument, which will be erected in accordance with a decision of the Party in Moscow in memory of the heroes of the international communist and workers' movement who fell at the hands of the class enemy, will be a symbol of the unchanged loyalty of the Party to the great cause of proletarian internationalism.

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L. I. Brezhnev has said that the "Party unites leading representatives of all nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union. It is the clear embodiment of the militant comradeship and friendship of the workers of the USSR and the inviolable unity of the entire Soviet people. All of our communists, regardless of the nationality to which they belong, are members of a unified Leninist party. They have the same rights and obligations and are equally responsible for the fate of their country."

The internationalism of our way of life is manifest primarily in the self-sacrificing labor of the Soviet people. The combined creative efforts of millions have led to the energetic and thorough development of all republics. The Ukraine, Belorussian, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have become republics with a well-developed industry and a large-scale mechanized agriculture. Former feudal and semi-feudal outlying districts of czarist Russia, such as Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghiz, Tadzhikistan and Turkmenia, have flourished. In all union republics industry is providing more than half, and in some more than two thirds of gross public income.

All nations and peoples of the USSR recognize the outstanding role of the Russian people in accomplishing these remarkable socialist reforms. The revolutionary energy, self sacrifice, industry and profound internationalism of the Russian people have rightfully won the sincere respect of all peoples of the Soviet Union.

As early as 1918 V. I. Lenin signed a Decree concerning the organization of irrigation work in Turkestan. The historical document marked the beginning of radical reform in the sometimes backward national outlying districts, such as Middle Asia and Kazakhstan were. The young Soviet republic, in spite of incredible difficulties, then allocated 50 million rubles for irrigation work. Thus with the very first steps of Soviet power the Leninist national policy became a reality; brotherly assistance of Russia's working class was extended to the workers of Turkestan.

During the First Five-Year Plan a remarkable form of mutual assistance and economic cooperation of the union republics came into being: the production and technical leadership of individual enterprises, industrial cities, regions and oblasts of the RSFSR over the developing sectors of industry or individual cities and regions of Middle Asia, Kazakhstan and the Trans-Caucasian republics. Workers from Moscow and Leningrad became some of the first bosses in the nation. Plants in these cities helped to assemble the equipment for the new industrial projects in various republics. The bosses took orders for tools and technical servicing; they sent technical documentation; and they sent workers and engineering and technical specialists from their plants on detached duty. Following the lead of those from Moscow and Leningrad, workers from the Donetsk Basin, Krivoy Rog, the Urals, Baku and other industrial centers took the leadership over Kazakhstan and the republics of Middle Asia.

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Today, following the complete and decisive victory of socialism and the creation in the USSR of a developed socialist society, all Soviet republics have achieved highly developed production forces. Each of the republics has modern industry and a large-scale mechanized agriculture and is making an increasing contribution to the creation of the material and technical base of communism. The unity mutual assistance of the peoples, who are led by the Leninist Party, have unprecedently hastened the social and economic progress of the republics. All of them have entered the seventh decade of Soviet power with a highly developed economy and culture. It is known that the actual equalizing of the levels of development of the various republics was achieved due to the particularly rapid rise of those republics that were previously the backward outlying districts of czarist Russia. Whereas the total of the USSR's industrial production increased during the years of Soviet power by 145 times as compared with before the revolution, in Kazakhstan, for example, there was a 223-fold increase, and in Moldavia a 250-fold increase and in Armenia and Kirghiz better than a 300-fold increase. Along with the gigantic growth in production forces, the spiritual cast of mind of the people has changed beyond recognition; in their consciousness and way of life internationalism is firmly entrenched; the enriched national cultures, which comprise a unified Soviet socialist culture, have mutually flourished.

In these conditions the economic cooperation of the peoples of the USSR has acquired a clearly expressed form of socialist combined labor based on the division of labor with consideration given to the rational use of production forces, natural riches and labor resources of the Soviet republics on an all-union scale. While accomplishing economic policy at the present stage, the CPSU relies upon the unity of the all-union and nationalist interests; what is more all-union interests are the determining factor in solving practical matters. For example, when building a large project consideration is given to its value not only for that region, but also for strengthening international ties and strengthening the economic and defense posture of the Fatherland.

In developing the sectors of the economy with consideration of natural riches, the socialist nations [i.e., groups of nationalities] make their contribution to the all-union economy, which thousands of visible and invisible threads join together into a unified national economic mechanism. The output of any large enterprises is the fruit of the collective labor of peoples of various nationalities, who live in different regions of the country; as a consequence, the interests and needs of the Soviet people are closely interwoven.

"Druzhba", as the gigantic oil pipeline is called, passes through many oblasts of the RSFSR, the Ukraine and Belorussia. Representatives of 50 Soviet nationalities equipped the Bratskaya hydroelectric power station, which is the largest in the world. Workers representing more than 70 nationalities are now working on the construction of the KamAZ [Kama Truck Plant]; almost the entire nation worked on the planning. Representatives from all republics are working on the Baykal-Amur Mainline.

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Harmonious joint work is a remarkable school for the international education of workers. The steady growth of the economy, the assimilation of new industrial and agricultural regions of the Soviet Union leads to the internationalization of the composition of population in the republics, krais, and oblasts. The living embodiment of the Leninist national policy and the ideas of socialist internationalism is the Azerbaijan city of Sumgait, which the people call Komsomolsk-on-the-Caspian Sea. Due to the friendship, mutual assistance and joint labor of the Soviet people, the city in just over the quarter century of its existences has become a large industrial and cultural center of the republic with a population greater than 160,000. Representatives of 70 nations and peoples live and work here.

The internationalism of the Soviet people is particularly graphically manifest in socialist competition. Contracts for socialist competition are being made between entire collectives, oblasts and republics. Competition is underway between the Minsk automobile workers and workers engaged in similar work in Moscow, Kremenchug, Lithuania and Belorussia, the Ukraine and Moldavia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, Armenia and the Turkmen.

The Tenth Five-Year Plan calls for a vigorous rise in the national economy of the USSR and overall and in each republic. To achieve these goals it is necessary to skillfully combine republic national economic interests with all-union interests and to wage decisive battle against all manifestations of regionalism. It goes without saying that it is necessary to fulfill plans for interrepublic cooperative deliveries and to manufacture a product of quality on a timely basis for the other republics and for foreign governments.

The formation and development of the international features of the character of the Soviet people are influenced by the dissemination of the achievements of culture and aesthetic values, by strengthening the ties of national cultures. Spiritual life in the republics is becoming ever richer. Today they have a highly developed system of higher and middle education, large scientific centers, an extensive network of cultural and education institutions. The mutual influence and flourishing of national cultures are promoted by the growth in numbers of books being published, the development of radio and television broadcasts in the languages of the peoples of the USSR, the exchange of artistic and scientific and technical values, as well as translations of artistic compositions, national days of literature and art, science and technology, film festivals, art exhibitions and tours of leading theater groups and musical ensembles.

In the socialist society, where a new historical community - the Soviet people - has come into being, the feeling of patriotism exceeds the bounds prescribed by national belonging and is filled with new meaning. L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in his speech concerning the fiftieth anniversary of the Soviet Union that "Now after 50 years since the creation of the USSR, we can with complete justification speak of the greater understanding, of the great patriotic feeling of all our people, of the all-national pride of the Soviet man."

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The all-national pride of the Soviet man has absorbed all the best that has been created by labor and courage and the creative genius of millions of Soviet people of various nationalities. Soviet all-national pride has nothing in common with regionalism or with national prejudices and national conceit, which F. Engels considered in the final analysis to be egoism on a large scale. Soviet all-national pride is far removed from national nihilism, bourgeois cosmopolitanism and loss of feeling for the Fatherland and from the hushing or softening of class contradictions in the history of peoples, the idealization of the patriarchal past and attempts to minimize the importance of the brotherly mutual assistance of the socialist nations. The all-national pride of the Soviet people and national pride work closely together, while strengthening the creative activity of the builders of communism.

