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TIME TO THINK IT OVER

On Human Rights Situation in the West

Editorial

Pravda has received a letter from a young man living in Moldavia, who wrote that he was concerned about the deteriorating health of American Indian leader Leonard Peltier. The latter is serving a jail sentence on a framed up charge. The Moldavian youth suggested organising a mass campaign to collect signatures in support of the American Indian rights champion.

I have mentioned a letter that has just come in. In fact, letters keep coming in every day. Their authors express concern about the human rights situation in the West. Some write about the position of the black population of America, others about persecution of dissidents and still others about the homeless, growing crime and violence and drug abuse in the United States. Soviet people angrily write about racist terror in South Africa, the crimes committed by the dictatorial regimes in Chile and Paraguay, large-scale repression in El Salvador and Haiti and police violence against civil rights campaigners in Ulster. They express their outrage at the politically motivated Berufsverbot law in West Germany and discrimination against immigrant workers in France and other industrialised Western countries.

Many people write that the human rights situation in the West, especially the United States, has not been changing for the better for a long time and this cannot fail to affect our relations with that country. They ask a reasonable question: How can one go on with the leadership of a country which is wont to accuse everyone of human rights violations and at the same time cultivates violence at home and in relations with other countries and exports

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its perverse culture inciting hatred of other peoples?

The drive for greater democracy has now swept this country and the real worth of Western bourgeois freedoms has become particularly clear against this background. Yet, Western media and some political leaders are touting the view that the drive for more democracy in the Soviet Union is a "reaction" to the Western demand that Soviet society be "liberalised" and a concession to the demands of foreign public that the USSR should move towards "civilised democracy".

No thesis can be more surprising and absurd. It's hard to find anything to counter the information about revolutionary changes in this country and the truth about Soviet reality, which, in spite of all sorts of obstacles and distortions by imperialist propaganda services, reaches the public in other countries and arouses a lot of interest and sympathy.

The Soviet Union and its people have launched an ambitious programme to rejuvenate society. This drive has been prompted by our vital needs and the logic of our internal development rather than the wish to curry favour with someone. Democratisation in this country is measured by socialist yardstick and has its own point of reference. Incidentally, this is what prompted the policy of encouraging greater openness, criticism and self-criticism. All these are part of Soviet reality. The great historical achievement of socialism is that it not only proclaimed a broad range of rights and freedoms but ensures and translates them into practical social policies. As a result, the gap between socialist democracy and the dictatorship of monopoly capital, which is skilfully camouflaged by sham democracy, is widening, not diminishing.

The press has reported manager elections at the RAF bus

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works in Soviet Latvia. The staff selected the candidate from dozens of applicants. Is that possible in any country, any firm or company in the West? The Soviet people will believe that Western societies are truly democratic only when the West freely elects bank directors and enterprise managers, only when its mass media are free to regularly criticise corporations, banks and their management, those who are above criticism in the Western media, which mostly have to do with scapegoats of lower rank, both in the world of business and politics.

It takes a moral right to talk about democracy. Do the Western ruling circles have that right? Tens of millions of people have no jobs there; one loses one's dignity with one's job to become a soup kitchen client. The West shows utter contempt for the natural and universal will for peace. Scorning that will, it engages in war preparations and escalates the arms race. Mercenary-mindedness and rat race for profits hold sway in the West--not here. Pornography and immorality are weapons of spiritual aggression against humane, civilised conduct. The money cult holds sway; the law of strength rules merciless struggle for survival. In capitalist countries, not elsewhere, private life is unblushingly intruded on. Private correspondence is secretly opened, phone conversations overheard, desk locks forced, etc.

The Soviet Union is implementing a grandiose programme of housing construction. Tens of millions of square metres of floor-space, millions of flats are annually commissioned. The right of dwelling is an inalienable human right. We never give a thought to it in our country: we are used to it like to the air we breathe, while the United States has hosts of homeless people--over three million, according to Community for Creative Non-Violence data. "The Administration and Congressmen don't care a straw about the homeless. They don't

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take part in elections, and no effort needs to be taken to secure their votes. That's a shame for our nation," a family shelter manager in Washington, D.C., says.

A Moldavian schoolboy who has written to the Editor is anxious about Peltier's lot. But Leonard Peltier is not the only one. His lot is shared today by many human rights campaigners in the United States, as Dennis Banks, one of the leaders of the American Indian Movement, Douglas Roth, a Lutheran clergyman who has spoken up against wholesale layoffs, or John Harris who has been in an Alabama jail for years in punishment for his demand of equality for the American Blacks.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is spying on public organizations behind the anti-war marches and demonstrations. Quite a few people involved in such activities have been put behind bars. One can hardly think of anything more blasphemous than being imprisoned for anti-nuclear actions. Yet this is the lot that befell the "Orlando Eight", the "Kansas Four", the participants in the 1985 anti-war demonstration in San-Francisco. Seven anti-nuclear activists have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for demonstrating outside the Griffiths Air Base.

The list of the victims murdered for political reasons is quite long. Rudy Lozano, a Chicago labour activist, J.Taylor, a docker from Baltimore, E.Hampton, a miner, and many other Americans who fell at the hands of hired assassins and police.

Ku-Klux-Klan violence, police brutality and terrorism in Black ghettos are further samples of the "human rights" guaranteed by bourgeois society across the Atlantic. There are 34 million secret FBI files on US citizens, supposedly to defend their "human rights"....

An influential Black organization, the National Urban League has published a report "The State of Black America--

1987". For all the declarations about racial equality, it says, racism in the US lives on and prospers, while continued racial discrimination and drastic escalation of violence against the non-white population are directly encouraged by the Administration's refusal to concede the very existence of this problem. The living conditions of Black Americans today are the worst since the war, and their economic lot has particularly deteriorated under the Reagan Administration.

Unemployment among the Black population has increased more than it has among the whites under Reagan, and has averaged 15 per cent in the last five years. One in three Blacks draws an income below the official "poverty line". The overall condition of the Black population in the US, far from changing for the better, has been growing from bad to worse year after year. But try and find at least one report, one public statement by the President that would admit it. The impression is that the sorry plight of the American Blacks worries the world community far more than it does the US leaders who are so fond of looking for a mote in somebody else's eye.

And, lastly, let us take man's basic right--the right to live. One can see from the White House window a man, who has gone on a hunger strike and is ready to sacrifice his own life so as to make US rulers grant this essential right to their fellow countrymen, all people on the planet by renouncing the policy threatening mankind with self-destruction. This man is Dr. Hyder, a prominent American scientist. The ever more billions of dollars allocated by the US Administration for the arms build-up -- this is the answer to his action.

But what if one romanticizes, digressing from realities and imagining that the workers, say, of the Ford Motor Works in Detroit have elected by voting one from amongst them director of the enterprise. No, one simply cannot fancy such a thing, just as it is impossible to imagine that the US mass

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media, such as the world famous US news agencies, the newspapers The Washington Post, the Wall Street Journal, Newsweek and Time magazines have suddenly ceased being owned by private individuals and taken up criticism of the vices of the capitalist system and the American way of life.

Well, if that is so, how can the Soviet people taking pride in their socialist homeland, participating as full-fledged masters in all of its affairs, enjoying in full measure their rights and freedoms, developing openness, criticism, self-criticism and welcoming the active democratisation of their society, believe in real, not ephemeral, human rights in the West, in real, not declarative, liberties there! Their concern about the fact that millions of workers, who were destined to be born and live in the capitalist countries, are denied elementary human rights is explicable and legitimate, as Soviet citizens have always been humane and responsive to other people's misfortunes. And their question: how is it possible to have dealings with those who trample underfoot elementary human rights at home, but keep lecturing others on such rights?, is both topical and legitimate.

If the United States, its leaders really want improvements in international relations, they should stop preaching hatred for other peoples, and also take serious thought about cardinally improving the situation in the sphere of human rights at home, doing so in such directions as unemployment, racism, the preaching of violence, social inequality, freedom of speech and freedom of conscience. Solving all these questions, that is, exercising genuine democracy, and, indeed, not only in the US but also in other capitalist "democracies", would go a long way to improving the international political climate as a whole and to building mutual trust.

(March 3. In full.)

VOSD3-871228DR44

FYODOR BURLATSKY ON HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
IN THE USSR

"A new approach to the problems of international cooperation will become the main direction in the activities of a public human rights commission which was recently set up in the Soviet Union," said the commission's chairman, Fyodor Burlatsky, a prominent Soviet scientist and writer.

In an interview with a TASS correspondent, he pointed out that humanitarian issues and human rights had not been a ground for cooperation but, on the contrary, had served as an object of discord for a long period following the adoption of the final Act in Helsinki.

"Through our activities we would like to promote a different approach, one in the spirit of the new thinking. This means that we must through common efforts, I mean both East and West, to rectify this important problem by setting it up right from an upside-down position. We need this to stop flourishing the swords of recriminations at each other and to set about resolving everything reasonably and calmly.

"The commission for international humanitarian cooperation and human rights has been set up under the authority of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation," Fyodor Burlatsky recalled. "On the commission are writers, scientists, publicists and figures of trade-union and youth organizations.

"The commission was formed on only one basis, namely, that this is not a bureaucratic institution and that it promises neither benefits nor even minimum salaries. Therefore it has brought together real enthusiasts.

"People who take close to their heart and cherish the ideas recorded in Helsinki and their implementation in practice. There are now slightly more than 30 people on the

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commission. Our doors are open to any organizations which stand on the platform of the Constitution of the USSR and Soviet laws, as well as to those which have been granted official status.

"A committee for humanitarian cooperation and human rights is to be set up in the Soviet Union soon," Burlat said. "It will have available both staff and a building which will enable it to consider specific letters and complaints.

"Our immediate plans envisage round-table meetings with government and law-enforcement agencies," Burlatsky said. "The programme of work also includes enlightening activities, discussions, and dialogues at various kinds of forums inside the country, which all interested parties attend."

(Sovetskaya Rossia, December 27. TASS.Summary)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARŞİVİ
TÜSTAV

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Academician V. Kudryavtsev

We need more democracy in every area of Soviet society's life to move forward steadily so that legal order becomes stronger in the society and justice triumphs, so that a moral atmosphere is established in which an individual lives freely and works fruitfully. The further extension of Soviet democracy means an ever wider involvement of working people in the decision making process at all levels: national, regional, factory. It presupposes citizens' fuller awareness of events in the country and abroad, the securing of openness and an outspoken criticism of shortcomings. The extension of democracy includes a broadening of citizens' rights and freedoms and the strengthening of their guarantees.

"Democracy, the essence of which is the power of the working man," it was stated at the January, 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "is the form of realization of his broad political and civil rights, his interest in transformations and his practical involvement in their implementation."

In the West one now can rarely encounter assertions about the lack or incompleteness of social, economic or cultural rights of Soviet citizens. Such facts as the assured right to work, free education and medical assistance, the effective right to housing, pensions and the privileges for the elderly and the maternity and child care are too obvious to be questioned or ignored. But doubts still continue to be expressed about political and civil rights. In this context, I think it is expedient to take a specific historical look at our achievements and problems in these fields and compare the real state of affairs here and in the West.

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It must be said bluntly and candidly: not easy was the road of shaping and affirming socialist democracy in our country. For a variety of objective as well as subjective reasons its evolution was at times highly involved and conflicting. The First Soviet Constitution (1918) restricted political and civil rights of the overthrown exploiter classes. A fierce class struggle was on, the question of who would defeat whom was being decided. Under those conditions, such democratic institutions as broad openness, a free expression of opinions, public control over administrative decisions and the guarantees of personal immunity could not develop in full measure. The political culture and social activeness of the working people were still low. Statistics show, for example, that only 22.3 per cent of the number of persons who had the right to vote participated in the elections to the village Soviets in 1922. The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee in 1924-1925 nullified the results of primary elections where less than 35 per cent of the voters took part in them.

The steady extension of popular initiative, democracy and independent action of the masses is a law of socialism. But it was not applied evenly for a number of historical reasons. A heavy price had to be paid for retreats from the Leninist principles and methods of building the new society, for violations of socialist legality and the democratic rules of life in the Party and state. The stagnant phenomena of the 70s and the early 80s also substantially retarded our democratic evolution.

The line assumed by the April, 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th Congress of the Party signifies a new phase in the life of Soviet society. It is a line aimed at the allround realization of the democratic principles and

standards inherent in the nature of the socialist system, a line calling for the real, ever more active involvement of the people in the solution of all the issues of the country's life, for a full restoration of the Leninist principles - democratic centralism in administration, openness, public control - and for greater respect for the worth and dignity of an individual, his rights and interests.

In present-day conditions we are not only to overcome the retarding factors and eliminate the serious defects in the functioning of the institutions of socialist democracy, but also to carry out a far more extensive task: to fundamentally renovate the existing and bring forth new democratic institutions, and to introduce genuinely self-governing principles in the activity of work collectives and in public and state life.

Article 48 of the Constitution of the USSR has proclaimed a major political right of each citizen - to participate in the running of state and public affairs and in the discussion and adoption of laws and decisions of national and local importance. This right is now being exercised in new forms, and acquiring new facets and manifestations.

The widely debated Law on State Enterprise (Association) will do more than help reshape our economy. It will create a solid legal framework for new democratic forms of citizens' sharing in government. Neighbourhood community organizations have been growing appreciably more active over the past year, and the role of professional associations and other civic organizations has increased. The forthcoming upgrading of the Soviet electoral system is going to be a major democratizing factor.

Lenin held that "as man's history-making activity grows broader and deeper, the size of that mass of the population which is the conscious maker of history is bound to increase"

(Col.Works, vol.2, p.524). We are now directly involved in that process which does not proceed automatically, of course. Greater public involvement in government makes it essential to raise the standard of political understanding, particularly, of youth. There must be some new legislation, for instance, concerning the rights of voluntary societies and professional associations in national decision-making; the guarantees of open public information and the role of the media in this respect; the procedure for holding referenda and debating the Bills in pursuance of the Constitution of the USSR. An Act to govern the order of lodging a complaint with a court of law against unlawful actions of officials infringing on civil rights will be an important step forward in exercising democratic control over the operation of the machinery of the State.

There is a dynamic and consistent process of renovation and improvement going on in this country, or, to be exact, a thorough overhaul of our democratic institutions, assuring the political rights of citizens. And that is a natural factor of our development. Now let us see how things stand in respect of public participation in the life of the bourgeois State and society.

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"Democracy in America is a myth, rather than reality", the American scholar M.Marger said once. And right he was. Just about four and a half thousand (0.002 per cent of the population) control half the national wealth and bank deposits in the U.S., two-thirds of the insurance contributions and half the communication and transportation facilities. Election campaign results depend on ballot-financing more than on anything else. Estimates by American researchers have shown that it costs a candidate (or the organization financing him) at least 200,000 dollars to get elected to the House of

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Representatives and ten times as much to get into the Senate. That accounts perfectly well for the following statistics: 20 per cent of the senators own personal assets worth upwards of a million dollars. There are no Blacks in the U.S. Senate, and only two women. Let me note that the parliaments of the world's capitalist countries have between them fewer female members than the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

But, perhaps, bourgeois democracy is more effective in assuring man's civil rights and his security and personal freedom? Western progressives say something diametrically opposite. The American Civil Liberties Union has stated, for instance: "There is an offensive against the entire constitutional system created two hundred years ago."

This is quite manifest in the operation of the judiciary. For a long time bourgeois theorizing insisted on the infallibility of justice which was seen as the main guarantor of personal rights and freedoms. The present crisis of justice springs, above all, from the loss of these guarantees. Bribery and money-grubbing are common place in the courts and in the police, as are a system of pressurizing the courts and deals between the prosecution and the defence.

Jury trial has been proclaimed in bourgeois legal ideology as one of the fundamental constitutional guarantees. But in the last few decades, its functions have been progressively shrinking, and its role has drastically declined. Suffice it to say that while in pre-war Britain half the suits were considered by jury, now it is only under one per cent of civil suits and three per cent of the criminal cases that are so tried. There is materially less information about the legal proceedings available to the general public.

The defendants' rights have been endangered by the new procedural rules which allow the prosecution to submit "evidence" procured by illegal means. The U.S. Congress

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authorized this practice back in 1980 and it was reaffirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court four years later. Illegal searches have become a rather peculiar method of obtaining "evidence", especially, when that kind of action is directed against civil rights campaigners.

Such an elementary rule as control over the lawful character of arrest is also violated. About 90 per cent of the arrests in the United States are made without a warrant envisaged by the Constitution. According to British lawyers, more than 54 per cent of the arrested were taken into custody without sufficient grounds. During the poll held in the city of Manchester, 38 per cent of the citizens stated that the police use force against arrested persons and beat them. Contrary to the International Covenants on human rights, in many capitalist countries confession by the accused is regarded as the "queen of proofs" which does not require additional verification. As the studies carried out by the progressive British lawyers have shown, in nearly 80 per cent of cases the confessions were received before the court proceedings, at the police stations...

It is relevant to cite two more figures here. In the past decade over 6,000 Americans became victims of the police as a result of the unjustified use of weapons. In New York state alone, the bullets of the shots by policemen kill about 300 Blacks every year. Learning about such facts, it is difficult not to agree with Professor H.Dubin from the University of California who said that the very system of American justice has generated more crimes than it has tried, and has perpetrated more violence than it has prevented.

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Do any violations of laws happen in socialist countries? Do these countries face any outstanding problems in the sphere of ensuring and defending the personal rights of citizens and

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their legitimate interests? Such problems do exist, both judicial errors and abuses do occur. But it is necessary to note also another factor -- the political, social and legal mechanisms needed for strictest observance of law in the country are consistently developed and improved. This is an element of the reorganization because true democracy does not exist outside law or above law. To respect personality and to defend the rights and freedoms of citizens are a constitutional duty of all state bodies, mass organizations and officials.