Andriyan Nikolayev, the pilot and cosmonaut, writes, "We are all one family, one people. I do not need to carry a handful of Chuvash soil with me; for me the soil near Moscow, where I now live, is just as dear. As long as I live I will consider the soil of Karelia, where I first entered my working life, as my own; as I will the soil of Kirghizia, where I first went aloft in an airplane; and the soil of Kazakhstan, from whence in the mighty roar of engines rockets have twice carried me into outer space.

"No matter where I am, I will always feel that I am a part of the great Soviet people, a tireless toiler, and a fighter for the highest and most humane ideals."

The Soviet people, the true patriots of their Fatherland, are at the same time patriots for the entire socialist cooperation and the world communist movement. In his speech at the 25th CPSU Congress, brigade leader of the purification mechanized brigade at the Nagornaya mine, Kemerovskaya Oblast, Hero of Socialist Labor, Ye. I. Drozdetskiy on behalf of Soviet workers said, "We march beside the working class and all of the world's workers. We know well that the international brotherhood of workers, our unity and solidarity will inevitably lead to the elimination of oppression and exploitation. Today at this high forum of communists I want to assure our brothers by class throughout the world that the Soviet working class, just as all our people, will until the end be faithful to the great cause of international unity, the struggle for freedom, socialism and for lasting peace on earth."

The internationalism of our people is reflected in the Party's foreign policy, which is directed at relaxing international tension and securing universal peace, the further joining together of socialist nations, at strengthening the unity of the communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces. The foreign policy pursued by the CPSU corresponds to the interests of the workers of all nations, who warmly endorse it. The thoughts and feelings of the revolutionary peoples of the world were expressed at the 25th CPSU Congress in the words of First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and Premier-Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba, Fidel Castro:

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"I do not speak on behalf of others, but I know that from the moment that the Soviet state was formed every struggling people, be they in Europe, Asia, Africa or Latin America, could, just as our people did, rely on the support and solidarity of Soviet communists. And everywhere where there are noble hearts and where there is a sense of justice and sensibility this will not be forgotten. Our people are proud of their relations with your great country. They see themselves as an example of the practice of internationalism, mutual understanding, respect and trust. In rendering important assistance to our people, the Soviet Union has never exacted any demands of us, has not made stipulations or told what we must do. Throughout the history of foreign relations, which for thousands of years were driven by egoism and force, there have never been such brotherly relations between a powerful nation and a small nation. Only socialism makes such relations between peoples possible."

The internationalism and patriotism of the Soviet people were fostered by all of our reality and the socialist style of life. The Communist Party devotes much attention to educating workers in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, to the correct understanding of such matters as the general and particular in the interrelationships between nationalities, the international and national, the class approach to evaluating the historical past of each national group and the irreconcilability towards manifestations of nationalism.

The thought of the brotherly unity of the peoples of our nation, of the primary source of our achievements, the thought that the successes of the national economy of each republic were brought about by the self-sacrificing work of the workers of hundreds of industrial enterprises from nearly all union republics, passes like a red thread through the collected compositions of L. I. Brezhnev, "In Lenin's Path". Heroes of various nationalities appear in the reminiscences "Malaya Zemlya", "Rebirth", and "Virgin Lands", which open the recently published volume 7 of the collected works.

The political line, which was approved by the Party at the 25th Congress, is aimed at developing the economy and culture, improving the material and cultural life of workers, and improving socialist democracy and securing the brotherly friendship of all national groups and peoples of our Fatherland, at strengthening the defense might of the Soviet Union and securing lasting peace and international security.

The Soviet Union devotedly emphasizes its steadfast desire to live in peace and friendship with all peoples of the earth. With great pride for the greatness of the Fatherland and a clear appeal to all peoples of the globe to strengthen the bonds of friendship, mutually beneficial cooperation and international security, L. I. Brezhnev, speaking at the Augustusburg Castle on 4 May 1978 (FRG), said, "Our country is great. It occupies two continents. Dozens of national groups and peoples inhabit it. It is a unified, friendly family. It is peace-loving and hard working people, generously endowed with talents and kindness. It does not hunger for what belongs to others. Its intentions are noble. It is prepared to live in peace and

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harmony with all peoples, including with the people of the Federal Republic of Germany."

The book "Virgin Lands [Tselina]" contains important observations on the internationalization of the national cultures of Soviet national groups and peoples and notes the leading role of the Russian national culture in this process: "Abay taught the Kazakhs not to shut themselves up and stagnate, but to enrich their creativity with the accomplishments of the Russian and other peoples. This is important for our time as well. Any national culture, which is isolated, inevitably loses the traits of all mankind. Unfortunately, everyone does not always understand this.

Socialism long ago proved that the more intensive the growth of each of the national republics, the more distinctive they manifest the process of internationalization. Kazakhstan, perhaps, is the clearest example of this. The Virgin Lands has made it without any exaggeration a "planet of a hundred languages". Kazakh culture has developed by incorporating the best of other national cultures. Is this bad or good? We, communists, reply that it is good, very good! For the most important question concerning national traditions and originality cannot be simplified and reduced only to ethnography and the study of mores: In Russia to izbas, round dances and kokoshniks and in Kazakhstan to yurtas and herds of horses."

The Party attaches enormous importance to the sublime mission of the creative intelligentsia, the noble role of artistic shape and word in strengthening and developing the friendship and brotherly cooperation of the peoples of our nation. The importance of this role is often emphasized by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, L. I. Brezhnev. Very noteworthy are the words directed to writers in the concluding passage of the reminiscences: "Such events are being created before our very eyes. Enormous masses of people are being moved; multi-national collectives are being formed; new families are being born; characters are being shaped; and the heroes of our time are being tempered. Bread in Kazakhstan has always been a delicacy, a thing of value. Even the mullahs of old said that "The Koran is a holy book, but one can step on the Koran if it is necessary to reach a crust of bread." And now that kray has bread. An entire way of life is changing; the people have a new psychology. How can the greatness and dramatism of what has taken place fail to excite the true artist? No one will understand us now or in the future if this epic is not clearly imprinted for history."

The multi-national Soviet nation is justifiably called a family of brotherly peoples. The people who live in its boundless expanses number more than a hundred national groups and peoples - the children of a single mother of the Fatherland. History has not known such spiritual kinship, trust and mutual assistance of peoples. The Soviet people protect this greatest achievement of socialist society like an apple of their eye.

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While ensuring the further development of the economic and spiritual power of the Soviet multi-national state and proceeding to new heights in the building of communism and improving the Soviet way of life, our people under the leadership of the Communist Party are thereby fulfilling their patriotic and international duty to all vanguards of the world communist, worker and national liberation movement and fulfilling their noble mission to secure friendship and solidarity with the peoples of the entire world.

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REGIONAL

GEORGIAN ROUNDTABLE ON NEW ECONOMIC MECHANISM

Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS KOMUNISTI in Georgian No 1, Jan 80 pp 43-59

[SAKARTVELOS KOMUNISTI roundtable discussion under rubric "Economic Problems of Developed Socialism": "Improve Planning, Perfect the Administrative Mechanism"]

[Text] From the editors: In July 1979 the CPSU CC passed a decree on further improvement of the economic mechanism and the tasks of party and state organs. Also adopted was the CPSU CC and Council of Ministers joint decree "Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Raising Production Effectiveness and Work Quality." These very important decrees are in complete accord with the requirements of developed socialism and are designed to accelerate scientific-technical progress, boost labor productivity, improve product quality, and on this basis ensure steady enhancement of the country's economy and the Soviet people's wellbeing. As L. I. Brezhnev remarked at the November CPSU CC Plenum, "These documents orient all administrative and planning activities toward achieving high end economic results and meeting growing social needs more fully." Naturally, the decrees confront our republic's party and economic organizations, scientific institutions, planning organs, and enterprises with new, vital, urgent tasks.

At a meeting of the Georgian party-economic aktiv held in December 1979, special attention was focused on the readiness of our enterprises and ministries to convert to the new system. "This matter is crucial," said E. A. Shevardnadze at the meeting, "because in many cases the state of planning-economic and financial work does not meet today's requirements, even the most rudimentary ones. Meanwhile, the scheduled

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transition to the radically new planning indicators and evaluation criteria constitutes a much more complex and difficult task."

Our journal has arranged a round table and invited well-known economists, representatives of party, economic, and planning organs and social organizations, and plant workers to talk frankly about the meaning of the decrees and ways and means to implement them, about the benefits which practical implementation of the decrees will give to our society.

V. Melkadze (Professor, Dr of Economic Sciences, Corresponding Member of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, Director of the Scientific-Research Institute of Economics and Planning of the National Economy): The building of a developed socialist society has been accompanied by profound qualitative changes in all spheres of social life, including economics.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan the Soviet people have systematically implemented measures designed to transform a developed socialist economy gradually into a communist economy. The party's strategy in the economic field is the basis of this course.

Our country has acquired unique experience in the planned administration of the national economy, but life and economic practice proceed.

The socialist economy is distinguished by exceptional dynamism, a fast pace of production, and structural changes. This in turn keeps giving rise to new problems never before encountered.

In order to cope with the new tasks, maintain a steady pace, and at the same time follow a systematic course of intensification it is essential at all times to ensure the proper proportion between the level of development of productive forces, production relations, and an effective economic mechanism.

An outstanding example of taking account of the particularities of the present stage of developed socialist society and the creative resolution of urgent economic and social tasks is seen in the well known CPSU CC and Council of Ministers decrees on improvement of the economic mechanism.

The economic mechanism encompasses the entire system of planning of the national economy, planning and accounting indicators, performance evaluation criteria, normative management, financial and credit relations, prices, the whole incentive system, the organizational structure of administration, and techniques and equipment. To its links we must also assign the objective economic laws and the various interests

associated with them. In short, the economic mechanism serves to implement the party's social-economic policy, create the material-technical base of a communist society, and map out the current and long-range tasks of the building of communism.

The purpose of today's meeting is to approach the current state of our republic's efforts to perfect the economic mechanism, to look for the practical bridge, so to speak, via which the party's economic strategy can be made a concrete, actual reality.

Before we began our discussion of measures to perfect the economic mechanism we probably should answer the question. What objective circumstances dictated the adoption of these decrees?

A. Guniya (Academician, Georgian Academy of Sciences, Director of the Georgian Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics and Law): In our opinion these historic documents represent a logical continuation of the October 1965 CPSU CC Plenum decree "Improving Planning and Strengthening the Economic Incentive of Industrial Production." In the almost 14 years that have passed since that decree, extremely important quantitative and qualitative changes have taken place in the USSR's economy. The scale of production and the country's economic and scientific-production potential have grown. Big achievements have been made in scientific-technical progress. Science has truly become a direct productive force in our developed socialist society. Both intrasector and intersector, interterritorial, and interstate economic and production ties have become broader, deeper, and more complex. The qualifications of production-technical personnel have risen appreciably. The quality indicators and scientific-technical level of production have risen. Compared with 1965, the Soviet Union's total industrial output in 1978 was 2.5 times greater (from 229.4 billion to 577.7 billion rubles). The volume of capital investments was 1.4 times greater in 1971-1975 compared to 1966-1967. The total gross social product reached 992.1 billion rubles in 1978, versus 420 billion in 1965--a 2.4-fold rise; the country's fixed capital (including livestock) rose by 2.6 times.

Fundamental quantitative and qualitative changes also took place in Georgia's economy during that period. In particular, industrial output in 1978 was 2.4 times higher than in 1965. Fixed productive capital since 1970--that is, in eight years--increased by 1.6 times. National income rose by 2.3 times: In 1978 it totaled 6,632,800,000 rubles, versus 2,875,000,000 in 1965.

At the same time, as is stated in the decree, the USSR's economy at the present stage of social development has reached a level where special urgency attaches to further improvement of the administration of the national economy. The basic directions in perfecting the economic mechanism were spelled out at the 25th CPSU Congress. The necessity of focusing more attention on problems of planning and administration has

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been stressed more than once in L. I. Brezhnev's speeches at CPSU CC plenums. Focusing special attention on these problems has been dictated by the vital necessity of making rational use of our country's great economic and scientific-technical potential. The socialist economy is developing dynamically, according to plan, in balance. This enables us to pose and resolve in logical sequence the new and more complex economic and social problems deriving from the present level of development of productive forces and production relationships.

V. Melkadze: The decrees represent a new step on the path of democratization of planning. Now would Comrade Zaur Zadikashvili share his views with us?

Z. Zadikashvili (Party Committee Secretary, I. V. Stalin Electric Car Repair Plant): The new decrees ensure the labor collective's active participation in drawing up both yearly and five-year plans, in monitoring execution. Collective opinion serves as the basis of our economic plans.

Under the new conditions, counter plans are playing a bigger and more important role. Such plans are drawn up on the basis of utilization of in-plant reserves. One feature of the counter plan is that it is provided with the necessary material resources. As a rule, the counter plan is incorporated into the yearly plan and acquires the force of law.

The practice of adopting counter plans in our plant was instituted in the First Five-Year Plan. In 1932, special importance was ascribed to the completion of socialist obligations and counter plans in our outfit. So we have quite a lot of experience.

The discussion and adoption of counter plans is participated in by shops, departments, the office of economic analysis, the standing production conferences, and party, economic, trade union, and Komsomol organizations.

Within set normatives, from now on the amount of worker bonuses will be determined in the crews themselves. This should substantially enhance the initiative and responsibility of each crew member.

Our plant has taken specific steps along these lines. In particular, there is a section of the car repair shop which performs the entire car repair cycle. Until 1978 six crews were involved in this kind of car repair work (carpenters, boilermakers, electricians, mechanics, and so on). As often as not, these crews got in each other's way. They would finish up their own work at different times, the technological cycle was disrupted. It took them two or three months to repair one car. At one of the standing production conferences, leading worker Vazha Kupradze proposed that the crews be consolidated to form an integrated crew. His proposal was accepted. Crew members mastered related trades,

thus eliminating idleness and improving the quality of repairs. It took less time to repair cars: Now the crew can repair two or three cars in a month. Before the crews were consolidated this section employed 28 men. The crew was headed by a deputy shop chief, and there was a foreman, a dispatcher, and a warehouseman. Now it employs 23 men and is headed by just one foreman. Creation of the integrated crew yielded the plant an economic effect of tens of thousands of rubles. If we now convert this section to autonomous financing (as the new decrees call for), the workers will be even more motivated and the plant will benefit even more.

O. Kakauridze (Deputy Chairman, Georgian SSR State Planning Committee): Comrade Z. Zadikashvili has focused on the innovation in the decrees which deals with further democratization of the planning process. However, we are dealing with a number of other innovations in planning which must also be analyzed. Allow me to dwell on certain of them.

The decrees state that five-year plans must be based on scientifically substantiated technical-economic norms and normatives. In particular, special attention must be focused on drawing up prospective norms governing the use of raw materials, supplies, fuel and energy resources, and production capacity, and specific capital investments and so on.