The drafting of a new criminal legislation has recently begun. It must more fully meet the present-day conditions of the development of Soviet society and more effectively defend citizens' rights. The main thing is to prevent anti-social deeds and to accomplish the major social and educational tasks facing society. Measures to enhance the role and prestige of courts, to strictly observe the principle of independence of judges, to resolutely tighten procurators' supervision, and to improve the work of investigation bodies should also be thought out. Of great importance are more active participation of lawyers in civil and criminal procedure and perfection of the correctional legislation.

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee On Further Strengthening of Socialist Law and Order and on Stricter Defence of the Rights and Legitimate Interests of Citizens adopted last year makes it binding on the Party, government and law-enforcement bodies to enhance in every way the prestige and principled attitude of workers of the judicial system and the procurator's office, justice and the militia, arbitration and notary office, to help voluntary participants in the protection of public order, and to work to disseminate the knowledge of law.

The diametrically opposite character of the two trends in

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the sphere of human rights -- the strengthening and development of them in socialist society, and the backward movement, the abandonment of the proclaimed principles in the capitalist world -- are a sign of the times, fresh evidence of the advantages of the socialist system. But this diametrically opposite character of the two trends does not at all obstacle international cooperation in the human rights sphere. The Soviet Union strictly complies with the provisions of the International Covenants on the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of man, as well as other international agreements, including the Helsinki and Stockholm ones. Our country submitted a proposal to hold in Moscow an international conference on humanitarian questions. The programme of creating a basis for an all-embracing system of international security, approved by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, includes this aspect, too.

Detente, relaxation of international tension and building of confidence among states help remove the unneeded layers which have accumulated in the humanitarian sphere, and improve the public atmosphere. This is the aim of the reorganization.

The seven decades of our revolutionary history have proved the ability of Soviet society to befittingly meet any challenge of the time. This holds true of socialist democracy. It will continue to develop and improve, to ever more widely and deeply draw the main history maker -- the masses -- into the administration of society's affairs, to enrich them with experience, and to protect the rights and freedoms of each Soviet citizen.

(Pravda, April 3. In full.)

Mon Sep 07 1987

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VOEK5-870907DR36

INTELLECTUAL POTENTIAL OF SOCIALISM

The Goal Is to Use It to the Full Extent

Pravda Leader

Assessing results and lessons of our 70-year history, Soviet people not only rejoice at their achievements. From the distance of the past years we see more clearly that we have not yet discovered and used all the potentialities of the socialist system and better realise what problems we are faced with and how we should tackle them.

Pursuing the policy of restructuring, we are overcoming the contradiction which appeared in our development when perhaps the most educated society in the world could not for a long time use in a proper way its enormous intellectual potential. The most effective way to resolve this contradiction is to broaden democracy.

Socialist society is in bad need of creating conditions under which every individual will be making his contribution to restructuring and renewal in all spheres of life. That is why the aim of the programme for a radical reform in the system of economic management is to ensure maximum utilisation of the creative potentialities of our working class and the expertise of our highly competent specialists. It envisages democratisation of the system of centralism through ensuring active participation of the mass of people in decision making at state, regional and industrial level and making the work of all economic bodies as open for discussion and criticism as possible.

To be able to use people's abilities as best we can we must ensure that they do the job they know best. What is the situation in this area? Here are a few examples. Nearly four million diplomated specialists occupy positions which do not require their level of qualification. At the same time, more

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than four million executive and specialist positions are occupied by people who are not qualified for them.

An indispensable condition for fuller utilisation of a worker's potentialities is the consistent elimination of manual, unskilled and arduous work. The share of such work is still high in industry, construction and especially agriculture.

In the current five-year period the rate and scale of elimination of manual and arduous work will increase more than two times. The task is to encourage innovative ideas and ensure that these ideas quickly result in the development of new technology and methods of production. The entire scientific potential of the nation -- from individual production unit to the Academy of Science -- must be mobilised for this purpose. Good incentives for accelerating scientific and technological progress have been created by the Law on State Enterprise, which makes the work of research institutions and organisations working for production directly dependent on the results of their performance.

The raising of the educational level and qualification standards is another major means of ensuring fuller use of the country's intellectual potential. There is a need to set up a system of continuous education to allow people to study all their lives in order to enable them to find their way in the ever growing flood of information.

At the time of the scientific and technological revolution we must provide better material and moral incentives for doctors, teachers, engineers and scientists and raise the social status of skilled workers and specialists and, at the same time, encourage everybody to improve their skills. It is known that 32 per cent of Soviet specialists with top qualifications are employed as workers because of higher pay. This is, to a great extent, the result of the failure to ensure the observance of the principle of pay according

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to one's work and constitutes a social injustice.

The policy of restructuring and acceleration requires the adoption of new ways of thinking and here our revolutionary theory, Marxism-Leninism, is very helpful. The tasks of unparalleled complexity and scale we have set require a new economic thinking, further advance in working out an integral Marxist-Leninist outlook of the world and ensuring closer ties between Marxist-Leninist theory and the efforts to raise people's political knowledge and social activity.

Theoretical research is becoming a major driving force in building socialism and communism and utilising the intellectual potential of our society. Revolutionary renewal is impossible without radically abandoning abstract and unrealistic dogmas and without making a break with everything that has not been confirmed in practice or was based on perverse practices and eventually led to justification of stagnation and conservatism.

Effective organisational ties must be arranged between theory and practice. Without this theory becomes ossified, stifling new ideas, and people begin to take a superficial view of their problems. Imaginative people with initiative and a desire to work must be encouraged in every possible way. At the same time, we must not fail to see those who are again trying to adapt to the new circumstances, extolling their past accomplishments, and shout more loudly than others about initiative and activity while sticking in fact to old dogmas.

The Party is mobilising people's intellectual and creative potentialities, encouraging everything that is new and progressive and leading the nation ahead since it has the adequate cadre and theoretical, political and moral potential for this.

Our society is, by nature, a thinking society, open for discussion, comparison of different points of view and competition of intellects and talents. And we must exert

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unflagging efforts to give socialism a greater force of development and self-improvement in order to be able to use to a full extent its intellectual potential.

(September 5. Abridged.)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TÜSTAV
TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

VOVP3-871209dr37

Soviet People Say

STATEMENT BY THE SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

Moscow, December 8. (TASS.) Signing by the USSR and the USA of the treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons is a hopeful example of new political thinking, says a statement issued for Human Rights Day (December 10) by the Soviet Public Commission for International Cooperation on Humanitarian Issues and Human Rights.

It is the first public statement by the Commission set up under the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation late in November. The Commission has set itself the task of ensuring greater guarantees for the rights and dignity of the individual and strives for the implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, both in the USSR and in other countries.

The statement is signed by Chairman of the Commission Dr. Pyodor Burlatsky and other members of the Commission. It says that new political thinking is also necessary to assert firmly the fundamental principles determining human rights and basic freedoms. Working for a comprehensive international security system. Countries and peoples should, along with the resolution of military, political and economic problems, also cooperate in the humanitarian field, for the implementation of political, social and other human rights.

Trust in each state depends above all on the unity of its words and actions in international communication, on the level of development of democracy in its domestic life. The drive for more openness and the restructuring under way in our country are example and proof of that. Directly linked with these processes is the strengthening of guarantees of

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social, economic, civil, cultural and political rights of people.

The Soviet public, the statement says, wishes to create a favourable atmosphere around the proposal on the convocation in Moscow within the framework of the Helsinki process of a 35-nation conference which would discuss the whole package of humanitarian issues. It invites various political and public forces to make their contribution to the attainment of that useful and noble goal.

(Pravda, December 9. Abridged.)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMALARI
TÜSTAV

Monday, February 16, 1987

VOKP1-870216-501

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CONVICTION IS THE BASIS OF RECONSTRUCTION

Meeting at the CPSU Central Committee Headquarters

Leading representatives of the Soviet mass media met at the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee headquarters to discuss the immediate objectives of the press, television and radio in the context of the decisions of the January 1987 Plenum of the Central Committee.

General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev delivered an address at the meeting.

Two weeks have passed since the January Plenum of the Central Committee and you have had enough time to think over the ideas formulated at the plenum and evaluate its importance, he said. We value the plenum highly. The 27th Party Congress formulated the concept and the line of our policy. However, any political line which is not translated into practical action in society through corresponding decisions in the economic and political area and in the sphere of ideology, ethics and culture hangs in the air. It is futile day-dreaming. And we have gone through this already.

Many constructive decisions were taken in the past. They had everything we are trying to do now. You remember the decisions which said that we had to improve management and convene a plenum on scientific and technological progress. An enormous amount of work had been carried through but the plenum was never held. That was some 15-17 years ago. That's how many years we have lost.

Now we must do everything to avoid this. The tasks of the plenum were to formulate the theory and policy of reconstruction and ensure the implementation of the decisions of the 27th Party Congress in all areas.

As you know, preparations for the plenum were not easy. There were widespread feelings in society that we were driving too hard and trying to change things too fast, talked too much about our problems and ignored our achievements. Where does strength of the Soviet State lie in the eyes of the present leadership?

We had to answer many questions and return to the sources, the roots, to realise what happened and where we stood. We cannot go ahead without understanding this.

But, as we said at the plenum, the main goal was not to discard the past and call people by name. We needed an evaluation, analysis of phenomena and trends. And we did our best to make such analysis, because it was criticism and self-criticism and we need the lessons of the past for the sake of the present and the future. This is the main thing. We had to put forward proposals that would enlist the efforts of all society.

If we merely had dealt with old practices at the January Plenum and merely criticised and analysed them without putting forward a constructive programme, if we had not said the main thing -- what should be done and how, what new forces should be drawn into the process and how we are to break down the mechanism of slowing down and build a new mechanism of acceleration, we would have been marking time again. We did not stop there. The January Plenum has its role and its place. We had to pass it and move ahead.

It is good that the press shows the new stage of reconstruction as a difficult, involved and dialectical process, Mikhail Gorbachev said. It must not be simplified. That's how it is in real life. Not all is running smoothly. The new labours its way into reality; life and practice give it a test. Reconstruction is going on in depth and in width and is assuming the shape of a specific policy. The

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interests of many people are involved. There are people for whom reconstruction is difficult but they realise that it is unavoidable. All must change their ways. For the sake of the vital interests of the people, of socialism. There is no alternative to reconstruction. All our society is longing for it. And we must support the drive for change, defend it, promote it and stimulate it.

We must live and work according to our conscience and find reserves and possibilities for doing still better, for intensifying our work. I like the word 'intensify'. You can intensify your work if to understand and feel this you muster heart, mind and soil.

The role of the human factor stands full size in this field. All of us agree upon the main thing, namely, that people and their spirit and views should be fortified. A person whose mind is bifurcated is hard put to live and work. He loses the landmarks and targets and is unable to readjust. A person's spiritual world should be supported and strengthened not destroyed. Everything turns out well where conscience is not damaged. One should act and make most intensive efforts to attain the aims set. The entire potential of culture should be placed at the service of man.

The documents of the Plenum are the programme of the Party's activity for many years ahead. This is also the programme for the work of the press. If one deeply analyses the documents of the Plenum it becomes clear that they have outlined ways of achieving a new qualitative state in Soviet society, that being the cardinal task in advancing socialism.

From the standpoint of resolving all issues, the main aim of the January Plenum was to promote democracy: to expand democracy in the economy, in politics and in the Party

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itself. But to develop it on a socialist basis. Not away from socialism, but more socialism, not away from democracy, but more democracy, not away from socialist morality, but towards socialist morality.

This is the essence of the reorganisation.

The Plenum's ideas demand constant, day-to-day, profound and constructive work. And, most important, they should be realised, filled with real content. The press is an indispensable element in this sphere.

We need dialogue with the people, broad consultation, full coordination of the actions of the Party and the people. All our society is on the same side of the barricade. It is another question that various people have different levels of understanding of the reorganisation itself and of the role they have to play in it. There are not so many direct, open opponents of the reorganisation. There is a certain part of people who do not know how to work in the new way and in the conditions of the readjustment. They should be taught and helped.

The Plenum's resolutions are being discussed in work collectives and finding full support. It is particularly important to us that the support means deeds. Such attitude should be adopted by all peoples at work. A more businesslike attitude and less phrasemongering about the reorganization -- such is the approach that should now keynote mass media materials.

Deep-going, truly radical changes are taking place in society. They require immense effort; energy; initiative; creative approach to work; stubborn struggle against inertia and sluggishness; psychological readjustment of personnel; new thinking; and a new style of work.

And in this field the press with its potential, with its quick and keen response to everything new and advanced and

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with such powerful levers as criticism, openness and sport-lighting of the peace-setters can and must do a lot.

Diffusion of real experience of work in the context of reorganization is arch-important for us now. The new shoots are sprouting with great difficulty. They are often suppressed by the "wedds" of lack of discipline, responsibility and initiative. At the same time, frankly speaking, the mass media are not tending so well for the new shoots.

We see quite well that there are enthusiasts of reform. These are the heroes of our day. And they must be shown so as to teach people by their example and to rouse them to action for revolutionizing change in society. We must and we shall support what strengthens Socialism and reinforces the spirit of man, not suppresses him nor throws him into confusion. Do you remember how Lenin spoke at the 11th Party Congress? What a hard time that was, yet with what optimism he spoke.

We have a lot of fine people and social groups! But where are they in the columns of the press?

The newborn shoots must be guarded so that they strike root and come into leaf, so that the old forest has an underwood following it up. The people are the main characters in the reform. And the people, the working public must be the main characters in the press and TV programmes.

The issue of openness and the character of criticism is integral to the Party's concern for advanced experience. Openness, as was said at the January Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, is, besides, an indispensable condition for the process of democratizing our society and one of the most important guarantees of the change that has got under way maintaining direction.

We believe that our media -- newspapers and broadcasters, social-political magazines and literary and art journals --

have generally done well in establishing frank expression as a standard of our public life.

Now for criticism. This question as ever evokes debate and discussion. Criticism is a bitter pill. But it is indispensable to cure an illness. So you take it, though wrinkling your nose. Those who believe that criticism can be time-dosed are wrong. And so are those inclined to believe that the signs of stagnation are gone and we can well "rein in".

To tone down criticism would mean to stop advancing and to do harm to the reform process. That must not happen! And the Plenum said so quite definitely. We cannot do without checking our policies through criticism, through participation in criticism, above all, through criticism from below, and fighting the negative developments, averting those developments. I don't see any democracy without that. For that's what it is, to begin with. Yes, comrades, openness, criticism and self-criticism are a policy of principle, a standard of our way of life. That's something everybody must understand.

Now, the depth, analytical quality, truthfulness and constructive message of criticisms are another thing.

We can't say everything is all right with that. The standards of reference and the character of criticism are also changing in the process of reform and democratization of every aspect of life. But criticism must always clearly accord with Party tenets and must always be based on the truth, and that depends on an editor's fidelity to Party principle. Reform concerns editors and the whole of the press.

Criticism implies responsibility, so the sharper the criticism the more responsibility it involves. An article is a contribution to the public cause, rather than an expression of one's self or a reflection of one's own complexes and

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ambitions. By their criticisms the press and television ought to encourage serious thinking and work, rather than invoke denials.

You have noticed that the process of democratization has introduced substantive corrections in the relationship between the critics and the criticised, the inspectors and the inspected. This relationship should be one between partners and be based on common interests. Dialogue is fine for this and all condescending reprimands, exhortations and imperious tones, are totally inadmissible. Yet these things often find their way into pieces penned even by highly skilled and respected authors. Nobody has the right to declare the ultimate truth. The press should express the opinion of the people. It would be undemocratic to think one way and act another.

The press must be even more efficient, letting idlers, profit-seekers and those suppressing criticism have no peace; it must help more vigorously those working for reconstruction. Much depends here on local party committees. Take any district or town press and you will see the political identity of the district or town party committee and its attitude to reconstruction.

I would like to make special mention of the following. Reconstruction ought to unite and rally people, and certainly should not divide them or breed resentment and lack of resolve. Society's renovation is a struggle for human dignity, progress and honour. It is particularly intolerable when a journalist humiliates a person instead of criticising. Such journalists regard themselves as proponents of democracy and fighters against the old and the obsolete, while using insulting labels. Our time gives nobody this right.

In short, criticism can be a very effective lever of reconstruction, but only when it is based on full truth. I'll

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tell you frankly there is no way any bias, lop-sidedness and inaccuracy in criticism can benefit reconstruction. Such criticisms only play into the hands of the opponents of reconstruction.

Let us just put everything in its right place, in order of priority. Even 70 years after our great revolution we must not forget those who made it. We must educate people on the example of those who sacrificed their lives for the revolution and socialism.

At the 27th congress of the CPSU we sharply criticized the practice under which party organs often had to attend to economic management, utility and supply matters. We underscored the point there that party committees were, first of all, organs of political leadership.

But even now, a year after the congress, you still often stick to the old ways. No nails - blame it on the city Party committee. A deep puddle blocking motor traffic, ask the regional Party committee. Disruptions in the work of the transport, blame the republican Central Committee of the Communist Party. Party committees cannot take the blame for everything.

We have people and organs responsible for each particular thing. The administrative organs, the trade unions and the Soviets all have their own specific responsibilities. They must all be made more strictly accountable for their particular sectors instead of hiding under a Party umbrella. Then our acceleration will be the faster.