For the prospective period, procedural questions of drawing up technical-economic norms and normatives have been relatively little studied. It is essential, therefore, that enterprises, ministries, departments, and other organizations get right to work along these lines in collaboration with scientific-research institutes.

The decree spells out precisely the procedures for drawing up plans. In particular, the scientific-technical progress program is to be drawn up for a 20-year period by forces of the Academy of Sciences and the State Committee for Science and Technology and submitted to higher-level directive organs two years before the start of each new five-year plan. On the basis of this the planning committee is to collaborate with the ministries and departments to draw up the basic directions of economic and social development, which are to be submitted to higher-level organs 18 months prior to the start of the next five-year plan.

As you are well aware, plans have two basic sections: the sector and the territorial. Sometimes in drawing up sector development plans people completely fail to take account of the needs of the various union republics, economic regions, and other territorial units with regard to integrated development of the national economy. This is what dictates the necessity of further perfecting the democratic principles of planning, the territorial principles of administration. The decrees bring to the forefront the necessity of ensuring the integrated development of the union republics and economic regions; they broaden the participation of the union republics and the Soviets of People's Deputies in the

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initial stages of drawing up economic and social development plans in enterprises of union subordination. From now on the union republics' yearly and five-year plans which are to be submitted to higher-level directive organs will spell out the basic indicators of the plans of associations and enterprises located within their territory.

One important feature of the decrees is that they bring social planning to the forefront. As far as is known, social development plans in associations and enterprises have not yet become an organic part of long-range and current plans. Recently the GCP CC and Council of Ministers passed a decree on the present state of social development of the republic's worker collectives and further measures to improve it. In the near future, social development plans must become a vital tool of administration of the worker collectives.

G. Vardosanidze (Editor in Chief of SAKARTVELOS KOMUNISTI): In accordance with the decrees the criteria for evaluating enterprise performance are changed. Emphasis has been shifted to work quality indicators; they now have a stronger influence on social production effectiveness and work quality.

O. Kakauridze: Yes, the array of planned output is also broadened substantially in the physical indicators. In evaluating enterprise performance a special place is assigned to the product delivery plan in terms of assortment. This is designed to get the enterprises to observe contract discipline strictly, to make better use of material, labor, and other resources, and to improve the quality indicators of production.

According to the decrees the basis for determining labor productivity, planning the wage fund, and monitoring its disbursement is the normative net output [normativnaya chistaya produktsiya]. Funds are allocated for the enterprise to pay its workers in accordance with net output plan fulfillment.

The advantage of net output is that it makes it possible to determine quite precisely each labor collective's contribution to the national income and to actively stimulate production growth. The introduction of net output indicators in planning practice will help to overcome the shortcomings characteristic of total output indicators. Under normative net output, planning enhances the labor collectives' motivation to reduce material and labor intensiveness in products.

Long-range plans also play a stronger role. From now on, five-year plans will be the fundamental form of economic and social development of the country's union republics, ministries, departments, associations, and enterprises. The five-year period will not be subject to changes and will serve as the basis for the formation of direct economic ties between enterprises over the long term. At present the planning committee is drafting the 11th Five-Year Plan and mapping out the main

directions of economic and social development through 1990 in full accordance with the requirements of the decrees.

Special attention is being focused on raising the level of scientific substantiation of long-range plans. The decrees call for a stronger program-goal approach in formulating long-range plans of economic and social development. The formulation of various kinds of integrated scientific-technical, economic, and social goal-directed programs must become a component part of long-range plans. Considerable work has been done in the republic along these lines, but much remains to be done. More attention must be paid to the formulation of goal-directed programs to reduce manual labor, make rational use of labor resources, develop the productive forces of the republic's mountain and piedmont rayons, and so on.

According to the decree, all quality indicators of a plan relate directly to the normatives. This serves to enhance the motivational role of the normatives in fulfilling and overfulfilling plans on time.

T. Kopaleishvili (Candidate of Technical Sciences, Department Head in the Scientific-Research Institute of Economics and Planning of the National Economy): This is why the CPSU CC's and Council of Ministers' joint decree focuses special attention on measures to bring scientifically substantiated norms and normatives into line in planning.

The joint decree states that the five-year plans must be drawn up on the basis of scientifically substantiated technical-economic norms and normatives governing the utilization of labor, raw materials, supplies, and fuel and energy, also normatives governing the use of productive capacity and specific capital investments.

The use of such a variety of normative information is possible only under conditions of the existence of an improved normative base.

The present state of the republic's normative base leaves much to be desired. It is not up to today's requirements. In a number of ministries and departments, norms governing the consumption of material resources are calculated sporadically or not at all. In a number of ministries consumption norms are formulated only for the basic operations and for capital construction. Norms are not formulated for auxiliary operations, repair and operations work, the manufacture of nonstandard equipment, and so on. Some ministries and departments are using the average all-union norms. These are correct and have been worked out on a high scientific level, but they do not take account of the republic's economic specifications. Deadlines for reviewing and revising formulated norms are frequently not met, and so on.

This state of the normative base is due chiefly to the level of organization of the republic's normative management [khozyaystvo].



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To this day, most of the republic's ministries and departments do not have any kind of normative service. The republic's Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services, the GSSR Council of Ministers Main Administration of Capital Construction, and the Tbilisi Gorispolkom are among the republic's biggest users of material resources, yet not one of them has its own special normative service.

The matter of material resource utilization norming is fairly well settled in the Ministry of Local Industry. There the special planning-design technological office has set up a norming department which handles norming matters for the whole ministry. Efforts are also underway in the ministries of automotive transport, highways, and public consumer services.

In order to improve the norming of material resources it is essential that a unified normative management system be set up in the republic to combine all the special normative services of enterprises and production associations, ministries and departments, and supply-marketing and planning organs.

The central apparatus and enterprises of the republic's Gosplan and State Committee for Material-Technical Supply, also the ministries and departments, need to set up special structural subunits (departments, offices, sectors, groups) to deal with norming matters.

To provide systematic management in the formulation of norms and normatives in the republic, a head scientific-research institute and key planning-technological organizations should be set apart in the unified system of normative management.

The unified system of normative management should see to it that economic-mathematical methods are introduced in calculating norms and normatives and that an automated system of normatives is set up as the next stage in perfecting the republic's normative management. At present a great deal of work is underway in all the union republics to set up an automated system of normatives. Some of them--the Ukraine, Tadzhikistan, and Kazakhstan--have already introduced and are successfully operating individual components of an automated system of normatives. We need this kind of effort in our own republic.

The creation of a GSSR Unified System of Normative Management is an urgent requirement of today, and is in full accord with the measures stipulated in the CPSU CC and Council of Ministers decree.

V. Melkadze: From now on, a system of scientific-technical effect indicators is to be set for the enterprises. How is this innovation to be interpreted?

G. Malashkhiya (Candidate of Economic Sciences, Department Head in the Scientific-Research Institute of Economics and Planning of the National Economy): We might begin discussion of this matter with an instructive example. For many years some new machinery lay about in the Sukhumi Silk Weaving Mill; it was supposed to replace old equipment, but the mill's plan did not specify the effect of the new equipment. Under these circumstances, the installation and startup of the new equipment was delayed by two years. The loss of economic effect was considerable.

The scale of today's scientific and technical development and its greater role in boosting production and furthering economic and social progress make the task of perfecting forms of bringing scientific advances and production together an urgent one. Technical, economic, and social tasks and developments are closely intertwined. It is essential that the mechanism of administering technical progress and economic processes be well-coordinated and efficient.

These problems are dealt with at length in the joint decree. Until it was passed, the plan indicators of economic and social development were based on the results of scientific-technical development. It could not be otherwise. Matters of training scientific cadres, strengthening the material-technical base, and assimilating scientific-research work and its findings and so on are subject to state planning. Nevertheless, there were defects in the planning of scientific-technical progress. The economic reform that was carried out could not resolve the task of creating the kind of economic mechanism that would bring about the necessary acceleration of technical progress.

The matter of unified planning of scientific-research work and practical implementation of its findings has been around for a long time. Separating them in the plan hinders enhancement of the level of practical adoption of scientific-technical advances. At present, only one-third of all completed research work is adopted in practice. It takes too long to assimilate innovations--sometimes as long as 8 to 12 years. The national economy suffers considerable loss as a consequence. The new decree maps out unified planning of scientific-research work and the utilization of its findings.

The new equipment adoption plan is an organic part of the social and economic development plan. The system of plan indicators is set up so that frequently it fails to ensure unhindered adoption and dissemination of new advances.

V. Melkadze: The link between economic and technical parameters is not strong enough, because the analysis work in plan substantiation is not adequate.

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G. Malashkhiya: I agree completely. There was no plan indicator of the effect of new equipment. The enterprises did not pay enough attention to formulating the plan of innovation in technical development. Higher-level organs would ask the enterprises to draw up long-range and current technical development plans, but this request was by no means categorical. This is why only a very few industrial enterprises have plans of technical innovation adoption. Even a major enterprise such as Tbilisi's Machine Building Plant for years essentially neglected the calculation and substantiation of the economic effectiveness of new equipment. People there did not set up the appropriate office. Consequently, production suffered.

The joint decree calls for incorporating the effect of implementing scientific-technical measures into the plan indicators system. The purpose of this innovation is to enhance the enterprises' motivation and responsibility with respect to technical progress. But this does not exhaust the innovations of the new equipment plan. The whole system of new equipment plan indicators has been refined and brought into line with today's requirements. It calls for up-to-date experience and new developments in our country's economic planning.

As a result, the technical progress plan will be more closely linked to the economic and social development plan system.

Under the joint decree, not only the innovations in technical progress administration but also the improvement of the whole economic mechanism are designed to do away with obstacles to accelerated scientific-technical progress, as one condition for better resolving the tasks of economic growth. Present economic mechanism indicators such as sold [realizovannaya] output, overall profitability, and so on have failed to promote the broad introduction and use of technical innovations and, in some cases, actually hindered it. The new decree provides better solutions to matters of accelerating the assimilation of improved equipment and products and provides better stimulus.

Implementing the decree will require a sharp rise in the scientific level of efforts in the field of new equipment planning and technical-economic substantiation. The level is too low now in the various enterprises and associations. A big role in methodological promotion of improvement in the administration of technical progress is assigned to offices of the republic's State Committee for Science and Technology. In our opinion, it is they who must coordinate efforts in implementing those points of the decree which deal with perfecting the administration of technical progress.

V. Melkadze: Introducing scientific-technical advances in a timely manner will appreciably enhance production effectiveness and product quality. Everyone knows about all the attention the party and government are focusing on this. The 10th Five-Year Plan has been named the

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five-year plan of quality and effectiveness. The decree calls for a number of innovations with respect to improvement of product quality in particular: state standards play a bigger role, the indicator is to be revised, and so on.

N. Giorgobiani (Head of Republic Administration of State Standards): At the present stage of technical development, the machinery and instruments used in industry are becoming more complicated; operating conditions are more demanding, speeds and temperatures are high. Higher standards are being demanded of raw materials, supplies, and component parts.

Under these conditions, standards must play a bigger role in enhancing technical levels and product quality. Present-day standards must incorporate techniques of testing and monitoring product quality and reliability which will ensure necessary conditions for technical progress.

This increased role played by standardization has given rise to new tasks, foremost among them that of raising the scientific-technical level of standards and normative-technical documentation.

Efforts along these lines were undertaken in our republic even before the joint decree was adopted. Normative technical documentation now in effect in industry is being inventoried and its scientific-technical level evaluated.

The high demands imposed on standardization have made it mandatory to convert from individual, particular practical efforts to a complex system of integrated standardization; this has appreciably enhanced product quality and technical levels.

At the start of the 10th Five-Year Plan our republic was one of the most backward in terms of product quality and technical level. Products bearing the Emblem of Quality totaled only 114 million rubles--2.3 percent.

Now our republic is a leader in the production of goods bearing the quality emblem. In 1979, for the first time in history our industry's quality-emblem output volume surpassed one billion rubles--a proportion of 18 percent.

In terms of quality, our republic has quite a few leading enterprises. The whole-month production output bears the Emblem of Quality in the Tbilisi Electric Welding Equipment Plant, the Tbilisi Cognac Combine, and the Champagne Plant. More than 20 of our republic's enterprises have more than half of their output adorned by the State Emblem of Quality.

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Among various innovations it should be mentioned that fairly high extra incentive pay has been instituted for the production of highly-effective goods. A wholesale price premium for high quality and effectiveness is awarded to the product for a term of one year, and if during that time the product is given the Emblem of Quality the amount of the premium will be retained for the time the Emblem of Quality remains in effect. In this way, the product can retain the price premium for a period of four years. At the time of recertification the product can retain the same price premium only if its technical-economic indicators are improved; if the product's quality indicators are not improved the amount of premium and the time in effect are cut in half at the time of recertification.

Another factor is worth mentioning. According to the decree, if the enterprises fail to meet the requirements of a quality-emblem product, the Emblem of Quality is to be removed and the amount of incentive premium deposited in the economic incentive fund during the year is to be withdrawn.

G. Vardosanidze: Implementation of the CPSU's agrarian policy and strengthening of the agricultural base, is directly dependent on the organizational and technical level of rural construction, in particular capital construction. And as L. I. Brezhnev remarked at the November CPSU CC Plenum, capital construction "largely determines our economic indicators, the pace of our country's scientific-technical progress, and production effectiveness." Capital construction, meanwhile, as you are aware, is the Achilles' heel of our economy in the economic mechanism. Dear Ioseb [Kharatishvili], our journal's readers would be interested in what the decree calls for to enhance its effectiveness in general and our republic in particular.

I. Kkharatishvili (Georgian SSR Minister of Rural Construction): At the 18th GCP CC Plenum we were justly criticized for our neglect of economic analysis and our careless attitude toward the planning and financial activities of organizations subordinate to us.

Our Rural Construction Ministry now faces a serious task--that of achieving greater effectiveness in capital spending and in perfecting the organization of labor and production. Such tasks are the main focus of the joint decree.

In order to radically improve the level of rural construction it is necessary to resolve a complex of economic problems. Let's start with planning. The contractor must be provided with realistic, balanced, and stable plans; so far we do not have them.

Until now we have taken the yearly plan's control figures in February or March of the particular year.

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The ministries and departments have had to allocate capital investments in accordance with their views, which were frequently in conflict with adopted plans. Higher-level bodies, for their part, have given additional assignments throughout the year.

Under such conditions, five-year plans have not been stable; this has caused difficulties between builders and suppliers. Frequently, yearly and quarterly plans have been adjusted in the Rural Construction Ministry itself.

The decree declares adopted yearly and five-year plans to have the force of law, and for violating the law the relevant personnel will be held responsible.

The ministry system's administrations and departments have already begun to draw up the specific plans of contract work for the 11th Five-Year Plan. They call for providing the organizations and enterprises with manpower, financing, and material-technical resources just as Comrade Z. Zadikashvili has stated: The formulation of yearly plans begins from below.

Considerable work is called for in the ministry to determine the productive capacities of the construction organizations.

Remodeling and technical retooling of working enterprises will help production output per unit of capital with respect to internal construction operations.