The 27th congress of the CPSU raised with utmost clarity the matter of social justice, and most appropriately. This is because the basis of justice under socialism is work, for only man's work defines his true place in society and his social status, and there must be no levelling.

Unfortunately, there are still people in our society who

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would like to earn more and work less. What kind of social justice is it when a conscientious worker earns as much as a loafer shirking his duties?

What's more, these sentiments sometimes find their way into the press. Some newspapers seem to have begun to adjust back to old views. But should we not value the contribution to the country's affairs above all, comrades? Should we not encourage a talented writer or scientist, or any other honest, hard-working person? Can we really take away holiday hotels, rest centres and resorts from large plants and factories by vulgar interpretation of social justice? Why, that would be levelling in its worst variant and a real case of social injustice. We must get that clear, comrades. Socialism has nothing to do with such levelling.

In a recent TV programme a farming cooperative chairman was attacked. Instead of showing the more important things: production losses and managerial incompetence, the camera was trained on the roof of his house. The point was that he had repaired that roof. But should the chairman live without a roof?

There is another thing that must be mentioned here. I agree there must be no blank spots in history or literature. Otherwise, that will not be history or literature, but artificial time-serving structures. In my opinion, much deserving community interest has been published. A perfectly normal process.

We must prize every year of our 70-year Soviet history. The Party has already spoken about the grievous things, and we are not going to present them as a bed of roses now. But the immutable socialist law of truth comes into effect here, too.

We have had both gratifying and bitter experience.

But no matter what, we marched forward and we were not crushed by Nazism. We smashed Nazism not only by our heroism

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and self-sacrifice but by better steel, better tanks and better soldiers. And all this was forged in our Soviet times.

Or take the early postwar years. There was grief in every household and ashes where once were cities. The economic blockade and the cold war. Yet we did not bend, bearing up once again and reached out into space.

We should never forget that aspect of the matter. We must not forget names and it would be even more immoral to forget or hush up whole periods in the life of people who lived, believed and worked under Party leadership for socialism.

History should be seen as it is. Everything happened, bad enough mistakes were made, but the country marched forward. Take the years of industrialization or collectivization. It is life, reality. It is the people's fate with all its contradictions: both the achievements and the errors.

The Party has already expressed its opinion of the errors and miscalculations, of our delusions. But the Party lived and struggled in those most difficult times too. We had to be trail-blazers. That's just how difficult the dialectics are and we must see that, Comrades!

The nationalities issue requires particular attention, Mikhail Gorbachev went on to say. At the 27th CPSU Congress we expressed our stand of principle in clear-cut terms and consistently. We stand for a respectful attitude to national feelings, the history, culture and language of all peoples, for full and real equality.

Since we live in a multiethnic country, disregard for such issues is dangerous. Regrettably, we sometimes appraised the situation in this field in the form of toasts to each other's health, but it is real life in all its diversity.

The cultural standards of all peoples, big and small, rise, with every nationality having reared its own intelligentsia. The latter studies its roots and at times this leads to

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deification of history and everything linked with it, rather than the progressive elements to it. Meanwhile, new generations are entering life and should be educated and given modern ideas of where they live and how a unique phenomenon in human history has come about whereby. Indeed, over 100 peoples, big and small, live well as friends, judging even by great historical standards. For all that, this is real life, movement and development and, for this reason, there can be contradictions at each stage. This should be tackled, studied and decided calmly, and we must educate people. The Leninist policy of nationalities, Lenin's spirit is the only correct approach.

We have always approached the nationalities issues from the internationalist positions and will do so in the future.

We must display more confidence in young people, Mikhail Gorbachev said. It is they who operate, tune and shoulder industrial plants, the most difficult fields of activity and new areas in science and technology, and develop unpopulated areas. Our young people are also ideologically mature.

I recently attended the production "The Bolsheviks" at the Sovremennik (Contemporary) Theatre. Young people made up 70 per cent of the audience. A serious debate happens on the stage. There is silence in the hall, all present listening keenly to the actors. When the play ended and the actors on stage started singing "L'Internationale" the whole audience stood up and sang too.

Society is very responsive to the publicistic aspect of art, to ethical appraisals. Any error, any biased selection of facts particularly catches the eye in this field. In other words, any untruth meets with a painful reaction and affects the social feelings of an individual. This is natural.

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Literature prepared society for changes and stirred up society's conscience. Some journalists boldly upheld ideas which have now acquired the force of Party and State resolutions in the economy, culture and education.

It may seem that today, after the conditions have changed, it would be logical to observe an upswing in journalism. Some successes have certainly been registered. But at times writers hurry to finish what they've been saying before instead of putting in a new word.

The 27th Party Congress brought into the focus for all strata of intellectuals the question of trueness of the artistic image presented. At this turning point we need, as never before, an unbiased, all-round vision of reality. The image must be absolutely true. Then it will have the property of constructiveness.

In today's discussion I have raised certain points, but with the sole purpose of checking out all the angles of our movement and coordinating action.

The Central Committee is sure that journalists and all our party writers will work tirelessly and firmly for the cause of renovation together with the Party and the people.

The discussion was participated in by V.Afanasyev, Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper Pravda; A.Ananyev, Editor-in-Chief of the journal Oktyabr; S.Losev, General Director of TASS news agency; A.Aksyonov, Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Radio and Television; I.Laptev, Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper Izvestia; M.Alekseyev, Editor-in-Chief of the journal Moskva; I.Frolov, Editor-in-Chief of the journal Kommunist; V.Korotich, Editor-in-Chief of the magazine Ogonyok; M.Nenashev, Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing, Printing and Book Trade; G.Baklanov, Editor-in-Chief of the journal Znamya; V.Falin, Chairman of the Board of Novosti Press Agency;

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A.Chakovsky, Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper Literaturnaya Gazeta; N.Gribachev, Editor-in-Chief of the magazine Sovetsky Soyuz; V.Karpov, First Secretary of the Soviet Writers' Union; S.Zalygin, Editor-in-Chief of the journal Novy Mir.

In their speeches the leading representatives of the Soviet mass media expressed unanimous support for the rulings of the January Plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. They said the Party was steering the country toward an entirely different, revolutionary stage in our society's development. Particularly impressive were a profound and bold theoretical analysis of the situation obtained at the time when the 70s were turning into the 80s, and the accentuation of the key issues and ways to resolve them. The Central Committee's attitude bred a feeling of profound respect and patriotic pride, encouraging all journalists to work for renovation.

They said the duty of the press and Soviet cultural workers was to actively help the Party pursue the revolutionary process of transformation in every facet of Soviet society. They said journalists, essayists and authors should, beyond explaining the essence of reconstruction profoundly and from every angle, recast attitudes themselves and readjust the work of their collectives.

Journalists and all people writing for the press must be competent and capable of in-depth analysis of reality. There are complex processes in society and one must write about them passionately, with interest, professionally and competently.

The main task for journalists today is to help people understand and grasp better the ideas behind reconstruction and enlist the public in a nationwide drive to put through the Party's plans. Learning the lessons of truth, you must encourage criticism, boost the campaign to combat red tape and conservatism and, at the same time, strictly abide by our

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strategic principle of actively and skilfully defending and upholding the ideals of socialism and its moral and spiritual principles. This is the fundamental principle in working with people, without which we shall not be able to attain our reconstruction.

Many speakers have said that reconstruction has become reality, but it is a contradictory and complex reality. In this situation journalists must depict reconstruction as it is, not as it might seem from office windows.

Some speakers have complained that journalists are still at times hard put to get information. Some officials in possession of the information the journalists need tend to shun reporters. There are too many restrictions on information in some organisations. A respectful attitude of Party and government officials to journalists must become a norm if we are to avoid many mistakes.

The meeting has said that in the atmosphere of broad democracy and openness press workers, writers and men of art must demonstrate communist courage and a sense of responsibility for the ideological and artistic level of publications.

Journalists and writers who cast themselves in the role of passive onlookers and write about shortcomings and problems with a touch of detachment have been criticised, while publications whose authors boldly and critically investigated complex problems, demonstrated civic interest in curing social ills and were engaged in creative search have been praised. It is very important that an author has an active outlook. He must be pent up in criticising shortcomings and mistakes so as to produce a positive charge, the charge of vitality.

It was noted at the meeting that the drive for reconstruction was becoming a nationwide campaign. The Party is rallying people to its great causes. The situation we are

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FIVE BILLIONTH BABY BORN!

Andrei Gromyko

interviewed by Peter Arnett of CNN

The United Nations proclaimed July 11 the Day of Five Billion. Andrei Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received Peter Arnett, Moscow correspondent of the CNN television company, USA, on that occasion, and answered a number of questions.

Question: Given that the world's population will double by the year 2000 and that many of our global ecosystems are already severely degraded, how do we fit twice as many people as there are today onto the same ecosystems over the next century?

Answer: According to UN data 220-thousand people are born daily or about 80-million annually. If such a trend continues, by the year 2000, the Earth's population will reach 6-billion.

But the degradation of the ecological systems of which we speak is only indirectly connected with the growth of population. The main reason for this degradation is the irrational, and at times purely predatory attitude towards natural resources and environmental pollution caused by industrial waste.

Besides more than half the world's resources are consumed by developed capitalist countries, where only 15-percent of the world's population lives. More than half the waste pollution of the world's ecological sphere falls on these countries.

There has been a definite trend in the last decade to transfer these branches of industry which cause most pollution to developing countries.

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This is not the way out of this situation of course. It is well within mankind's powers to aim not only at preserving, but rather at improving the environment by increasing soil fertility and implementing low waste, and in future, by employing waste-saving technological processes.

And if such a goal cannot be obtained in the framework of traditional industrial systems, one should think of ways to change them. In the 21st century, these problems can't be solved with old modes of thinking.

In the course of further world social economic development, nations will, one would presume, realize the danger of environmental pollution, and draw out plans that will lead to positive ecological changes. In the United Nations framework international cooperation in various fields, environmental protection included, has been gaining momentum. But too little is being done to provide the planet's population with life's essentials, and to eliminate hunger, poverty, and disease.

One cannot say that this is an easy task, and that all possible solutions are clear. But the Soviet Union considers that it is in the solution of these global problems rather than the creation of means of destruction that the real task worthy of mankind lies.

It is the general opinion of experts that the present world population growth will not be maintained in the long term. The fall in population growth rate is one of the consequences of social economic changes in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It has already begun.

The other point is that this is a long and gradual process, and for several decades ahead the planets population will increase very fast. It could well be, as many scientists suppose, that by the middle of the 21st century, it will have doubled.

How will this enormous growth influence the future of mankind?

This, I think is the core of your question.

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If mankind fails to overcome the present differences of opinion, if new economic and social order is not achieved, and if, and this is the most important point, the threat of a nuclear holocaust is not eliminated, there may be no future for people on Earth.

It was not population growth that gave birth to social inequality, poverty, underemployment, and lack of natural resources, environmental pollution and military confrontation.

These problems have existed in many countries with rather moderate population growth for a long time. Capitalism has failed to solve these issues for all its long history. So what are the reasons for thinking it will solve them now, in the developing world, where everything is complicated by enormous demographic growth?

It is evident that a different mode of development is required.

Q: The UN is calling the Day of Five Billion a day to celebrate and to contemplate. Do You believe there is anything to celebrate. If so, what? Is there anything to contemplate. If so, what?

A: I think there is reason for both festivities and thought.

We can't help being proud of the fact that it was we, the people of the 20th century, who managed to create conditions resulting in such a population boost.

There wouldn't be five billion people living if we failed to reach positive results in fighting child mortality, hunger, epidemics and disease. So we celebrate the victory of will, wisdom, human talent and, last but not least--the victory of human unity in the struggle against the common enemy, the victory which makes death retreat.

But we can't help thinking over the fact that even today, especially in developing countries there are so many destitute people, hundreds of millions of people are suffering from hunger or malnutrition, or are deprived of access to education. Enormous economic and social inequality still exist in a considerable part of the world, an

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inequality which is not caused by the fast rate of population growth at all.

The human mind created powerful means of fighting diseases and death. But the point is that the majority of the world's population can't fully use these means.

People of developing countries live much shorter lives than those from developed countries. But even in developed countries, a man does not feel adequately protected from premature death. Economic, social and ecological situation existing in many of these countries, does not positively contribute to preserving health and longevity. The terrible plague of AIDS, reminds us that mankind can still encounter new and unexpected dangers.

But the most terrible threat looming over the five billion lives, is in permanently growing nuclear stockpiles. The Soviet Union is striving for their full elimination. We are convinced that a nuclear-free world is needed equally by all peoples of the Earth.

Q: What in your opinion is the significance of the world's population reaching five billion?

A: Today's problems are particularly acute. No one however would venture to claim that on the whole we are worse off than the one and half billion people living a century ago. People the world over are living longer lives now. They are better informed and better able, and play a more active part in deciding their future. At the same time, we are aware of the incomplete use we make of human potential and the wasteful and extravagant expenditure of human and natural resources. Thousands of billions of dollars which we so desperately need in the struggle against illiteracy and disease are being poured down the drainpipe in military expenditures. People cannot come to terms with this historically absurd situation. It cannot be called otherwise. The need to guarantee a worthwhile life for future generations is one more good reason for finding new approaches to solving economic and ecological problems to the use of our planet's resources, and to relations between

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countries and peoples.

What we are talking about here is the need for new political thinking. The realization of the Soviet Union's principle disarmament for development, the use of resources made available thereof for creating and adopting effective industrial and agricultural technology, which would not damage the environment, and the repudiation of inequality in international economic relations, and the changeover from opposition to cooperation in world politics -- that is the framework for united and rational development left to us by history.

If we follow this path, then what you have called the "population problem" will also be solved. And if this comes about then even the earth's population increasing twofold in the course of time may become a major factor of progress in the field of production and a leap forward in the development of human civilization.

The moral side of the questions is also clear. Wherever a man is born, whatever the color of his skin, whatever his particular beliefs and convictions, whatever his social level, wherever he works, man is a most valuable treasure, the peak of civilization, the pearl in the ocean of the Universe.

As the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev said, "man - is the aim, the instrument and the main character of all our politics".

And there is no greater task for the family of mankind than seeing that every member of that family individually and as a group, lives, works and creates in conditions really worthy of the man. And the most important thing of all is to ensure that each and every one is guaranteed his right to life.

Thus, on the demographic scale of mankind, the figure five billion literally rings the bell of history. It warns us that we must not be slow and postpone our mutual efforts to solve our problems.

Q: Given that this program will reach a great number of the world's young people, what personal message would you want to send to them regarding population, development and

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the environment?

A: Seventy years ago, as the result of the socialist revolution in our country the process of rebuilding our society on more just foundations began. Today we continue the work of the Great October Revolution. We are aware of this in the work we are carrying out to achieve a new qualitative form of socialist society -- in the large scale of reconstruction, in the development and deepening of democracy and in the new openness. We are not imposing our convictions on anyone else, however, we are sure that socialism is best suited to answering the many questions facing mankind including such problems as overcoming stagnation and poverty, the struggle with the catastrophic pollution of the environment and the negative consequences of the scientific-technical revolution.

Those who will mature tomorrow and who will take upon their shoulders the responsibility for the face of mankind in the 21st century will have to apply a great deal of energy to cope with those global problems which our generation didn't manage to solve. Will our descendants be able to do this?

To a great, perhaps, decisive extent everything will depend on whether they can find within themselves enough wisdom and goodwill to unite the efforts of all countries and peoples in the struggle for progress in conditions of peace. I repeat these words: in conditions of peace.

However there is one question which the present generation has no right to place on the shoulders of those who will take our places to decide. We have to do everything we can today to insure that the funeral shroud of a nuclear explosion never covers our planet burying along with the Earth's civilization all hopes for the future.

At the present time almost two-million dollars a minute is spent on the arms race. Does this figure really require any commentary? Do our children and our grandchildren really deserve no better gift than this life destroying metal?

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Experts have managed quite accurately to calculate when the five billionth inhabitant will appear. However, they couldn't say where he would be born; in a large town or a tiny village, whether he'll be Russian or American, a representative of a large or small race of people.

But is this really so important? He will be the five billionth child of mankind. We welcome his arrival, not forgetting that we belong to different countries and peoples. However at the same time we are aware that we are members of the great family of mankind and are duty bound to protect all children from danger.

People under 25 make up more than half of the Earth's population. Many of them will probably live to see the day of 10-billion and once again there will be a reason for "festivities and contemplations."

The global problem of population cannot be solved without the cooperation of all countries -- be they developing or developed, capitalist or socialist. They cannot be solved without overcoming the economic stagnation and social backwardness of developing countries.

For this to be achieved, there needs to be a new international economic order, the elimination of inequalities in the balance of trade of commodities between the developed countries of the West and the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We have to free the developing countries from the bondage of debts which impede their economic development, and allow them free access to the achievements of advanced science and technology, which is common property of mankind.

These conditions which take into account the interests of the developing countries were detailed in a programmatic document entitled "On the Resolution of Underdevelopment and the Establishment of a New International Economic Order", which was adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty which was held in Berlin late in May 1987.

The problems of population should be examined in the

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correct light. The growing danger of the present demographic situation is not so much the fast growth of the world population, but rather the fact that mankind may enter a new era of its history with a billion of illiterate, a billion of starving, undernourished people, with a billion of people unable to find work best suited to their abilities, and one and a half if not two billion destitute and improverished.

We must apply all our energy to do everything possible to avoid such a course of events. Mankind at the present time has all the resources for this at his disposal, and in order to put them into effect we need political will and common solidarity.

In actual fact whatever aspect of a global problem we take it is well within the power of all states to solve. Almost all of the global programs worked out by UN specialists require no more than the yearly expenditure on arms in all countries of the world to be carried out in the years remaining till the end of the century. The "Star Wars Program" alone is capable of swallowing more resources than would be required to eliminate hunger and malnutrition on the entire planet. The annual military expenditure for the whole world has reached a trillion dollars, i.e. the equivalent amount of all external debts of all developing countries which have accumulated over a quarter of a century. This is why an end to the arms race and the reallocation of even a part of the military expenditure on effective aid to developing countries would promote the radical resolution of global problems, including the problems of population.

Q: For many years in your capacity as Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union you dealt with the United Nations Organization. In your view has the United Nations adequately fulfilled its role as representing the aspirations of all the world's peoples? If it has failed to do so, what are the reasons?

A: The United Nations has achieved quite a lot over the years it has been working, and therefore its

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contribution to world affairs should not be understated. It is the most representative forum on our planet where states have a chance to systematically discuss the most important political problems of the day -- both global and regional.

On the situation in the United Nations itself, it is different now from what it was, say, in the 1950s. Those powers which once managed to dominate an obedient voting machine now find themselves in the minority when it comes to taking important decisions on contemporary life. The majority, you could even say the vast majority of states, learned to find within the framework of the United Nations that general voice that expresses the expectations and hopes of the world population. The Soviet Union will continue to support the United Nations, viewing it as an important and necessary instrument for peace and security of nations.

Q: As President of the Supreme Soviet you met with a group of school children who came to the Soviet Union from the United States as peace messengers. Do you have any reflections on the world that these young children will inherit. And the future they face?

A: Yes, I did meet with a group of children from various countries who came to the Soviet Union as part of a delegation of the American organization Children as Peacemakers. I got the impression that if certain politicians in the West understood the need to find a common language and solve the problems of peace as these children feel and understand it, then we could have solved these major problems long ago. Children understand well that nuclear death is a terrible thing. Any young creature who has just begun to think and reflect on the meaning of life and death, already understands that the destruction of human beings must never be permitted and that we must struggle for life on Earth. These children will have a bright future.

Q: Do you think that we have done enough for children by ensuring that the world has been free of war for the last 40 years, or should governments do much more for the legacy of young people?

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A: I can repeat what I already said earlier. We do not have the right to leave the resolution of such problems as the preservation of peace, disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war to future generations. These questions need to be solved today and immediately. What has been achieved to date is extremely little since the threat hanging over our heads has not been eliminated.

Q: A personal question. For many years you were involved as the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, in the fate of the world. Today you are President of the Soviet Union with different responsibilities and activities. Can you tell us what your personal adjustment has been like?

A: Of course I've had to change my way of working, and in a major way. My present work is connected with the activities of the organs of state authority, including local authorities. I have in mind the Soviets of People's Deputies. I have a fair amount of serious duties in connection with international relations, the main task of which remains the assertion of the politics of peace. But my main duties are connected with internal affairs.

The revolutionary reconstructing process which our country is involved in has involved the Soviet local councils as well. Recently, exceptionally important laws and decrees connected with the reconstruction on the work of these local councils were undertaken, our voting system changed and there is much new in the everyday workings of Soviet power bodies. This, perhaps, the main thing if I have to talk briefly.

In conclusion, I would like on this day of five billions wish everyone who is listening to me to live and work in a spirit of universal solidarity in awareness of the great responsibility before each of us, before our contemporaries and before our offspring for the fate of civilization, and for life itself on our planet. May every child who appears in this world be wanted in its family and society. May parents be assured that their child will grow and reach maturity. May he receive a full education and on

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becoming an adult find suitable labor employing all his creative capacities. May he live in conditions worthy of mankind.

(TASS)

(Izvestia, July 11. Abridged.)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA
TÜSTAV

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TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Fri Feb 26 1988

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News and Views

THREE ELEMENTS OF THE HUMAN FACTOR -- ABILITY,
POSSIBILITY AND WILLINGNESS

Dmitri Vasilyev

In the thirties, which are remembered in the USSR as a time that left much to be desired from the point of view of respect for the individual and kindness, newspapers and posters constantly declared that "of all the valuable things in the world the most valuable and important is people, personnel." That maxim was pronounced by Stalin and everyone was supposed to know it by heart.

Decades later, at the time which is now referred to as a "period of stagnation," the most frequently heard slogan was "man is the main, invaluable asset of our society." The phrase belongs to Leonid Brezhnev.

What about the current policy of restructuring with its emphasis on the "human factor," which is mentioned in many official documents, articles and speeches? Is it merely a verbal alteration of the stale axiom?

To answer this question one should realise the scope of change brought about by what is known as perestroika, especially in the social sphere. Housing construction has accelerated dramatically. Moreover, plan targets in this field have been reviewed several times and more ambitious goals have been set. Capital investments in the health service and education are growing. The incomes of war veterans, school teachers, medical personnel, invalids, women and families with many children have been increased.

Put on the path of radical reform, the Soviet economy is learning how to establish closer links between production and consumption and make a worker's income more dependent on his input.

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The most striking feature of the new situation is the election of heads of companies and their departments. This practice allows workers to play a more active role in managing production.

In spite of the obvious improvements in the situation in the Soviet Union, there is no denying the fact that there are still too many problems standing in the way of change. The main difficulty is that the people are changing too slowly. Many of us have not yet abandoned our old habits and preconceptions. Three years are certainly not enough for that.

For too long it was believed that slogans, persuasion and moralising were enough to make people work wonders. Slogans, persuasion and moralising have not disappeared, but they have been relegated to their proper place. We have realised that they have an auxiliary role to play, while the main emphasis should be put on changing the conditions in which people live and work. We must change conditions so that people could work with a will and as best they can without urging. In fact, work with a will, the creation of proper conditions for such work and skill are the three main elements of the "human factor."

The problems discussed by the recent plenums of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee show that this is no idle speculation.

The January 1987 Plenum set forth the goal of democratising Soviet society and declared far-reaching measures designed to encourage people's initiative.

The next Plenum held in June launched a radical economic reform programme. It emphasised the need to encourage every worker and every work collective to work to the best of their abilities.

The February 1988 Plenum discussed reforms in the educational system. The main idea that runs through its decisions is that conditions should be created under which people will be able to acquire the knowledge which is necessary for living and working in a new way.

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So the following three key words -- willingness, possibility and ability -- answer the question how society can get most out of its members. Meanwhile, the other aim of the reform drive is to ensure that man gets most from society.

Theoretically, this contradiction is resolved by the simple formula "the better you work the better you live," but in reality everything is not as simple as that.

For decades Soviet people took their social security for granted. They became so accustomed to the benefits which the State was giving them that they ceased to feel any responsibility for the general state of affairs. Such is the negative aspect of the generally acknowledged historic achievements of socialism. And even now people are at a loss to know how they should perform their dual role of producers and consumers. But the changing conditions of life will help them cope with this problem too.

(APN, February 25. In full.)

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The following three key words -- "TÜSTAV", "ARAŞTIRMA" and "VAKFI" -- are the main elements of the title of the work. The word "TÜSTAV" is the acronym of the Turkish Social Research Institute, which is the main body of the work. The word "ARAŞTIRMA" is the Turkish word for "research" and "VAKFI" is the Turkish word for "foundation". The title of the work is "TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI".

VOSD1-880225DR-38

THE HUMAN FACTOR

Ways to study and use the human factor were discussed at a national research conference, "Problems of Comprehensive Human Studies", that ended in Moscow February 24.

On the final day, at a "round table" scientists discussed the possibility of a single human science and an institute of man. They also analysed ways to improve the organisation of research, revive competition, initiative and provide a broader influx of young researchers.

There were heated debates, fresh ideas and the will to realise them.

The conference summed up the work of six sections. The speakers noted the high level of research and positive changes in the development of human science as a contribution of scientists to the process of revival of all spheres of life in Soviet society.

New research includes the work by neuro-physiologists and psychologists which proves that human activity is guided not only by brain but also other systems of the organism.

Another research has proved the growing role of human personality in the economy, culture and ecology. The influence of personality on the life of society has increased manifold. Suffice it to remember that the Chernobyl accident and recent railway crashes were triggered off by the mistakes of ordinary dispatchers.

The conference noted that the most important factor of perestroika is the study of human problems, conscience, culture, morality and education. Expert advice is needed on the new thinking and ways to replenish the intellectual resources of society.

Academician Frolov, chairman of the organising committee, stressed that the conference showed growing interest of

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social, natural and exact scientists for this problem. There is every reason to believe that this year will mark the emergence of a whole series of new sciences studying man, important for the effective use of the potential of Soviet science.

The conference noted the multiformity of methods and ways in human science, and the emergence of many new spheres of social and psychological practice. The main brake in this sphere is the lack of comprehensive views on the subject under study. The way forward lies not only through the accumulation of information in different sciences. We need a breakthrough in inter-branch research.

We must improve the professional skills of researchers of sociology, psychology and ergonomics. The participants in the conference pointed to the need for closer study of problems of education and health care by human sciences.

Great work lies ahead to consolidate and unite scientists, find new ways for the interaction of scientists and experts studying man in the academic, higher school and branch sciences. One of the best ways would be an institute of human studies, broadly discussed at the closing plenary session.

Academician Frolov noted that another important issue was the striving of scientists to influence all spheres of economic and social life of society.

The decisions of the conference that should be implemented without delay were forwarded to the Ministry of Higher and Specialised Secondary Education, the Ministry of Public Health, and the Ministry of Education.

In order to make education more humane, and pay more attention to humanitarian subjects, and to improve the level of training of research and engineering staff, it is advised:

- to highlight human sciences - philosophy, psychology, economics, genetics, ergonomics, ecology, ethics, aesthetics and other human sciences in universities, teachers' training institutes and technical schools;

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- to start training cadres for inter-disciplinary study of man by exchanging students between humanitarian and technical schools.

Other decisions were taken as well.

The conference outlined the guidelines for the all-round study of man.

(TASS)

(Pravda, February 25. Abridged.)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI
TÜSTAV

Cem 8.3.88



Yeni tarz mücadele dünyada geliyor. / Türk dış pol. adı da önemli bir değişim var. Ek Hükümet'in onaylanmasına rağmen, Türk egemen çevrelerinde ABD ile ilişkilerde düşüncesizlik var. Kız T. Sov., T. Bulg., T. Yun. ilişkilerinde olumlu gelişmeler var. Çin ayrıca yarım sayıları sayıları, biraz yarı sayıları. T'ün Avrupa ile de ilişkilerimizin sonuçları.

Barbaçov: Dünyada artan uluslararasılaşma, ulusal ve bölgesel rekabetleri artırıyor. (Plenum konuşması)

Her adıma karşı çıkarak söz konusu değil. Parti programımıza uygun adımları karşı çıkılmaması gerekiyor. Özel güçlenmektedir. Kimin zararına? Askeri kadrolar zararına. İvrit-asker yönetimi marında siviller güçleniyor. Otuz beş bir milyon atılıyor.

Demokratik bir istikrar.

Hükümetin dış politikasına olduğu gibi, hükümetin iç politikasına da aykırı yaklaşımlar.

"Gün" ve "Akşam"ın birleştirilip haftalık bir politik gazetesi çıkarılması.

"Gün" sözcükleri seslenecek - Ayın bir sayısı ve kısa gazetesi Geriye deyiş. / Aylık haftalık politik gazete İzlenimimiz.

Thu Sep 03 1987

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VOSD3-870903DR38

RESPECT FOR MAN A DISTINCTIVE FEATURE
OF LIFE IN SOVIET SOCIETY

Mutual trust and respect among people is an important feature of the Soviet way of life. We feel its positive influence on our work and social affairs every single day. The family, school and the Komsomol instill the best humanist traditions in young people and try to make sure that in preparing for their own working life they should be responsive, attentive and respectful to the people around them. This is one of the key moral principles of socialist society.

On the scale of values in Soviet society man is respected for the things created by his hands and intelligence and for his services to the people and the Motherland. In the scientifically grounded strategy of acceleration worked out by the Party it is noted that high respect for the value and dignity of the personality is an essential condition for "perestroika" and for the acceleration of the country's socio-economic development. Each person's dignity is decided by his personal qualities: political consciousness, education, professional background and abilities to work in a creative manner for the benefit of all. Assuming maximum tasks and seeing today's accomplishments as a springboard for future victories is the motto of our best workers who are in the vanguard of the drive for "perestroika". Devoting all their strength and creative energy to the implementation of the socio-economic programme drafted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, they work with utmost dedication for the consolidation of the country's might and for the improvement of the people's well-being. The country surrounds such people with care and affection.

We must seek to have more people among us who are convinced that they simply have no right to work badly. This

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must be prompted to them by their conscience and the time in which they are living. High moral and political principles, self-discipline and integrity are formed in our working people by the very order of our life and by the current developments in our society which proceeds along the road of restructuring and revolutionary change, but first of all, by the Party's ideological and educational work.

An important sphere of the struggle for the assertion and consolidation of the socialist principles in human relations is the work collective. There, in the basic cell of our society, people are handling a common task and building a relationship of friendship, comradely concern, respect and exactingness among them. The highest accomplishments at work and in social affairs are scored in the places where the Party organization, economic managers and popularly-elected representatives of the masses persistently work for the establishment of such an atmosphere in the team, at the shop and at the plant in general. This is because a collective cemented by discipline which Lenin qualified as a discipline of trust and all-round respect becomes a second family for the working man, in which it is interesting to live and work.

With the current restructuring, a simple and clear truth is increasingly setting in: order at home can only be ensured by a person who feels that it is his own home and acts accordingly. As it was noted at the January 1987 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, this truth applies not only to everyday life but to our socio-political affairs as a whole. It is essential that it should be unswervingly implemented in practice, otherwise, the human factor would lose its face. It is only through and due to democracy that we can make room for the most powerful and creative force of socialism: free work and free thinking in a free country.

Showing constant concern for the development of socialist democracy, the Party raises the dignity of the citizens of the Soviet Union. Close attention is given to the consideration of their letters and notes by the local

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government authorities and by the institutions and organizations which are duty-bound to tackle social and utility issues. Party committees must see to it that timely measures are taken in response to the people's signals. Careful and respectful attitude to the people's requests and proposals and the ability to heed the masses help adequately tackle the tasks of social development. There are and can be no trifles here. The fate of each person is important for society. It is inadmissible that because of bureaucracy, inattention and callousness people's interests should suffer.

Any infringements upon people's rights and dignity are inadmissible. This is a matter of principle for Communists who advocate the most humane principles.

It is an everyday duty of the Party organizations and local government authorities and a civic duty of each and every one to assert an attentive and respectful attitude to the Soviet working man.

(Pravda, September 3. Abridged.)

Yeni Lenin Yorumu :

An. m. "dem." Cumhuriyet üzerine aykırı (2. m. d. g.)
"Ertiş propagandası" / Prop. üzerine 21 günden
10 güne indirildi.

"Devletin dem. olma" niteliğine aykırı,

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMALARI
TÜSTAV

TRUTH AND LIES ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS

Ali Ileri

CC member, Communist Party of Turkey,
CPT representative on the WMR Editorial Council

Yet another trial was held in Ankara late last year; even against the grim background of the extremely reactionary legal proceedings in today's Turkey, this trial stood out as nothing but a blatant / This time reprisals were aimed at 56 outstanding civic figures whose only "guilt" was that they were among the 1,236 prominent Turkish intellectuals who addressed a petition to the country's leaders. The authors (their number increased subsequently to 1,383) expressed their concern over the violations of elementary democratic rights and freedoms in Turkey, called on the authorities to declare an amnesty for political prisoners, stop the practice of torture during interrogation and end the brutal treatment of detainees. They suggested that martial law be lifted and that citizens be granted the right to engage freely in politics. As a result, they themselves were put in the dock.

The trial of the Turkish intellectuals who came out in defence of fundamental human rights and freedoms is additional proof bearing out our party's warning against the illusion that the advent of the Ozal civilian government would serve to moderate the repressive regime. As before, our country is in the grip of () the most reactionary and aggressive interests of foreign and indigenous monopoly capital

ruling the country by open terror. The creation of a civilian government enjoying the support of international imperialist quarters, above all those in the United States, and operating side by side with General Evren's military junta which has been ruling the country since the military coup of 1980 was merely an attempt at the consolidation of the existing regime in pseudoparliamentary guise.

Martial law is still in force in most provinces and in all major Turkish cities. Progressive parties and organisations have been banned; cunningly devious legislation has made strikes and other trade union activities impossible; rigid censorship has been imposed. Scores of thousands of members of left-wing parties, trade unions and other democratic organisations have been imprisoned. A veritable assembly line has been set up to turn out unjust and brutal sentences. An Istanbul military court has sentenced a group of activists from the Peace Society, including its chairman Mahmut Dikerdem, to various prison terms on an absurd charge of "subversive activity against the state". Courageous protests by all of the country's democratic forces, as well as broad international solidarity, have succeeded in bringing about the release of some of the peace champions, including Mahmut Dikerdem, from prison where they were serving lengthy sentences on trumped-up charges. Meanwhile, a new wave of arrests, torture and executions has risen. The number of those tortured to death now exceeds 150. Even an official spokesman of the general staff has admitted that "53 detainees have died from torture".

Reprisals have been unleashed against the Kurdish people too. For decades they have been victims of social and national oppression. The **present** regime has switched to open terrorism against them. In the course of its military operations along the Iraqi border and even on Iraqi soil, Kurdish peasants were subjected to torture and forced deportation. Turkish troops continue their illegal occupation of a large part of Cyprus, which frustrates the wishes of the population to restore its unity.

Political reaction is accompanied by an onslaught on the living standards of working people. Unemployment affects 3.7 million people--20 per cent of the able-bodied population. Inflation is as high as 50 per cent. Millions of Turks have been forced to seek employment in other capitalist countries where, as migrant workers, they have no rights at all.