The main indicator of construction organization performance is now considered to be the delivery of completed facilities and projects for operation.

The drafting and implementation of stable five-year plans must be balanced in accordance with the ministry's material-technical base. Until now, disproportion has prevailed. The volume of contract work has risen faster than the ministry's base.

G. Vardosanidze: Why is that?

I. Kharatishvili: The ministry's production base is lagging because the capital investment quota for its own construction is so low. Prompt provision of modern, efficient equipment for its own bases is of prime concern.

The construction organizations are in bad financial shape. The number of overdue bank loans and unsettled accounts is growing. This is due to poor performance both by our organizations and those of the client organizations.

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Construction is a very complicated technological conveyor, and if just one link gets stuck the main capital construction indicator suffers.

As we know, the contractor is fully responsible for construction work progress. If the plan is not met, the blame goes to him.

So what are we to do when the resolution of matters is beyond the builders' control? After all, in many cases delivery of the completed facility is delayed because some piece of machinery or equipment is lacking. Builders and clients should bear equal responsibility for their own bailiwicks.

Several years ago, for example, the Rural Construction Ministry proposed the creation of a construction-industrial firm within the ministry. The proposal calls for combining the multifaceted technological construction works process into one department--the Georgian SSR Rural Construction Ministry.

The idea of a firm operating within a closed cycle is designed to raise responsibility for construction work progress, to enhance and define the rights and duties of the executor [ispolnitel'].

The purpose of integrated construction operations is to speed up project planning, construction, and the delivery of facilities and completed projects;

to reduce the volume of uncompleted construction and construction prime cost;

and to reduce the amount of uninstalled technological equipment.

The matter was discussed in the higher-level organ. Our proposal was evaluated positively.

Initially, "turnkey" construction should be carried out on four or five new construction starts without any structural changes of the ministry and on the basis of internal reserves.

Preparatory work for integrated construction will be carried out before the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

V. Melkadze: The CPSU CC and Council of Ministers decree devotes considerable space to the unity of planning and economic levers. Autonomous financing and labor collective initiative must be further developed. New procedures for distributing profits will go into effect. Significant changes have been made in the formation of economic incentive funds, and so on.

I. Bakradze (Docent, Candidate of Economic Sciences, Head of Chair of the Economics of Industry and Agriculture, Tbilisi State University): The decree emphasizes the need to improve the plan indicator system along lines which will help to broadly launch the efforts of the labor collectives toward boosting labor productivity, making maximum use of fixed capital and conserving material resources, on the one hand, and enhancing the effectiveness of economic levers and stimuli and making material incentives directly dependent on productive performance, production effectiveness, and work quality, on the other.

All this is reflected in the emphasis placed on quality indicators in the plan indicator system, in the introduction of new capital-formation indicators, in procedures governing the new distribution of profit and new formation of economic incentives, further development of the Shchekino Chemical Combine's crew contract principles, development of autonomous financing, and further enhancement of labor collective initiative.

These matters are closely intertwined and interrelated. Let's begin with a particular principle of socialist management: further development of autonomous financing on the basis of five-year plan targets and long-range economic normatives in production and construction organizations. At the same time, contributions to the state budget must also increase. An enterprise's economic performance will be evaluated in accordance with new indicators on which economic incentive funds depend: fulfillment of the product delivery plan over the entire products list, increased labor productivity, increased profits, and improved product quality. This obviously entails bringing quality factors to the forefront in autonomous financing and economic stimulation. It must be added that the production association as the basic economic link in industry should come to an end in two or three years and autonomous financing should be introduced in the industrial and construction ministries.

The task is difficult, but it can be accomplished. It is necessary to draw up normative materials and adopt them in production, work out indicators for evaluating the performance of particular production sectors, carry out preliminary calculations, and draw up plans of organizational-technical measures. A major role here is assigned to the economic services and the social councils and offices of economic profile.

Capital-formation indicators will continue to include quality indicators such as increased labor productivity, the production of top-quality goods, and the delivery plan fulfillment.

The enterprises will have to study the experience of related outfits working under the new system; they will have to analyze, calculate, and submit their own proposals so that the enterprise can map out the



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specific directions of utilization of the economic incentive fund. All of this is now in the hands of the enterprise's administration and trade unions. Resources earmarked for these funds, moreover, must be utilized strictly and accurately for their intended purpose.

And now a few words about strengthening the principles of the Shchekino Chemical Combine method. The method has not been adopted fast enough in the various enterprises, largely because the enterprise's rights with respect to the use of wage fund savings have been too restricted. Now this restriction has been lifted. Wage fund savings now remain with the enterprise and can be used for various premiums--for high qualifications, trade combining, professional expertise, and so on. Unused wage funds are to be deposited into the material incentive fund. As a result, the Shchekino method will be broadly adopted.

Our department will focus attention on problems of perfecting the economic mechanism in the curricula plans and study programs, step up research along these lines, propagandize the decrees, and help the various organizations in the economic instruction of cadres and in implementing the decrees.

V. Melkadze: The joint decree states that the organization of labor and the crew form of compensation will be decisive starting with the 11th Five-Year Plan. A certain amount of experience has been gained by our country's leading enterprises and construction projects. In our republic, this method is being used successfully by Amiran Gelashvili's widely known crew. My dear Amiran, what experience do you have in the organization of labor and compensation?

A. Gelashvili (Integrated Crew Leader, Tbilisi's V. I. Lenin Electric Locomotive Plant): Today the crew contract, or collective labor, is vitally necessary for the sake of the end results. Formerly, the crew's operations were scattered among four shops. The work was performed by several crews and individual workers, including machine operators. There were frequent cases of having too many of some components and none at all of others. It was not so much the work that tired me out, it was the constant searching and pleading for parts.

Our crew members were aware of the successes of Zlobin and his followers, but that was in construction. It will be too hard to adopt the Zlobin method here, people said. But we tackled the job and succeeded. Labor productivity doubled. Previously it took 23 men to turn out 40 to 45 electric stacker casings; now the same number can turn out 90 units.

Combining the work cycle did away with all kinds of surprises and idleness. Everyone without exception is thinking about the end result. The crew is like a family; there can be no laggards, because mutual monitoring is high.

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The enterprise has benefited greatly by creating the integrated crew, and crew members are getting appreciably higher wages.

V. Melkadze: The final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan is underway; it must also come to be the year of preparations for adopting measures to perfect the economic mechanism.

Z. Katsiashvili (Economics Analyst for KOMUNISTI and Television): As L. I. Brezhnev has said, this year is not only the final year of the five-year plan but also the basis for the coming five-year plan. It is the year of preparations for the 26th party congress. Clearly, this is the standpoint from which we must approach our evaluation of the work that has been done and tasks of 1980.

The economic reforms of 15 years or so ago have shown that the new system of planning and economic incentive has been adopted best in those enterprises which seized the initiative quickly, without waiting for instructions, procedural directives, and help "from higher up."

The November CPSU CC Plenum mapped out four basic directions for raising the effectiveness of the national economy: all-round elaboration of socialist competition and orientation of it toward quality indicators; support and dissemination of forms and methods of advanced experience which will help to boost labor productivity; systematic implementation of conservation efforts and rational use of material and financial resources; and efforts against violation of labor discipline, blundering, and slackening.

In order to carry out the party's purposes, as was correctly noted, it is essential to broadly open up the way to initiative from below.

One of the most important ways to enhance the effectiveness of socialist competition is to base it on autonomous financing. Practice has shown that many shortcomings in the organization of socialist competition--poor economic substantiation of obligations, lack of motivation to adopt intensive plan targets--are due to the fact that the competition is not always backed up by autonomous financing and is not closely enough linked to economic levers and stimuli. For example, the initiatives that have had the greatest effect on competition practice in the past few years (crew contract, the Shchekino method, integrated crews, and so on) have been based on autonomous financing, on reliable indicators which make it possible to determine work quality; these are the main factors in organizing competition. As is well known, the enterprises are now finalizing the action programs of the current year and the draft plans of the coming five-year period; they are inventorying their in-plant reserves and taking the initiative to adopt new counter plans.