The bourgeois mass media which look for and invent any pretext to hurl accusations at the socialist countries prefer not to draw public attention to the gross violations of democratic rights and freedoms in Turkey. Instead, they painstakingly advertise the pseudodemocratic manoeuvring of the current regime; this is in accordance with the official position of most NATO countries which support this regime despite its repressive policies. It was they who prevented Turkey's expulsion from the European Council. And it is Washington which is the first to encourage the present Turkish regime.

Having raised the banner of an anti-communist "crusade", the Reagan Administration has virtually approved the persecution

of patriots in Turkey. This was demonstrated by the visit of E. Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, to Ankara last summer. The Washington bureaucrat delivered a lecture in the Turkish capital and articulated the official political credo of the US government proclaiming that the struggle against communism should have priority over observance of human rights. Our prime duty in matters of human rights, Abrams held forth, is to resist the communist offensive. A human rights policy which is not anti-communist cannot be serious, he claimed. Without batting an eyelid, he called on the Turkish authorities to ignore criticism by the democratic public and, at times, even by official spokesmen of European capitalist countries. The latter, he said, never look at the map and ignore the geographical position of Turkey which protects NATO's southern flank.

This cynical statement is sufficiently clear. The Turkish reactionaries' sponsors on the other side of the Atlantic are not at all concerned with upholding human rights. The "communist offensive" is what they are worried about. Translated from Washington's political Newspeak into plain language, this means that Washington is alarmed by the fact that more and more Turkish citizens, deprived of elementary political rights and freedoms, of jobs, of a future, are increasingly attracted to the new life people live in the neighbouring Soviet socialist republics of Georgia and Armenia and in People's Bulgaria. They see that there, as in all of the socialist community, there is no unemployment, no one is homeless, no people are dying from lack of medical care. There, parents do not

have to go hungry so as to provide their children with at least a minimum of education--the schools are open to everyone. Peace champions are not thrown into jail, authors of letters to the government are not taken to court. In the socialist world, social justice and confidence in the future have been ensured, and the working man is truly the master of his life.

Most of my countrymen have never had an opportunity to read Lenin who, at the very dawn of Soviet government, stressed that it ensured for working people "greater practical opportunities for enjoying democratic rights and liberties than ever existed before, even approximately, in the best and the most democratic bourgeois republics".¹ The example of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries shows working people all over the world that personal freedoms and the observance of the rights of both individuals and nations depend first and foremost on the elimination of all forms of oppression and exploitation.

The movement for national liberation and social emancipation, for socialist transformations in the life of society is precisely what Washington officialdom labels as the "communist offensive". This is the "offensive" it attempted to stop by bombing Vietnam, engineering a fascist coup in Chile and staging a bandit invasion of Grenada; this is what it is vainly trying to strangle using Somoza's thugs in Nicaragua, counter-revolutionary butchers in Afghanistan and army "gorillas" in El Salvador and Guatemala. The statement of Jean Kirkpatrick, the US representative at the United Nations, that the Reagan Administration and General Pinochet's dictatorship work "on the same

¹ V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 28, p. 465.

wavelength" against "Marxist expansionism", is no accident. This is the reason why, instead of condemning the Israeli aggressors who launch brutal reprisals against Palestinians and Lebanese, or the South African racists who maintain their colonial grip on the indigenous population by violence and the infamous system of apartheid, the United States supplies them with weapons and money, becoming an accessory to their criminal policies. Propping up dictatorships all over the world, US imperialism acts as an enemy of human freedoms and national independence. Washington has elevated terrorism against freedom-loving peoples and countries to the status of national policy.

International public opinion resolutely condemns the crimes of imperialist reaction, including human rights violations in the capitalist world. Bourgeois politicians would like to equate this justified protest with the hypocritical "concern" of capitalist governments over alleged human rights violations in the socialist countries--in fact, a form of interference in their internal affairs.

The theory and practice of international relations follow the fundamental precept that human rights are first and foremost a matter of domestic national jurisdiction and that they are ensured by domestic measures. This principle was reflected in the Final Act which was adopted at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and which states that the signatories shall "respect each other's right to freely choose and develop their political, social, economic and cultural systems, as well as their right to lay down their own laws and administrative

rules". The UN Declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention and interference in internal affairs adopted in 1981 says it in so many words that nations must "refrain from the exploitation and the distortion of human rights issues as a means of interference in the internal affairs of states".²

Imperialist politicians--and among them Washington calls the tune--try to gloss over or distort these provisions since the United States' and its allies' approach to human rights issues is sharply at variance with the instruments quoted and with the generally accepted norms of international relations. Paying lip service to human rights, Washington works to undermine peaceful coexistence, weaken socialism and all progressive forces and foist upon the world its own view of rights and freedoms.

In the course of yet another farcical "captive nations week" staged last summer, the man in the White House declared bombastically that the United States "must and will condemn all tyrants who deny their citizens human rights, whether they be dictators of the left or the right".³ In the twisted logic of imperialism, these captive nations are not Chile, Paraguay or Turkey languishing under fascist/dictatorships but, absurdly, the peoples of Eastern Europe ^{and all sorts of military} ^{which} have established a socialist system in their countries. Hardly anyone would take it upon himself to say if bourgeois politicians of Reagan's type really believe in what they say. However, it might be

² Resolutions and Decisions Adopted by the General Assembly. From 15 September to 18 December 1981, Department of Public Information, Press Section, United Nations, New York, 1982, p. 157.

³ The International Herald Tribune, July 17, 1984.

useful to consider what meaning they read into the concepts of "freedom", "democracy" and "human rights".

The Communists' class position on human rights differs fundamentally from the class position on this issue held by the reactionary monopoly capital quarters. As a form of domination of an exploiter minority over a majority of working people, bourgeois democracy above all guarantees the foremost right of the bourgeoisie--the right of private property, of returns from capital, the freedom of exploitation of man by man. Socialist democracy, as a form of government by the people, has its own ideals and values which, in their substance, are not identical with, or differ radically from, the ideals of a bourgeois society. Besides, the difference is not that of quantity--the same rights and freedoms, only "greater"--but that of quality. Formalised in the constitutions of the socialist countries (sometimes even expressed in a language close to that accepted in bourgeois constitutions), these rights and freedoms have a completely different class content. Socialism both expands democracy and makes it more far-reaching so that it would first and foremost cover the decisive sphere of the social fabric, that of the relations of production. Socialism guarantees democracy that / [REDACTED] really works. Having abolished private property in the means of production, socialism makes working people equal and free from exploitation.

The socialist countries do not claim that they have done everything in establishing democratic norms and ways. Under socialism, too, certain limitations apply to citizens in order to benefit the entire society. But it is a fact that socialist democracy, including

the interrelationship of personal and social rights and duties, is constantly developing and improving in the interests of the working masses. Therefore, instead of "approaching" bourgeois democracy, the better socialist democracy ensures the freedoms and rights of working people, the farther it moves away from the practices of an exploiter society. Subversion, war propaganda, dissemination of anti-socialist and pornographic literature and the like are not human rights. It is the right of the socialist countries to protect themselves and their citizens from imperialist forays, from ideological subversion, from attempts to introduce into their social fabric bourgeois moral values which are alien to the new society.

Resistance to this on the part of the socialist state which safeguards the fundamental interests of working people is what bourgeois propaganda attempts to present as human rights violations. Moreover, given the different class content of these rights and freedoms under capitalism and under socialism, bourgeois reactionary politicians regard as a "violation" the absence in a socialist society of the right of private property in the means of production, of the freedom to "make money", to buy political influence and the like. This explains why, in such context, the US imperialist intervention in Grenada is hailed as a "rescue mission". Preservation of these capitalist "freedoms" is also the reason why the ruling quarters of imperialist countries overlook, to different degrees, the blatant violations of human rights in Turkey. However, it is an important development when this or that capitalist country dissociates itself, albeit cautiously, from the brutalities committed by the

dictatorship. This is the result of unswerving action by the progressive forces, a success of international solidarity with the Turkish people, with their struggle against the inhuman dictatorship.

While aware of the limitations of bourgeois democracy due to its class content, the Communists do not belittle its significance for working people in capitalist countries. In many, the existing democratic institutions are the result of protracted and stubborn class struggle. Also contributing to their rise were international factors, such as the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in the defeat of fascism, the emergence of the world socialist system and the collapse of colonial rule. All this has helped working people to overcome the resistance of the ruling class and secure incorporation in the national legislation of a number of both political and socio-economic rights and freedoms. But even at their highest, they change nothing in the nature of capitalist government. Therefore, infusion of tangible meaning into the rights formally proclaimed by the bourgeoisie and use of democratic institutions in the interests of the masses depend on unflagging efforts of a broad democratic movement led by the working class.

We are witnessing the already curtailed rights of working people being restricted even more in traditional bourgeois democracies behind the smokescreen of talk about "human rights". This is borne out by numerous cases: the unconstitutional "occupational bans" affecting thousands of progressive West Germans, the police reprisals against the striking British

miners and against women from the peace camp near the Greenham Common military base, the persecution of anti-missile demonstrators in the FRG and Italy, the suppression of the social protest movement in Northern Ireland, the arrests of homeless squatters in the Netherlands and so on and so forth.

US imperialism, the leader of the capitalist world, also leads in violations of human rights and freedoms. Political advertising experts have bent over backward to build up the image of a "great Western democracy" for the United States. But no amount of makeup can disguise the rampant racism, violence and arbitrary action against working people to preserve the sway of capital.

The case of Leonard Peltier, a civil liberties activist, has again attracted world-wide attention to the plight of Americans persecuted for political reasons. For eight years now he has been imprisoned on a trumped-up murder charge. He never committed this crime; in actual fact, he was put behind bars because, as a leader of the American Indian Movement, he was active in the struggle against Washington's policy of genocide aimed at native Americans.

It is also common knowledge that today, persecution threatens many US citizens because computer technology has helped to develop a virtually total system of political surveillance and identification of disaffected citizens or those whom the authorities regard as undesirable. The unconstitutional meddling of the FBI, the CIA and other agencies in the private and public lives of citizens has assumed giant proportions. For

example, the FBI has compiled files on 34 million people. Coupled with the additional 78 million fingerprint files and all sorts of "data banks", this means that the repressive apparatus has virtually the entire adult population of the United States under control. The US press reports that the authorities have begun to set up concentration camps for "security risks", each with a capacity for 25,000 detainees.

As in other capitalist countries, mass unemployment has robbed millions of people in the United States of their right to work. The moves to shift the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the masses are accompanied by an offensive against labour union rights and by the suppression of strikes.

In December 1984 progressive humanity again marked the International Human Rights Day designated by the UN General Assembly to commemorate the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. This basic instrument of international law which codified an integral complex of fundamental norms and provisions ^{laid the groundwork for} / the elaboration of two international covenants: on economic, social and cultural rights, and on civil and political rights (1966). The Soviet Union and other socialist countries were instrumental in the drawing up of both covenants and ratified them before many capitalist powers did. We all know that they submit to the United Nations annual reports on their compliance with international agreements concerning human rights. These reports are discussed openly and anyone is free to read them. Meanwhile, the United States refuses, to this day, to ratify the covenants, just as it has not ratified most of the other similar accords--about 20 have been signed--aimed at protecting human rights.

Today, a matter of the utmost concern is the growing threat to the cornerstone of basic human rights--the right to life, without which all other rights are meaningless. That is why the problem of personal freedoms in all its aspects is inseparable from the need to preserve peace and to guide the historical process back to the track of detente and peaceful coexistence. Disseminated by bourgeois propaganda, the "Soviet military threat" slander and the lies about human rights violations under socialism complement each other and are aimed at justifying the pernicious US and NATO policy of war preparations.

We Communists are convinced that joint efforts by nations dedicated to peace can curb the militarists, safeguard peace and preserve life on Earth. This conviction permeates the decisions taken by congresses and leading bodies of the fraternal parties and shapes their practical activities. In a special message on the deployment of US nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey called on all citizens to vigorously join the action to defend peace: "If we do not want to perish in a nuclear war, we must mobilise all our forces so as to uphold our right to life... Peace can be preserved only by fighting for it."

The most dedicated and consistent champions of the interests of working people, the Communists are also the most resolute defenders of personal rights and freedoms. This position is rooted in the historic task they have set for themselves--to free man from all forms of oppression and exploita-

tion. This is why the Communists of the capitalist world demand that the political, economic and social gains of working people be upheld and expanded and rebuff any encroachments made on them by the monopolies and the bourgeois state.

This largely determines the strategy of the fraternal parties. For example, the July 1984 conference of the South American communist parties held in Buenos Aires defined the struggle for human rights, for genuine freedoms and for democratisation of political life as a major task. At its Fifth Congress, our party called on the people to organise nationwide resistance to US imperialism and the Turkish dictatorship, its puppet. "Only resistance," the CPT congress underlined, "will enable us to regain the democratic and economic rights we have been robbed of."

Turkey's Communists have to work underground, struggling against great odds. People have been deprived of political freedoms which exist in many capitalist countries--the freedom of conscience, of expression, of the press, inviolability of the individual. We hold that success in the struggle for these freedoms hinges on the unity of all democratic and patriotic forces. Today, conditions are ripe for the emergence of a broad opposition advocating peace and democracy; it is clear that the people are ready to support it. Striving for unity of the broadest possible strata of the population, the Second Plenary Session of the CPT Central Committee has decided to step up all efforts to strengthen and expand joint action by the Left while conducting, on a national democratic basis, a dialogue with all quarters opposing the dictatorship.

Undoubtedly, the leading role in the restoration of democracy in Turkey belongs to the working class, the driving force behind working people's resistance to the dictatorship. Addressing workers, the Fifth Congress of the CPT stated: "You have the final say in the struggle to free our people. Your weapon is the experience you have gained over the years of action against oppression." One of the priority tasks facing Turkey's Communists is to invigorate the workers' action for peace, for their vital rights and interests and to merge this action with the efforts undertaken by other sectors of working people, because if we take, for example, the demands laid down in the statement of Turkish intellectuals, they cannot be met without working class involvement.

We believe that the significance of this conclusion transcends our country's boundaries. The example of Turkey, where the present regime has done away even with the limited bourgeois-democratic rights, underlines the need to fight against authoritarian trends in government, against neofascism and racism, against persecution of progressives, for preserving and expanding the democratic rights which have been won, for actually exercising them in the interests of working people. True, opportunities for such action differ in different capitalist countries. The record shows that success depends on rallying the broadest possible democratic strata of the people around the Communists and the working class.

Anti-communism is accompanied by slander of the socialist countries. It is perfectly clear that pretending to "uphold" human rights, bourgeois propaganda tries to discredit existing

socialism and divert public attention from the situation in the capitalist world. The class bias behind such subversive campaigns becomes particularly obvious in the context of the "crusade" against the socialist countries launched by US imperialism. That is why we believe that Communists everywhere must rebuff imperialist insinuations alleging human rights violations under socialism.

In Turkey, US imperialism and the oligarchy collaborating with it do their utmost to foment anti-communist prejudice among the opposition so as to keep it from attaining unity. Concessions to these insinuations only serve to preserve and shore up the current terrorist regime. By rebuffing reaction's anti-communist campaigns we aim, on the one hand, to expose before working people the pseudodemocratic nature of the authorities' moves and, on the other, to explain the Communist Party alternative to the masses, thereby winning them over to our side. We do it in the course of specific actions taken by working people to uphold their political rights and economic interests. The party believes that a critical situation is developing in Turkey: while the strength of the forces of peace and democracy is growing, so is the danger that the regime may unleash a new wave of terror. The Third Plenary Session of the CPT Central Committee has stressed that more vigorous action by the popular masses and resolute moves against the Ozal government taken in concert with it by all those who oppose the dictatorship can deal a painful blow to the current regime.

The Communists are invariably in the front ranks of human rights champions. They are the first victims of reactionary attacks and repression in capitalist countries. At times they suffer great losses, but one cannot kill their dedication to freedom and justice, a dedication strengthened by the inspiring example of the socialist countries where working people are free from exploitation and are therefore free to exercise all democratic rights.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMALARI
TÜSTAV

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News and Views

HUMAN RIGHTS DOES NOT TAKE YELLING
AND SHOUTING TO DISCUSS

Vladimir Simonov,
Novosti political commentator

Human rights is by far not an anathema subject in East-West cooperation.

As part of its drive for perestroika the Soviet Union is prepared to discuss with its Western partners how to promote more democratic attitudes to the issue in both political systems. In addition, the Soviet MPs have a clear-cut plan for humanitarian cooperation which they hope would be interesting for the American law-makers.

This was what tens of millions of TV viewers in the Soviet Union and the United States learned with delight as they watched a live capital-to-capital hook-up between the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the US Congress.

Those who follow the world-wide debate of human rights are no doubt aware such discussions cannot be easily confined to academic level. People are prone to going into details as soon as they start discussing the subject, often forgetting about matters of principle. Why has the Kremlin been dragging out on visas for the Friedman family, the American side exclaims indignantly. How long will Leonard Peltier, the Indians' rights champion sentenced on trumped-up charges for political motives, languish in prison, Moscow responds.

No one seems to gain much from the trading of accusations between Moscow and Washington. The socialist system offers a weighty counter-argument to any such accusation. Pointing an accusing finger at any particular country does not automatically promote human rights there, for one simple

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And we are in for more breakthroughs. The Senator was really surprised to hear Vadim Zagladin, a senior official of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and member of the Soviet Parliament, say that articles 70 and 190-1 of the Soviet Penal Code were under revision. Both articles invoke criminal punishment for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", and for "propagation of deliberate lies besmirching the Soviet state and social system", respectively.