The 1980 plans and counter plans must reflect a substantial proportion of the measures to perfect the economic mechanism. This will test the

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effectiveness of the new principles of economic management. We must do everything necessary to think creatively and systematically implement the course of action designed to improve production effectiveness and work quality.

V. Melkadze: The decree deals with a number of other vital matters as well, but we have talked enough for one day.

Changing the economic mechanism on this scale and putting it into practice is a very difficult matter. The main task now is to analyze the main problems of economic development profoundly in accordance with the spirit of the decree, in a self-critical manner, from the standpoint of economic effectiveness and further improvement of quality.

Let me direct the attention of scientists and practitioners to the fact that about 16 regulations, procedural directives, and drafts are now being drawn up on the basis of the decree. Some of them--procedural directives governing the formulation of long-range normatives of net output, wages per ruble of output, and so on--have already been published in the economic press.

It is essential that we thoroughly master normative, directive, and procedural materials. We must not delay in preparing to adopt them in economic practice.

The collective of the Scientific-Research Institute of Economics and Planning of the National Economy has already taken the first steps in this regard.

Extensive applied research to perfect the economic mechanism is provided for in our institute's research plan for 1980. In particular, we will be researching procedural and organizational-technical matters involving the formulation and adoption of progressive norms and normatives governing the consumption of raw materials, supplies, fuel, and energy, and will work out procedures governing the use of material and financial resources on the same basis. Our scientific-research thematics call for scientific analysis of the procedure for determining plan intensiveness and generalization of practices of preparation for adopting it in a number of the republic's enterprises. The theoretical and practical groundwork is being laid for the adoption of indicators of long-range normatives of top-quality output, normative net output, and wages per ruble of output. Plans call for investigating the reasons why some of the republic's enterprises are unprofitable, substantiating the measures needed to make them profitable, and so on.

Creatively mastering the innovations of the economic mechanism will help to boost Georgia's contribution to the union's economy and successfully complete the long-range program of accelerated development of our republic's national economy.

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BOOK REVIEWS NEW LIFE STYLES IN ISLAM AREAS

Moscow NOVYY BYT I ISLAM (ISLAM AND THE NEW LIFE STYLES) in Russian 1979  
signed to press 21 May 79 pp 1-8, 63-64

[Annotation, table of contents and introduction from book by N. Bayramsakhatov,  
Politizdat, 64 pp, 75,000 copies]

[Text] The author of the pamphlet, the chief of the department for propaganda and agitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, tells how in the course of the socialist transformations of the living conditions of the Turkmen people new, Soviet holidays, ceremonies and traditions are being introduced into its life, and the influence of the ideology of Islam on the everyday life of the rural population of the republic is being overcome.

The pamphlet is of interest for party, Komsomol, trade union workers and propaganda specialists conducting atheistic work among the population.

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Introduction

In the 7th decade of its existence, our country has become one of the most highly developed powers of the world. And all peoples of the fraternal union of Soviet republics experience a feeling of pride because of the path that has been traversed. In the Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 25th Party Congress, L. I. Brezhnev said: "Our country and our people have travelled a path that has not been easy, but glorious. ...Our road is the road of truth, the road of freedom, it is the road of the happiness of the people."<sup>1</sup> These words expressed the meaning of the historic path which all peoples of our country have traversed.

Remarkable changes have taken place during this time also in Soviet Turkmenistan, being at one time a god-forsaken colonial district of Tsarist Russia.

As far back as the beginning of the century, the definition of Turkmen as natives was customary in the language of the Tsarist administration. "The Russian-native schools," "The Trans-Caspian native newspaper"--these are the official concepts of that time. The Turkmen people, rich in historical traditions, were condemned to a colonial existence. Only the October Revolution opened up before them room for social and spiritual development. In the fraternal family of the Soviet peoples, they traversed the road from semi-nomadic feudal life to developed socialist society.

The absolute majority of Turkmen encountered the 20th century as their forefathers had the preceding centuries. On scraps of land--and in 1914 more than 60 percent of the da'ikhans had no more than two dessyatinas of land--they toiled from morning till night, obtaining wretched harvests. 28.2 percent of the da'ikhan did not have draught animals; 50 percent did not have agricultural implements. The azal (a wooden plough), the pil (a spade), the ketmen' (a kind of hoe), the orak (sickle)--these were the simple tools with the aid of which the Turkmen peasant fought for his right to live.

The annexation of the Trans-Caspian land by Russia, which was accomplished at the end of the 19th century, resulted in certain advances in the agricultural and spiritual life of the Turkmens. However, these advances had an utterly local character. Industry was practically non-existent; the petroleum extracted was measured in dozens of poods; there was no electric power at all. The working class numbered a few hundred people and was basically linked to the primary processing of agricultural products.

According to a report by Academician V. V. Bartol'd, at the time of the population census in 1897 an insignificant number of native non-Russians, i.e., Turkmens, 1,432 people, lived in cities.<sup>2</sup>

In 1911 the kray had 46 secular schools, in which only 151 students out of 4,355 were representatives of the Turkmen nationality.

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Turkmenia was often called "the boondocks of the boondocks" of Tsarist Russia, where the oppression of the local feudal-usurious order combined with the policy of colonial plunder and national oppression was carried out by Tsarism. The following comparisons may help to obtain a clear picture of Turkmenia as "the boondocks of the boondocks": while literacy among the Tatars, Kazakhs, and the peoples of the Northern Caucasus reached 1-3 percent in Turkmenia, only 7 out of 1,000 people were literate. Before the October Revolution not a single book was published in the kray, nor a single newspaper in the Turkmen language; not a single national public library or other cultural-educational institution was in existence.

The Tsarist government allotted meager funds for the needs of education. On the eve of the First World War, 12,000 rubles a year were allotted for the support of schools in Ashkhabad, but 47,000 for the police. The entire budget of the Tedzhenskiy pristav district amounted to 5,140 rubles, of which more than 4,000 rubles were expended for the police.<sup>3</sup>

Under these conditions, the influence of religion on the consciousness of the people was very strong. The territory of the former Trans-Caspian Oblast numbered more than 400 mosques and hundreds of so-called "holy places." Tens of thousands of mullahs, sheikhs and ishans (community leaders), khodzhas and sayyids, pirs and sopi "sat on the shoulders" of the people. The ruling Moslem religion regulated all aspects of life and everyday existence, beginning with personal family relations and ending with civil and criminal legislation. In the rural locality the mullah was simultaneously the minister of religion as well as judge, doctor, teacher and money-lender and, frequently, the only literate individual who could write a letter or petition. And such a situation completely suited Tsarism, which relied on the support of the Moslem clergy in the execution of its colonial policy.

The profound social changes that have taken place during 60 years in the republic became the basis of radical changes in the spiritual life of the Turkmen people. A powerful industry has been created, which now accounts for 51 percent of the gross production of the national economy of the republic. The development of large petroleum and gas deposits led to the development of such industries as raw-material, chemical, and machine-building industries. For example, the relative share of the gas industry in the structure of industrial production of the republic amounted to 12.1 percent in the 10th Five-Year Plan; and the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic now accounts for 20 percent of the total volume of gas extracted in the Soviet Union. Turkmenia, which had not known electric lights, now has become a republic of complete electrification. The current developed by its electric power stations is fed into the unified energy system of Central Asia.

The products of the industrial enterprises of the republic are known not only in our country, but also far beyond its borders.