Article 70, according to Zagladin, will treat certain things, hitherto regarded as dangerous crimes, as administrative violations rather than criminal offence. Article 190-1 may be excluded from the Penal Code. The academic quarters and the public of this country are at the present time involved in an open discussion of laws regulating personal freedom.

Indeed, demos is the maker of democracy.

Under such conditions, that strike one's imagination as being unprecedentedly new, the US Congress can no longer ignore the ideas of humanitarian cooperation advanced by deputies to the Supreme Soviet. The latter proposed, among other things, that the Parliaments of the USSR and the USA exchange regular reports on the human rights situation in their respective countries, and that the human rights debate be continued by a permanent bilateral group of law-makers.

Finally, why not to hold an international conference on humanitarian issues in Moscow? Those opposing the idea call it "ironical", saying the Soviet Union is "hell", or "prison cell" or "one big Gulag". But, as Anchorman Peter Jennings justly noted, why should not we really hold such a forum just to see if this is right or wrong?

Indeed, are stereotypes with regard to the Soviet Union still dearer to some people than the truth?

(APN, October 18. In full.)

THE END

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CONSTRUCTIVE THEORY OF DEVELOPING SOCIALISM

Just published, three volumes of selected speeches and articles by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, attract great interest first of all because they reflect the strenuous theoretical and practical activities of the Party working to settle the complicated issues facing the nation, Georgy Smirnov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, writes in Kommunist.

The book spans almost twenty years, from 1967 to 1986, during that period the author centred on the political aspect of the Party's activities, management efficiency, social affairs, and civic attitudes. The materials of the book confirm that pressing issues are a special concern for the author.

The socialism as it exists in this country, its achievements and setbacks, theory and practice, have never been studied as thoroughly as they have been since the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the article continues. Containing vital conclusions and ideals, the book illustrates the author's desire to conceptualize socialist practices and resolve burning issues.

It is only natural that economic matters are the major focus of the book, the reviewer writes. The book allows us to see the development of the theory of economic reforms. In particular, the author focuses on the interaction between people and the relations they establish in the process of production. Experience has shown that harmony between productive forces and production relations does not come by itself under socialism.

Mikhail Gorbachev devotes particular attention to property relations, specifying the self-financing concept and pointing to the large potentialities of cooperatives.

A PRESS CONFERENCE ON THE OCCASION
OF THE DAY OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The Soviet concept of human rights proceeds from a combination of the achievements of socialism in ensuring these rights and the international commitments assumed by our country in this field, stated Mikhail Kapitsa, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

He spoke at a press conference held on December 10 in Moscow in connection with Human Rights Day and the 20th anniversary of the international covenants on human rights.

The Soviet Union, Kapitsa went on, stands firmly for human rights, as they are a substantial field of international cooperation, to become increasingly developed in all countries. The proposal by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze to convene in Moscow a representative conference of CSCE member states to discuss the entire complex of problems related to this sphere is a logical continuation of the USSR's constructive policy directed at extensive international cooperation in the humanitarian field.

And it is deeply symbolic that exactly today, on Human Rights Day, the Soviet delegation in Vienna has submitted for consideration by the participants for the all-European forum an official document entitled "The USSR's proposal to convene a conference of representatives of CSCE participatory states on the development of humanitarian cooperation."

In proposing to hold the conference we proceed from the premise that humanitarian cooperation - and the conference will be devoted to the problems of this cooperation - is one of the mainstays of international security and that this

cooperation should be carried out in conditions of full observance of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, the deputy minister said.

"We do not absolutise our initiative", Kapitsa stressed. "As always, we are prepared to discuss in a friendly and businesslike manner the relevant concrete proposals and remarks of the other participants in the Vienna meeting."

The Soviet Union calls on others to display a new way of thinking and is the first to set an example here, Kapitsa went on. A readjustment is in process in all fields of society's life in the direction of its further democratisation, development of the socialist self-government of the people, greater openness, strengthening of law and order. Among these measures are the supplements to the status on entry into the USSR and exit from the USSR that come into force on January 1, 1987.

Soviet people are internationalists and feelings of Great-Power arrogance and nationalistic ambitions are alien to them, Kapitsa said. That is why they respond so keenly to the sufferings of those who to this day are denied their inalienable rights and freedoms, are victims of the flagrant and mass violations of human rights. Some 90 resolutions on these and other questions have been adopted at the 41st session of the United Nations General Assembly that is coming to its close. The Soviet delegation voted for the overwhelming majority of them. Thirteen times the American representative in the 3rd committee of the General Assembly pushed the red "no" button voting against resolutions upholding the fundamental rights of man throughout the world. More than that, on seven occasions that representative found himself to be a minority of one. This hardly needs any additional comments, Mikhail Kapitsa said.

(TASS, December 10. In full.)

IN DEFENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

USSR Proposes Conference on Humanitarian Co-operation

Vienna, December 10 (TASS). Speaking at a plenary session of the Vienna meeting of representatives of CSCE member states, Anatoly Kovalev, Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister, submitted the Soviet government's official proposal for holding a CSCE meeting on humanitarian co-operation in Moscow. This proposal, he said, was first announced by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze here in Vienna on November 5. The idea is to hold meaningful discussions on the issue with a view to improving the situation in the humanitarian area in all participating countries.

We believe that it is high time we discussed thoroughly and constructively the entire range of humanitarian issues, Anatoly Kovalev said. These include people-to-people contacts, information, cultural exchanges and education. The Soviet Union suggests discussing in Moscow all the humanitarian issues of the Helsinki Final Act in order to encourage and ensure effective implementation of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and freedoms of man. We have no intention of emphasising distinctions between social rights and political and civil rights. They must all ensure most effectively a dignified existence of people.

We are not proposing a date for such a humanitarian meeting. This question, as well as the other organisational matters, could be discussed at the forthcoming negotiations here in Vienna.

We have good intentions in proposing a conference in Moscow. And we are determined to create the best possible conditions for its work.

We are prepared to discuss things in earnest and thoroughly and we are not afraid of criticism. We also have

grievances against many countries in the area of human rights and we have reason to express concern about the situation in humanitarian co-operation.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet Union is making painstaking efforts to ensure human rights, strengthen law and order, further to widen international contacts of Soviet citizens and organisations and deal in a humane and positive way with the issue of reunification of families and cases of Soviets marrying citizens of foreign countries. We have pledged in no uncertain terms that we are prepared to be guided in the area of human contacts by an agreement drafted at the Berne meeting. Incidentally, it did not become effective because of the opposition of only one country, the United States.

Humanitarian co-operation is a delicate area by nature, the speaker went on to say. It has, contiguous and, in a way, intertwining, such fundamental standards of international law, as respect for sovereignty, non-intervention in internal affairs, national traditions and customs, and, along with all that, the destinies of individuals, that is, purely personal matters. Confrontational escapades, stereotypes surviving since the Cold War times, and demagogic attempts at equating a country's image with some isolated cases, even if really regrettable, are particularly out of place in the humanitarian field.

Such attempts and methods smack of an affront to whole nations. One has to speak about it because there have been some at the Vienna meeting, too.

There are quite a few difficulties in matters relating to international humanitarian co-operation. They arise naturally since the nations of the world belong to differing social and political systems. Yet even within the limits of these natural difficulties there is room for international co-operation and

its development. It is demarcated by a number of international legal instruments. I have to note, however, that we are not on a par with some Western countries boycotting the international covenants on human rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and other fundamental documents. It is particularly opportune to say that on Human Rights Day.

There is much to prove that the Europeans have it within their power to address themselves to the task of reviving detente. The Vienna meeting could make quite a sizable contribution not only towards strengthening security and promoting co-operation in Europe, but also towards putting all international relations on a healthier footing.

Referring to the proposal made by the delegation of the Polish People's Republic on December 8 for complementing the credentials of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, the speaker declared that it was an important constructive step in this direction.

The Soviet proposal to call a conference in Moscow on humanitarian co-operation has proved of interest to the participants in the Vienna meeting. A number of delegations have supported it.

On the same day, A.G.Kovalev held a news conference giving a detailed account of the proposal submitted by the Soviet Union. Journalists had their numerous questions answered.

(Pravda, December 11. In full.)

LOOKING FOR WAYS TO BROADEN CO-OPERATION

Human Rights and the United Nations

V. Sofinsky

In December 1966 the United Nations adopted, at Soviet initiative, a series of international covenants on human rights. These days the whole world is celebrating the 20th anniversary of the event. The 41st UN General Assembly held a special session to mark the anniversary.

It was history that willed the United Nations to become centre of international co-operation "in promoting and encouraging human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion" (United Nations Charter, Article I, p. 3). For the founding of the UN was the result of the great victory of the freedom-loving nations over the forces of fascism and militarism, whose defeat made it possible at last "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small" (Preamble to the UN Charter).

The chief aim of the UN is the maintenance of international peace and security. Though more than 40 years have passed since the founding of that organisation, this goal has not been met in spite of the efforts of the peace-loving states. Moreover, the increased risk of war causes growing concern. War means the destruction of human life and in the nuclear age it means the destruction of all humanity. The dead have no rights, except, perhaps, the right to be remembered after their death, but now even this right is uncertain. Only peace can ensure the implementation of any right of man, including the most sacred right to life.

The United Nations has had its say on the matter. The UN General Assembly's Resolution 38/113, adopted in 1984, says

that all nations and all people have the inalienable right to life and that the implementation of this right is the necessary condition for the implementation of the entire range of economic, social and cultural rights as well as civil and political rights. It is highly significant that the United Nations declared 1986 the International Year of Peace. The socialist countries' proposal for creating a comprehensive system of peace and international security, which cannot be built without broad and open co-operation in the humanitarian area, including human rights, is fully consonant with the United Nations' main goal and the needs of our time.

The UN was a centre where the principles of co-operation between states in the area of human rights were formulated. The world hailed the adoption by the UN General Assembly in 1948 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was drafted by the UN Human Rights Commission. December 10, the day it was adopted, is celebrated as Human Rights Day.

On the basis of that Declaration the United Nations drafted the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, whose 20th anniversary is being celebrated now, and many other acts of law, such as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and several other conventions.

It is these acts, worked out in the UN, that form the juridical basis for international cooperation in the field of human rights. Regrettably, not all UN member states have acceded to them. This applies primarily to the USA, but in a number of cases also to its allies. For example, Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Belgium, the

Netherlands and Japan have not acceded to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women along with the USA. Women, forming the majority of the world's population, still remain in the position of a discriminated minority. And this in the most developed Western countries so boastful of their democracy!

Human rights violations abound in the Western countries: millions of unemployed, homelessness, existence below the official poverty line, racism, anti-Semitism, the political and economic methods of persecution of dissidents, the bans on professions, the high, far from accessible to all, cost of medical assistance and education, infringement on the rights of migrant workers, genocide against the indigenous population and so forth.

Some "champions" of human rights are all too ready to make statements about the promotion of the "basic universal standards of human rights." But the fact is that these standards are laid down in the international covenants on human rights and other international legal documents. And those who refuse to accede to them, eventually, find themselves outside the system of international cooperation in this field. It is known that such cooperation rests on the obligations voluntarily assumed by states. Well, what if a state does not want to assume any obligations? Is this not a nonobservance of the UN Charter stressing the importance of international cooperation "in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms"?

The UN has done a lot not only to work out the aforesaid documents and raise their effectiveness, but it has exerted great efforts to make them universal. And though the organisation's activity here is worthy of respect, the task is not yet accomplished.

Decisively coming out for broader international

cooperation in realising the political, social and personal rights of man, the Soviet Union calls for looking at this problem in a new, unbiassed way. And the point here is not just to clear this problem of everything superficial, of hypocrisy and slander, though this is important, but to correctly define the priorities in the activity of UN agencies in this field. It should be geared to eradicating gross human rights violations, especially in situations that pose a threat to international peace and security.

We constantly see the apartheid regime of racism and colonialism blending crude and mass human rights violations in South Africa with unending acts of aggression against neighbouring states to threaten peace in the whole of Africa. Have crude and mass human rights violations on the Israeli-occupied territories not been provoking war or a near-war situation in the vast region of the Middle East for years? Does the horrible reality of Sabra and Shatila not remind us of the tragedy of Lidice, Oradour and Khatyn? Is the El Salvador dictatorship, leading a real war against its people, not destabilizing peace in Central America?

UN General Assembly Resolution 32/130, adopted in 1978, calls on the world community to focus on such crude and mass human rights violations. The resolution describes the main types of crude and mass human rights violations, qualifying them as the outcome of the policy of aggression, colonialism, genocide, apartheid and racism, and also of the refusal to recognize nations' right to self-determination and sovereignty over their riches and natural resources.

Any other stand with regard to top priorities in fostering respect for human rights, particularly treating as a priority the collection and examination of private complaints by individuals, constitutes a deviation from the UN Charter and General Assembly resolutions. This is confirmed by the fact

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that restoring the rights of individuals does not require joint efforts by states. As for imperialism, colonialism, apartheid and racism, they deny rights to hundreds of millions of men and women.

UN efforts to combat crude and mass human rights violations have been effective not in all cases. The blame goes not to the United Nations, but to those of its member-states who are most outspoken in their claims to be the sole human rights advocates and who are expanding, like the United States, "constructive engagement" with the apartheid regime and "strategic cooperation" with the Zionist aggressor, occupying Grenada, helping the dictatorships in El Salvador and Chile, waging undeclared wars against the peoples who have decided to organize their life as they see it fit, committing acts of state-sponsored terrorism, hindering UN resolutions on a new international economic order and decolonization of Namibia, and impeding the elaboration of a code of behavior for transnational corporations, etc. These forces have launched a massive offensive against UN agencies and the United Nations proper to hinder their activities.

It is universally recognized that the role of the United Nations is irreplaceable and its responsibility great in all fields of international relations. The USSR's stand boils down to working resolutely to enhance the role of the United Nations in world affairs and organize constructive cooperation among all who want to increase the UN's contribution to democratizing international life. Enhancing the authority and prestige of the United Nations and the effectiveness of its resolutions is a common concern for all its member-states. This fully refers to UN human rights activities.

A fairly streamlined structure of agencies concerned with international co-operation in human rights has taken shape within the framework of the Organization during the past 40

years. The present structure, even if not perfect, is adequate to the UN purposes "in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms". So, what should be considered is not creating any new agencies and institutions, as is sometimes suggested, but strengthening the existing ones and upgrading their performance.

There are, beyond question, quite a few difficulties in international co-operation in so delicate an area as human rights. These stem, in particular, from the difference between the social and political systems of the nations engaged in international co-operation. Yet, although this difference is a fact, their relationship and interdependence in this world are more important.

It is more essential than ever before to find ways for closer and more productive co-operation of governments, parties, social organizations and movements which are really preoccupied with the destinies of peace on Earth and of all peoples in order to remove the threat of nuclear disaster and create an all-embracing system of international security. The 27th Congress of the CPSU said as much in its appeal to the world community. Sweeping Soviet peace proposals in the name of this great goal were brought forward at the Reykjavik summit.

Points of convergence and issues in which co-operation is possible and necessary should be sought in the human rights field, too. The Soviet proposal at the Vienna meeting last November to call a representative conference of the CSCE nations on the whole range of humanitarian problems, including the human rights issue, was important in this sense.

The Soviet Union is against confrontation and intolerance. It stands for a return to co-operation which made the creation of the United Nations Organization possible.

(Pravda, December 8. In full.)

HUMAN RIGHTS

Pravda Leader

In December 1966 the United Nations adopted a series of international covenants on human rights. These days the whole world is celebrating the 20th anniversary of the event. Today is the Human Rights Day and a fitting occasion for emphasising the fact that the implementation of human rights and liberties is inseparable from the solution to the key issue of preserving and strengthening universal peace.

The humanitarian principles, formulated by the 27th Soviet Communist Party Congress embody the progressive ideals of social justice and are part of the Soviet programme for creating a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have ample reason to take pride in the contribution they have made to the cause of practical implementation of human rights and freedoms. It was on Soviet initiative that the UN adopted the international covenants on human rights. And this country and the other socialist countries serve as an example of practical implementation of these rights.

Respect for human rights results from the nature of socialist society. Socialism can develop successfully only when people themselves manage the affairs of their country. It is impossible to accelerate the development of our society without further widening socialist democracy in all fields. That is the reason why for some representatives of the capitalist countries the human rights issue is often a subject of political speculation and hypocritical demagogy, whereas for socialism the implementation of human rights is an indispensable condition for society's successful movement towards its lofty goals.

The Soviet Union is not only a party to all major international human rights agreements. It was the initiator of the adoption of many of them, including the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples. This country also demanded that the right of nations to self-determination, major social and economic rights and some other fundamental principles be formalised in human rights covenants. The inclusion in the Soviet Constitution of the ten principles of the Helsinki Final Act, which thus became a law, may serve as a shining example of this country's commitment to human rights.

"It is in the basic issue of war and peace that democracy makes itself felt most", V.I.Lenin pointed out. Indeed, how can one reconcile lip-service to democracy with the acts of national leaders carrying on a frenzied build-up of nuclear, space, chemical and other weapons of wholesale destruction and stoking up enmity between nations? Yet, it is this kind of policy that the imperialist elements of the US and some other NATO countries pursue. What kind of real human rights can one talk about in the face of preparations for an incinerating nuclear war that put man's prime right -- the right to live -- at stake?

The CPSU and the Soviet State are upholding the true human rights by their determined effort to remove the threat of nuclear war and by more and more of concrete and realistic initiatives for building a nuclear-free world and asserting a relationship of peaceful coexistence and broad co-operation among all nations and peoples.

What kind of true democracy can one talk about when millions are condemned to unemployment, have no roof over their head, experience racial and ethnic oppression, suffer persecution for free thinking, and have no access to education, medical and social assistance, and quite often even to a

piece of bread? A society in which the human person is befuddled by the propaganda of war, militarism and violence, which cultivates hatred for other peoples and implants racist, fascist and revenge-seeking ideas is a society of trampled rights.

There is sheer hypocrisy behind the oaths of loyalty to human rights by those imperialist politicians who support the fascist regimes in Chile and Paraguay, and arm the Israeli zionists perpetrating their crimes in Arab lands. State-sponsored terrorism which the US ruling establishment has made a standing rule of its foreign policy directs the hand of the hired thugs killing children and women in Nicaragua, encourages the stranglers of democracy in South Korea, El Salvador and Pakistan, and condones the impudence of the South African racists.

At the conference in Bern, the USSR called for steps to be taken to have all nations bring their domestic legislation on humanitarian matters into line with international standards and declared itself ready to go by the draft the experts have drawn up to this effect. Washington is known to have prevented this document from being adopted. Moreover, the US has never ratified dozens of Acts constituting the system of national commitments under contemporary international law.

And after that, gentlemen in Washington accuse the Soviet Union of trampling on human rights. Anti-Sovietism not only blinds the US ruling circles; it blocks the way to a normal international situation. To curry favour with the military-industrial complex, the US Administration puts obstacles on the way to nuclear disarmament, and thwarts the understandings reached at the Soviet-American meeting in Reykjavik.

Soviet people resolutely condemn imperialist policies, which hold human rights in contempt. As we see it, many issues

of international and interstate humanitarian cooperation demand not only close attention but a new approach, a new mode of thinking, corresponding to the realities of a nuclear and space age. Our country proceeded from that as it proposed to convene a representative meeting of European Conference member states to discuss the whole range of questions, including human contacts, information, culture and education. Moscow is willing to host the forum.

As it made this proposal, the Soviet Union was guided by lofty and humane ideas. We call for a comprehensive discussion aimed at practical results; for mutual understanding leading to progress in humanitarian issues in every country taking part in the European process.

The year is drawing to an end: a year the United Nations has declared the International Year of Peace. It has seen the global peace effort gain momentum. The Soviet Union sincerely wishes to see this trend go hand in hand with the drive to grant every member of the human race rights worthy of Man.

(December 10. In full.)

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witnessing now is reminiscent of the situations that existed in all the landmark periods of socialist history. In this we see the continuity and consistency of our historic path.

We should give maximum possible support to the development of the individual in the process of reorganisation, and notably to the working man, the worker personality maturing in the new conditions. The life of people reorganising the country is invested with enormous content. It deserves vivid and detailed coverage.

Attention has been drawn to the need for a profound theoretical interpretation of the processes taking place in the country, for an analysis of social development. There is a growing social demand for theoretical articles. They should be of high quality, and this means we ought to think and write in a new way so that theory really increases public consciousness, the political awareness of people. We must make maximum possible use of the intellectual potential available today.

The speakers commented on the profound changes taking place in the press, radio and television, in the news agencies, book printing and publishing. The articles and broadcasts have raised major public issues concerning economy and politics. It was said that journalism today is in need of talented energetic young people and that the system of training mass information media workers wants streamlining.

Yegor Ligachev, Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Alexander Yakovlev, Alternate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, attended the meeting.

(Pravda, February 14. In full.)

Looking Towards the Party Congress

UPHOLDING COMMON HUMAN INTERESTS

Y.Zhdanov, Corresponding Member,
USSR Academy of Sciences

Sweeping change that has been going on in the world over the last few decades calls for a new mode of approach to the issues of war and peace and, above all, to that of mankind's survival on Earth.

In this sense, as M.S.Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, recently noted, one has to rise above national selfishness, tactical considerations, disagreements and disputes which pale into insignificance beside the major value -- peace and a secure future.

So, the modern epoch has brought the peoples and political parties face to face with the issues of dialectics of common human, national and class interests in world politics, economics and ideology.

Bourgeois ideologues are trying to retain a priority claim to the championship of the common human and common national values. Yet, under the impact of the class interests of monopoly groups, the military-industrial complex and imperialist trends, the said values fall victim to foul, negative dialectics. The common human values degenerate into ideologically sterile cosmopolitanism, the striving for the world-wide unity of people is transformed beyond recognition into hegemonic myths of world domination. The transformation of national into nationalistic, into racism and genocide is yet another manifestation of the same dialectics.

The finest liberal "supra-party" and "common human" views fail to stand the test of time if the ground they stand on implies a reconciliation with the exploitation of man by man,

of one people by another, and with the trends of hegemonism and oppression.

The record of world history and that of the Socialist system testify that only the working class and its advanced vanguard can resolve the no easy task of properly combining common human, national and class interests. The working class liberates itself in order to liberate humanity, that is, all the peoples of the world. The objective tendency for the world to be redressed in keeping with Socialist principles takes effect through the revolutionary activities of the working class and its Party.

The Communist movement is following the major route of social progress, not a side-track. That is particularly evident now due to the historic battle under way for the future of humanity and for its prospect of infinite progress. Communists have a lofty mission to fulfill -- to lead the common human movement for peace and to bring all working people, all sound-minded people, together in pursuit of this goal.

In the new historical setting, the outcome of the struggle of the two social systems can be determined in decisive measure by how far either will advance towards resolving mankind's common basic objectives, above all, the major one -- that of the survival of humanity and the preservation of its civilisation and culture for the future. Therefore, the CPSU is calling upon the governments and the peoples to act in accordance with the voice of reason, renounce the Stone Age mode of thinking and the policy that is unworthy of the level of civilisation that modern society has achieved.

The "Star Wars" problem, which has arisen in recent times, involves not only military and technological, but certain ideological considerations as well. The most aggressive elements of the bourgeoisie have set out to dominate all

humanity, bring it to heel, pure and simple. One cannot fail to see this as a relapse of the most antihumanitarian, human-hating concepts that have been devised by bourgeois ideologues from nietzscheanism to fascism.

The world of Socialism has a diametrically opposite plan: it is a plan to make space an area of peaceful cooperation of the peoples directed towards resolving global ecological and technological problems.

The world of Socialism has taken the lead in promoting international cooperation with a view to using thermonuclear fusion for resolving the most dramatic energy problems of all humanity.

Socialism is calling upon the rest of the world to join efforts and to concentrate them on resolving the problems of disease control, the ending of famine and environmental pollution.

The working man's class-inspired mentality prompts him to respect his fellow workers, the product of their industry, the working men of any nation and of any colour of skin. These are the great sources of humanism residing in the mass of the people, in the midst of the working class. These are the roots of common human morality and human wisdom which has a history of many centuries behind it.

Indeed, for thousands of years, ideologues of dominant classes have quite often descended to pessimistic notions of man and his place in the world. In the present, alarming, critical and crucial situation, Communists are offering to the whole world a programme of construction, creative endeavour, common sense, a programme to preserve and advance life on Earth.

The present situation in the world makes it imperative for each nation and each State to square their national interests intelligently with the necessity of resolving the problems of

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common concern to all humanity. That is exactly the way the dialectics of the class, national and common human interests works in these times of change. Will it be reason and humanity that will prevail or will it be what Marx called the furies of private interest? We are sure of the former eventuality.

(Pravda, January 23. Abridged.)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
TÜSTAV

Claim 87 - BSS

Notes and Comments

APROPOS OF THE ARTICLE "BECOME A CITIZEN OF THE WORLD"

Dmitri Likhachev's article under the above title carried by the May 1987 issue of WMR drew considerable reader response, ranging from the approbative to the sharply critical. The differing responses are on the whole, expressed in the three letters (from Austria, Britain, and the Soviet Union) printed below with some abridgement.

The article "Become a Citizen of the World" by Dmitri Likhachev highlighted the contradictions of the "new way of thinking". Quite often stereotypes lie concealed under its cover. Likhachev's stand is, in my view, anti-historical; it can only be coupled to bourgeois genetic theory, which despises the masses; it is at variance with the concrete experience of life. His arguments do not tie in with reality, although, of course, they contain some valid points.

Having said that the intelligentsia with their heightened sense of responsibility have few children, Academician Likhachev draws the conclusion from this that culture is generally in decline in all countries.

In the world there are roughly one billion illiterates and not the least of the impediments to their intellectual development is that intellectuals have hired themselves out to capitalism. In the Third World some 70 per cent of the children are undernourished and they will have no chance of developing.

intellectually. Over 20 per cent of the world's population live in abject poverty under the conditions of capitalist culture. They are cut off from any sort of culture, for to reach out to culture people need a certain material base. But Academician Likhachev is thinking about a legal code to protect the rights of animals.

What sort of general cultural level has Academician Likhachev in mind, when he speaks of its decline? A historical fact of culture is that since World War II there have been more than 100 military conflicts in 60 countries with a toll of 10 million lives, that children are being killed every day in South Africa, Nicaragua, and Palestine. It is also a fact of culture that in the industrialised countries of the so-called free world television, whose programmes are blueprinted by intellectuals hired by monopoly capital for wages, is conducting an unprecedented drive for literacy. But Academician Likhachev is worried not by these facts of culture implicit in imperialism. He believes that a supra-class Cultural International will be the way out of the period of culture's decline.

Academician Likhachev does not believe in teamwork. He does not believe that a Sistine Madonna could be produced by a team of artists. In my view this is superficial argumentation.

The magnificent works of Raphael and Michelangelo were paid for with the blood of "converts to Christianity", they served the church hierarchy, its system of suppression. One should not forget these facts despite the beauty of the ^{masters'} creations.

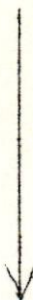
The Soviet academician did not devote even a single line to the herculean collective strength of the working class, which with the October Revolution laid the beginning of humanity's most remarkable cultural achievement--the building of a society in which all members have the opportunity to develop their intellectual and physical capabilities all-sidedly, a society "in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all" (Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Collected Works, Vol. 6, p. 506).

Academician Likhachev would not like to see man change the creations of Nature, which, he says, is endowed with a supreme intelligence. This leaves no room for interaction, between man, society, and Nature.

It would be useful to refrain from reproducing any more of such "new thoughts". I very much regret their publication in a journal of the communist ^{and workers'} parties.

With friendly greetings,

Gerhard Oberkofler,
professor
Innsbruck



I read World Marxist Review with great interest every month, and find it very valuable indeed. I am sorry to write to you for the first time to say how puzzled I was about the content of an article by Dmitri Likhachev, "Become a Citizen of the World", in the May 1987 issue. Some of his ideas appear quite un-Marxist. For example, "the ethical properties distinctive to the intelligentsia are not only a question of upbringing and education but also a question of genetic heredity". What is the author suggesting that genetics do for the children of intellectuals?

Similarly, the author says "In Nature, everything is arranged in a way proving beyond doubt that there exists an extraordinary intelligence which has been working for millions of years"... Ch. Darwin killed such ideas over 100 years ago! I repeat that I find the journal invaluable, and this is the first article I have found which appears to be reactionary.

Yours,

Alan Tait

Cambridge

Cambridge

I enjoyed reading Dmitri Likhachev's vivid and stirring article. I find topical and understandable, above all, his outraged condemnation of the world-wide arms race with its psychology and terrible consequences to humanity, and his denunciation of the contagion of nationalism that is making this an even more feverish race. I see a significant sign of the times in the fact that a consistent humanist like Dmitri Likhachev

wrote for an international journal of communist and workers' parties, in his call for a Cultural International to help preserve the values of all nations.

His appeal for association among nations, and his exhortation that each person learn to be a "citizen of the world" are, I would say, in keeping with the new way of thinking that seeks to bridge the gulf between political practice and humanity's ethical norms. Mikhail Gorbachov spoke of this last February at an international forum in Moscow.

I should like to draw attention to the disparateness of progress and the growing threat of dehumanisation. Indeed, has our generation not witnessed--and been the object--of the most outstanding scientific and technological achievements and of the most monstrous, genocidal, fascist-totalitarian regimes? The development of socialism itself and the doctrine and practice of the class struggle have also proved to be disparate. True, thanks to socialism working people have been freed from uncertainty about their future, there has been a cultural revolution, and formerly oppressed nations have embarked upon unfettered development. True, the Soviet people have built a mighty state, one of the two "superpowers" as they are called in the West, in terms of economic, military, and political capability. But the absolutisation of industrial development and the class struggle, and the Stalinist notion that it grows in proportion to the triumphs of socialism led to the erosion of moral values and of the human conscience itself, whose definitive significance is rightly noted in the article.

Our attention and that of world public opinion were drawn to these disturbing circumstances by distinguished leading personalities of Soviet literature and culture, one of whom is Academician Likhachev. They follow the great humanist traditions of Russian critically-minded intellectuals. Today the intelligentsia rightfully hold an important place in our social development, in our truly revolutionary reorganisation. There is today, properly speaking, our first-ever alliance between the political leadership and the progressive intelligentsia, and this is, I would say, a paramount guarantee of perestroika.

I do not rule out a negative reaction to the article on the part of some readers, particularly among those who continue to take a fetishistic view of the class struggle, although Lenin, as we all know, put the interests of social development, as a whole, above the class interests of the proletariat. The entire world has today found itself in a situation in which precisely human interests must be given priority. In this lies the essence of our new way of thinking.

Of course, in some quarters Marxism is seen differently-- as a closed theory, as an absolute boundary separating the "clean" from the "unclean". But this alienation from life does more than offend the creative spirit of the living, constantly enriching teaching of Marx and Lenin. It poses the risk of Communists condemning themselves to self-isolation, to "proud solitude", to the laboratory retorts of "pure" models.

Some people may be surprised, even shocked by Likhachev's defence of animals, of Nature generally at a time when such a

great number of people in the world, ruthlessly exploited and dying of hunger, need to be defended. But the fact is that today humankind can preserve itself as such only together with Nature, if it helps Nature to cope with the calamities inflicted on it by man. That is what makes unacceptable the alternative: humanity's liberation from oppression and violence or the defence of everything living. Both the one and the other are needed; more, the one helps the other.

Regard for humankind's great moral traditions or, to quote Marx, for the everlasting laws of morality and humaneness does not conflict with Marxism. Although in the day of Marx and Engels the ecological problem was not so acute globally as it is today, was not an aspect of humanity's survival, and the issue itself did not arise, they shrewdly foresaw the significance of harmonious relations with Nature in the future socialist society and hoped that men will "not only feel but also know their oneness with nature" (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works in three volumes, Vol. 3, 1969, p. 75).

It goes without saying that a fault-finding critic may, not without grounds, dispute some of the author's ideas, for example, about socio-genetic factors being the cause of the misgivings of intellectuals about having large families. Demographers and sociologists will most likely find other, more weighty reasons for this phenomenon than fear of a nuclear war that has as yet not become--whether regretfully or happily is something else--an element of our day-to-day attitudes. A child who grows

up to be an eminent humanist, a genuine intellectual, may be born also in a large working-class or peasant family. However, Academician Likhachev is right when he says that intellectuality is also a question of genetic heredity to which, I regret to say, no significance was attached in past history.

But this is a detail. The main thing is that the article shows the importance of everybody, non-Communists and Communists, having a new outlook on the world, prompts all of us to reflect seriously upon present-day problems, upon whether our conceptual apparatus can cope with them and, in the event of necessity--to re-examine it critically.

Yevgeni Ambartsumov,
historian, sociologist
Moscow

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readers' responses to its articles.



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S U P P L E M E N T

HUMAN FACTOR, COST ACCOUNTING AND RESTRUCTURING
IN THE AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Article by Yegor Ligachev, Politburo Member and
Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

(Kommunist No. 4)

HUMAN FACTOR, COST ACCOUNTING AND RESTRUCTURING
IN THE AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Yegor Ligachev

The April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the 27th Party Congress and the January 1987 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee mapped out and substantiated the strategy and tactics at the present stage of developing socialism and set forth the concept of intensification of the country's social and economic progress and reorganisation and renovation of society.

Putting forward the ideas of acceleration, the Party launched a campaign to organise and prepare the masses of working people and mobilise all forces and means to implement the Party Programme and decisions of the Congress and Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee. The people's work has secured a sure turn for the better as shown by the economic results of 1986 despite persisting serious drawbacks and problems. After a long period of deceleration, growth rates increased in the leading areas of social production: national income, productivity of socially useful work, and industrial and agricultural output. A record-high amount of housing was put up. The material base of the entire social and cultural sphere develops at high rates.

The January 1987 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee holds a particular place in the implementation of the strategy chartered by the Party Congress to change all aspects of life of society and make better use of the infinite creative potential of socialism. The Plenary Meeting can be described as profound in terms of thoughts, stern and

Ligachev Yegor Kuzmich, Politburo member and Secretary
of the CPSU Central Committee

courageous in terms of assessments, and constructive in terms of conclusions and practical measures. The Plenary Meeting has outlined the theory and practice of reorganisation, and all its decisions are imbued with the spirit of renovation and concern for the present and future of the Party and the land of Soviets.

The 27th Party Congress qualified the economic and political developments in the 1970s and 1980s and mapped out ways of overcoming stagnation and other phenomena alien to socialism, while the January Plenary Meeting deepened the analysis, pointed out measures to speed up our advancement and determined guarantees against recurrence of errors. The Plenary Meeting stressed that reorganisation is inconceivable without extending the openness and democracy of the Party, state and public life, improving socialist self-government and the electoral system, and advancing democracy in the sphere of production, i.e., the decisive sphere of human activity. Democracy and openness are both a prerequisite and result of the reorganisation. Only broad democratisation of life, involving the masses, can reveal in full measure the advantages of the socialist system.