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Such a jump in the development of Turkmenistan became possible only thanks to the aid of the fraternal republics, which made "sacrifices in the name of overcoming the backwardness of national borderlands." Especially great, as L. I. Brezhnev noted, was the assistance of the Russian working class: "In essence this was the glorious exploit of the entire class, the entire people, achieved in the name of internationalism."<sup>4</sup>

Let us cite only one eloquent fact: In 1924-1925 immediately after the formation of the republic, the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic's own income accounted for slightly more than 10 percent of its budget. Soviet Turkmenistan represents a historic example of the possibility of swift socio-economic development on the basis of socialist cooperation and integration.

The transition of the agricultural production of the republic to collective principles was of historic significance and had enormous consequences. During the years of Soviet power the agriculture of Turkmenistan was transformed. Primitive manual work has fallen into oblivion, as have the poverty and oppression of the rural toiler and constant dependence on climatic conditions. In 1913 69,000 tons of cotton were produced. Now more than 1,100,000 tons of it are grown on the fields of the republic. And, indeed, not long ago, 15 years ago, the harvest of cotton amounted to 360,000 tons. Turkmenistan has become the second cotton base of the country and the largest supplier of the best varieties of fine-fiber cotton.<sup>5</sup> On the fields tens of thousands of machines are working, collecting more than 60 percent of the cotton. Vegetables and melons, grown on irrigated land, are transported in a never-ending stream into the all-union fund.

Successes in the sphere of land improvement have made possible a significant increase in the production of grain, which during the 9th Five-Year Plan alone increased by a factor of 3, including the production of corn-- by a factor of 18. In the southern part of the contemporary map of Turkmenia a blue thread reaches from the west to the east. This is the Karakum Canal imeni V. I. Lenin, the largest artificial water artery in the world. Almost 25 years were needed for its creation. For a distance of 1,000 kilometers, the handmade river carries its waters, irrigating more than 400,000 hectares of land. Forty-five percent of the cotton produced by the republic are fed by the waters of the canal. For more than 400 kilometers of its path the canal is navigable. The tempo of construction with which it was built was unknown in world practice.

More than 2.5 million people, the representatives of more than 100 nations and nationalities, live in the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic, and in the fraternal family. With the assistance of all peoples of our immense fatherland they produced more than 100 million tons of petroleum and tens of billions of cubic meters of gas. The industrial products of Turkmenia go to 55 countries in the world.

All of this is the direct result of socialist development, of the "new" that was brought into the world by the October Revolution. An important achievement of this development are the fundamental changes in the spiritual and material life of the workers of Turkmenia. Speaking at the 25th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev called an important result of the past 60-year period the birth of the new man, Soviet man, "who, passing all tests, changed himself beyond recognition, combined in himself ideological conviction and enormous life energy, culture, knowledge and the ability to apply them."<sup>6</sup>

The victory of socialism caused injury to the social roots of religion in Turkmenistan. The new life, the new social relations, the new social existence have displaced the former religiosity in the consciousness and everyday life of millions of people, have drawn in all workers--believers and non-believers--into active social activity, have opened up to them a wide path for the development of science and culture. Socialist society guarantees the firm material and moral situation of the individual in society, frees him from unemployment, hunger, poverty and deprivations, from fear of tomorrow. In such conditions, the majority of the members of our society have moved away from religion, though it must be acknowledged that even today Islam still has a considerable number of followers among some oriental peoples in our country, including also the Turkmen.

In the course of the construction of socialism in Turkmenistan there has been a sharp reduction in the number of mosques, prayer houses and so-called "holy places." This is the result of the weakening of the religiosity of the population, of the departure from religion by a multitude of people.

Important changes have taken place in the sphere of religious consciousness itself. An analysis of the state of religiosity of the population on the basis of empirical research conducted in several kolkhozes of the Kunya-Urgenchskiy, Bayram-Aliyskiy, Iolotanskiy, Tedzhenskiy, Geok-Tepinskiy, and Takhtinskiy Rayons, in the Soviet Turkmenitany Kolkhoz of Ashkhabad Rayon show that the process of the destruction of religion as an integral system of ideas, survivals and actions is moving forward. The religiosity of people frequently takes the form of the observation of only isolated elements of Islam.

A sphere of the life of people which is more steadfast and does not yield as easily to changes is the everyday life, especially the everyday life of the rural population. A considerable migration into the city has resulted in the fact that elements of the rural everyday life have become consolidated in the life of townspeople who are preserving a link with the village. "The everyday life is most difficult of all to subject to change," wrote M. I. Kalinin. "Political and economic relations have already changed to a certain extent, but everyday life remains for a very long time with its remnants...changing everyday life is a very difficult task, and those who think that one can act in an offhand way and change everything are severely mistaken."<sup>7</sup>



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Thus, the everyday mode of life is one of the most conservative elements of social life. A great role in everyday life is played by the historical traditions of the old generations who promote the preservation of the survivals of the social formations of the past. Moreover, it is a known fact that the relations of separate people to society are controlled more easily than their relations to one another. Everyday relations affect personal interests and the feelings of people, and interference in these relations is not always possible. For this reason they yield to control on the part of society only with difficulty.

At the same time, it is precisely in everyday practice, in the routine forms of the regulation of everyday relations that religious survivals are rooted most often. This is why the struggle for the transformation of everyday life on the basis of socialist principles is simultaneously a struggle against the survivals of the past and, above all, against religious survivals.

Islam connected the basic moments of the life of the individual--birth, marriage, death, and so on--by a chain of religious rituals and ceremonies. And now the observance of these rituals and ceremonies remains a "life-giving" source of the religiosity of people. To a certain extent, the reproduction of religion occurs with their aid. The religious ideologues cultivate the belief that the link of religious ceremonies with the basic moments of the life of the individual reflects age-old family traditions. In reality they are first and foremost the manifestation of feudalism, which less than a century ago ruled in our kray.

The introduction of new forms of everyday life, which began during the first years of Soviet power, has become an especially active and effective factor of communist education in recent times when generations of people have formed, who have gone through the Soviet school, who have enriched themselves with knowledge, who have experienced the international influence on the part of other fraternal nations of our country.

The author set himself the task of investigating the influence of the ideology of Islam on the everyday life of the rural population; of observing how in the course of the socialist transformation of everyday life and the introduction of new, Soviet ceremonies the influence of Islam has been consistently undermined; of analyzing the forms and methods of the work of party and other public organizations of Turkmenistan, which are promoting the conquest of the survivals of the Islamic religion in the consciousness of the workers, the formation of a communist life style.

#### Conclusion

The introduction of new ceremonies in life, in our view, is a kind of social experiment. Those ceremonies and traditions which satisfy contemporary spiritual and aesthetic needs of people become established, are turned into an integral part of the life and the life style of the individual, and those which are not capable of living, do not affect the feelings of people, disappear.

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FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXV s"ezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p 88.
2. V. V. Bartol'd, "Iz istorii kul'turnoy zhizni Turkestana" [From the History of the Cultural Life of Turkestan], Leningrad, 1927, p 169.
3. Cf. B. Ovezov, "Po leninskomu puti" [Along the Leninist Road], Ashkhabad, 1964, p 172.
4. L. I. Brezhnev, "O 50-letii Soyuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik" [On the 50th Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics], Moscow, 1972, p 13.
5. "Materialy XXI s"ezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Turkmenistana" [Materials of the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan], Ashkhabad, 1976, p 13.
6. "Materialy XXV s"ezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], p 87.
7. M. I. Kalinin, "O kommunisticheskom vospitanii" [On Communist Education] Moscow, 1956, pp 64-65.
8. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochinenii" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, pp 304-305.

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