The Plenary Meeting has raised the burning question of improving the Party's personnel policy, increasing the control of personnel "from above" and particularly "from below" and consistently implementing Lenin's idea that the work of the authorities should be made public and performed in full view of the masses. Hence, the Plenary Meeting's directive at the electivity of leaders of work collectives and regular reports by elected and appointed persons to work collectives and the population.

The decisions of the Plenary Meeting have been given unanimous support by communists and all Soviet people. The Plenary Meeting has tremendously increased foreign interest in everything going on in our country. Our friends regard the

ideas of the Plenary Meeting as another proof of the infinite moral, political and social potential of socialism, its capacity for constant self-improvement and determination of the CPSU and Soviet society to steadily move forward along the chosen path. Our enemies in the capitalist world are trying to speculate on the errors and weak points revealed by the January Plenary Meeting in the secret hope that the critical approach shown by the CPSU towards evaluating the real state of affairs and democratisation of society will, in the final analysis, erode the economic, political and ideological foundations of the USSR. But these hopes are vain just as the hysterical bourgeois "prophecies" have been throughout the nearly 70 years of our country's march along the path of socialism. Drastic reorganisation does not mean demolition of our political system. On the contrary, the point at issue is to build up and develop this system. Audacious and open discussion of pressing problems of the life of society at plenary meetings of the Central Committee is vivid proof of our country's might and confidence in its strength.

We are sure of the strength of our social system and see that its viability is rooted in the Soviet man and his organisation in the system of collectivist relationships.

Organisation of man is, above all, the organisation of work, involving provision of modern machinery and appliances, its efficiency and incentives.

Organisation of man means provision everywhere of economic and social conditions which would most fully reveal his abilities and lead to a gradual transformation of work from vital necessity to the main vital need.

The Party addressed itself to this problem in the past too. Today, however, we have reached a stage where all these factors as a whole should be taken into account. This is especially important today when the Party's policy of reorganisation has reached, once and for all, the stage of

practical implementation, since the January Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. The Plenary Meeting stresses that nowadays communists must prove the correctness of our policy and the vitality of reorganisation with thousands upon thousands of examples from daily life.

Wide-ranging introduction of economic methods of management is the key factor of the current reorganization. It naturally also holds for the country's agro-industrial complex (AIC) and its basic link, agriculture. The successes or failures of precisely this economic sphere directly bear on the fulfilment of the tasks set by the 27th Congress of the CPSU aimed at further raising the well-being of the Soviet people. AIC production accounts for over 70 per cent of the country's retail trade, and the entire economic equilibrium is dependent on the rates of this production growth.

The AIC began to take shape as an independent object of management after the May 1982 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, and a review of the results since then shows a number of promising trends in the agrarian sector.

First, the growth of livestock breeding production has acquired stability. In the four years since the May Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee the production of meat grew by 12, milk by 8 and eggs by 12 per cent. Annual plans of basic cattle-breeding production purchases were fulfilled. The output of meat rose by 7.2 million tons, milk by 30 million tons and eggs by 32,000 million over the four years, with the largest production growth observed in 1986.

In the 1983-1986 period the gross farming output was 11 per cent higher than in the preceding four-year period.

Second, as a result of scientific and technological progress intensive technologies are increasingly applied in crop-growing and cattle-farming. It is very much due to this factor that 210 million tons of grain were gathered in last year as against the average annual 180 million tons collected

in the previous five-year plan. In 1986 collective and state farms in 24 regions, territories and autonomous republics (against 8 such territories in 1982) boasted 3,000 and more kilogrammes of milk per cow.

Third, the tangible changes taking place in production strengthen collective and state farms economically. The annual average number of unprofitable farms dropped by more than three times. The net average profit of collective and state farms increased per annum from 1,400 to 5,700 million roubles (without taking into account bonuses and high purchasing prices). Last year, for the first time in recent years, the growth rates of labour productivity were much higher than the growth rates of payment for work.

Fourth, the investment policy in rural areas has turned toward the social sphere. Throughout the four years preceding the May Plenary Meeting the non-productive sphere received 28,000 million roubles, or 17 per cent of all investments in farming, while after the Plenary Meeting the figures were over 41,000 million roubles or about 23 per cent, respectively.

Finally, changes in production, productive forces and the social fields inevitably affected the forms of production relations and the pattern of AIC management which today incorporates a new economic mechanism, socialist cost-accounting being its component part. Relations based on genuine and full cost-accounting can serve as an example for other national economic branches.

Positive trends, however, have begun to show. The task is to develop them and make them irreversible. It is necessary to double the growth rates of farming output, ensure its safe storage, improve its processing and thus considerably increase the per capita consumption of basic food products. It should be borne in mind that the country is still short of meat, dairy products, vegetables and fruit. The variety of other

food products is not wide, and their quality is often low. The retarded growth of food production aggravates the contradictions between supply and demand.

The CPSU Central Committee gives constant attention to the AIC and food reserves of the country. The Central Committee recently reviewed the activity of Party organisations of the Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Voronezh Region aimed at ensuring greater, more stable development of crop farming and livestock breeding. By the way, reports of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Ukraine and Kazakhstan were considered by the CPSU Central Committee for the first time in more than 20 years. In other words, it is practical implementation of the decision of the 27th Congress of the CPSU that there must be no organizations in the Party which are beyond control or criticism.

It has been noted that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR are intolerably slow at changing the management of the AIC. As a result, the Ukraine recently began receiving grain from the state.

Animal husbandry in Kazakhstan found itself in a desolate state. Developing extensively, it had more than one serious failure and sometimes retrogressed. The dairy cattle productivity in 1985 was at the 1970 level.

The efficiency of the AIC must grow to ensure steady supply of the country with food, to stop importing grain and create reliable stocks. It is a thing of the past when the AIC was done out of its share of investments and resources. In the past few five-year-plan periods its share of investments in the national economy has been high. It is high time to see what the investments produce and how they work.

The efficiency of investments is dependent on the choice of the areas of planning and development of the structure and

organisation of the AIC. Of no less importance is to consistently follow them, without vascillating when the first difficulties or failures are met with.

In this context it is advisable to recall the decisions on specialisation of agricultural production. All other conditions being equal, specialisation opens broad vistas for cost-accounting, collective contracts and higher labour productivity; in other words, it allows the human factor to reveal itself in full. The first initiatives of advanced economic projects in this field date back to the 1960s. A detailed resolution to this effect was passed by the CPSU Central Committee in 1976. In the time that has passed since then large zones concentrating the production of grain, potatoes, vegetables, grapes, tea and citrus fruit have taken shape in the country, and a network of specialised collective and state farms has been set up. There are more than 7,000 inter-farm enterprises (not counting building organisations), or twice more than before this decision of the Central Committee was adopted.

The experience we have amassed demonstrates the high efficiency of the operation of specialised farms, inter-farm enterprises and livestock-farming complexes. They show lower production costs, higher efficiency and spiralling labour productivity. At meat-and-milk, pork and vegetable-growing farms it is twice as high and at poultry farms four times as high as at ordinary multisectoral farms. Foreign experience, too, confirms the advantages of large specialised farms.

Nevertheless, Party, Soviet and economic bodies in many regions had neglected this area up until recently.

Defining its agrarian policy, the CPSU Central Committee stresses that specialisation and concentration of agricultural production, inter-farm co-operation, agro-industrial integration and industrialisation of agricultural production have been and remain the main venues of development of

socialist agriculture. Realization of this fact is especially important today, in the period of profound institutional and economic restructuring of the agro-industrial complex, high rates of growth of its productive forces, and large-scale application of scientific and technological achievements.

In these conditions all kinds and forms of specialisation and concentration of agricultural production (zonal, sectoral, intrasectoral, intrafarm, inter-farm and agro-industrial) must be developed in full. It should be especially accentuated that this process must be regulated, above all by economic methods. We should turn back to developed measures in specialisation in farms, districts and regions, update them with due account of our experience and new opportunities, and steadily move in this direction.

This year the AIC and other economic branches began operating under a new economic mechanism. Trends of its essential improvement have been defined by the 27th Congress of the CPSU and statements by M.S. Gorbachev. In approaching these problems, the Central Committee is guided by the great Leninist example of substantiating, developing and implementing an extremely bold turn towards new methods of economic management such as food tax and the New Economic Policy were in the early years of Soviet power.

The advisability of moulding a new integral economic mechanism is also dictated by social changes, such as the growth of people's educational level and their desire to take an active part in running production. Bossing around will not get you far today; moreover, it will roll you back. Besides, vast and diverse resources are concentrated in the AIC, and organisational, technological and economic relations between its branches have grown more intricate. All this demands that production^{relations} be further improved and brought into conformity with the level of productive forces.

The new economic mechanism in the AIC provides for greater mobilisation of social, psychological, organisational and economic reserves for improving the use of the production potential and raising the efficiency of moral and material work incentives and interest in and responsibility for the end results of work. In other words, it is geared to a great extent to enhancing the human factor in implementing the Food Programme of the USSR.

The need to enhance the human factor is due, first of all, to its decisive role in boosting production; secondly, to the recent underevaluation of this role; and, thirdly, to the substantial changes in the social and economic situation in rural areas.

It should be noted that both theoretically and practically there existed absolutisation of the material factors of production and a kind of technological determinism which was natural when the country was building its material-technical basis and relied primarily on extensive economic methods. At the same time the absolute belief in complete correspondence of production relations with the level of productive forces lessened the attention to, and sometimes gave rise to ignorance of, social aspects. As a subject and genuine creator of social relations, man dropped out of the field of vision of scholars, scientists and economic managers.

Indeed, in boosting agriculture, emphasis was for a long time laid on its mechanisation and saturation with technology. The material and technical potential of the agrarian sector steeply increased, and conditions of work changed. In 1965 there were on the average 2,400 roubles worth of basic production assets per collective or state farmer intended for agriculture, while in 1985 the figure was 12,600. So the capital-output ratio of work grew by more than 5 times. The change was both quantitative and, no less importantly, qualitative. As for labour productivity in agriculture, it

only doubled in the past two decades.

To instil in rural workers the feeling of being the genuine master of the field, farm, and collective and state farm is a major trend in the work of Party and agro-industrial committees towards enhancing the human factor. It means that the economic mechanism and management, organisation, payment and stimulation of work should be structured so as to merge personal, collective and social interests and establish a visual interconnection between "my", "our" and "the whole people's". The shaping of such a situation depends on a combination of economic and social relations, first of all in the work collective, at enterprises, i.e., where man becomes aware of what he is: active personality or a labourer executing somebody else's orders.

If his opinion is taken into consideration and if he sees that his work affects the end results of the performance of the enterprise and that these results, in their turn, affect his position, then he shows initiative and is a thrifty worker in a team or on a farm, the master of land and, hence, of the country. That is the way this question was brought up by the Party Congress. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in the Political Report to the 27th Congress of the CPSU, "You cannot be a master of your country if you are not a real master at your factory or collective farm, at your shop or livestock farm."

Practice shows that collective contracts based on socialist cost accounting are an important factor for inculcating in rural workers this attitude to work and to life in the present conditions.

After the CPSU Central Committee resolution to this effect and the meeting in Belgorod, much was done to introduce collective contracts in all parts of the country. Diverse forms of such contracts emerged: teams and farms operating on principles of collective contracts, small intensive-work teams, family contracts and others.

Though the forms are different, the essence of such organisation of work and production is the same. It implies genuine merger of the worker with the means of production and with the land above all. This is the unity of machines, organisation and economy. This is a collective form of payment for work with due account of the real contribution of every worker to the end results. If a collective contract is applied, the human factor is enhanced in such conventional and customary categories as responsibility, interest in work and discipline.

In spite of the obvious advantages of collective contracts and cost accounting, they are being introduced slowly and have not produced the desired results at many farms. Why? Generally, the following reasons can be singled out.

First, in many places the collective contract is interpreted as an end in itself. If you are made responsible for it, then teams have to be set up on the basis of such contracts. So they are set up in name only, with attention paid to quantity only. Since 1982 the number of work collectives in the AIC which are based on contracts has exceeded 400,000 or increased 7-fold. But what happened to labour productivity in agriculture? During this period it grew by only 18 per cent. It stands to reason that there can be no full correspondence between these figures. It is clear, however, that the new form is used just to mask the old content. This is pure bureaucracy, and that is what we should be afraid of. That is what must be opposed by the will of Party organizations, work collectives, the entire arsenal of political and organizational means, efficient planning, stimulation, cost accounting, and organization of work in collectives and teams.

Second, many farm leaders and specialists do not want to introduce collective forms of organization and on this basis draw payment for their work proceeding from end results. Of

course it is much safer to make managerial decisions and recommendations and not to be financially responsible for them. Meanwhile experience shows that the economic levers begin operating full force only when cost accounting covers managers and specialists, too.

A collective contract is organically linked with cost accounting, and they both are called upon to solve a double-edged problem: boost production and save resources. In actual fact, however, the collective contract in many farms is aimed at production boosting alone. For example, in 1985 collective and state farmers engaged in plant growing and livestock farming received bonuses, of which 98 per cent were given for fulfilling and overfulfilling the plans, and only 2 per cent for direct saving.

The efficiency of collective contracts and intrafarm cost accounting rockets with the introduction of cheque book cost accounting plan and payment of workers depending on gross income. This indicator takes into account both the output and cuts in inputs. Moreover, genuine cost accounting is inconceivable without a check book methods of recording all expenses.

Collectives operating on cost accounting and contracts with check book control of expenses, are self-controlled and self-educated.

It goes without saying that the new economic mechanism in the agro-industrial complex does not automatically lead to high end results. It must be backed up by organisational and political work of Party organisations oriented towards man and aimed at promoting his initiative.

Party committees must give constant attention to further democratisation of management which is a powerful tool for raising people's labour and social activity. This is a prerequisite for the advancement of the socialist economy.

Democratisation of economic management will immediately

affect all aspects of production and the life of society just as the reorganization of society affects the economy. This relationship is comprehensive and organic. In this context Party committees must have a closer look at the activity of elective bodies of production management.

It is inadmissible for all affairs to be run by the apparatus of these bodies while the district AIC council or collective farm board only registers the decisions taken. This state of affairs can only be described as antidemocratic and bureaucratic. Everything must be decided by the elective body of production management. Party committees must direct the activity of elective bodies at solving the vital problems of agro-industrial production and setting up of most favourable organisational, economic, legal and social conditions for running production on collective and state farms, and at other projects at that, within the AIC on genuine cost accounting foundations.

Electivity of the leaders of enterprises, workshops, farms and teams and of foremen is an important means of extending democracy of production -- the basis of the entire democratic process. This step stems from objective demands and is due above all to large-scale introduction of cost accounting. Under cost accounting the responsibility of each worker is inconceivable without securing his right to choose better ways of carrying out the tasks facing him and elect the leader of his collective. The principle of electivity of leaders finds support among the working people.

The necessity has also been crystallised of extending democracy at collective farms, too. Proposals are made to change the Model Rules of the Collective Farm and raise the role of the meetings of collective farmers, boards and auditing commissions of farms and of each collective farmer. Proposals are also put forward to improve the system of electing the leaders of farms and their divisions, and expand

the structure of self-government bodies of collective farms (set up team councils, expert councils, women's councils, scientific and technical societies, etc.). These proposals should be thoroughly studied and used to further promote the collective farms' democracy and progress. The forthcoming National Congress of Collective Farmers will give a good opportunity for that.

The Party committees should constantly keep in mind the social factors which raise labour productivity and man's social activity. A profound shift has occurred towards social changes in rural areas, and certain experience has been accumulated in building human settlements provided with all amenities and conditions for work and life. But this is just the beginning. The housing stock increased in 1986 by 19.7 per cent in urban areas and by 12.0 per cent in rural areas as against 1980. As much as 447 sq.m of floor space in urban areas and 375 sq.m of floor space in rural areas are commissioned per 1,000 of the population. In other words, rural builders are in debt to rural dwellers. It is important to couple the volume of construction work with its quality. Less than a third of the publicly owned housing in rural areas is provided with all the amenities (except electricity).

We can no longer put up with the fact that social measures taken in rural areas are not integral with one another. For example, nearly every fifth central town of collective and state farms has no preschool child-care centres, and the plan for their commissioning is underfulfilled every year. In 1986 fewer clubs and houses of culture were built than planned. In a word, much work is ahead to build a modern material base for the social sphere in the agrarian sector. The more socio-cultural projects we build, the faster the way of life in the countryside will change, the more people will stay in rural areas and the more efficient their work will be.

To make a major step in building up the rates of

development of the agrarian sector, we must considerably raise the level of Party leadership of farming and the entire sphere of the AIC. Agricultural production involves nearly three million communists. The state and collective farms number over 49,000 primary, and 290,000 shop Party organisations and groups. This is a tremendous force. Overcoming the inertia, formalism and banality, that have been building up for years, we must boldly concentrate the efforts of rural communists on the key problems of development of the AIC and persistently change Party activity at all levels, especially at the district level.

Contemporary production in rural areas, transition to economic methods, extension of democracy in running the AIC and social changes in the countryside set the trade unions and YCL organizations new tasks. Particular hopes are linked with stepping up the YCL activity in rural areas. This is only natural since the introduction of progressive new ideas in agricultural production depends on broad involvement of young people in this sphere.

The main lever used by the Party committees to speed up the social and economic progress of the AIC is personnel. Being the responsibility of the Party, selection, distribution and education of personnel demand still greater attention and greater efforts on the part of Party committees.

(Kommunist No.4. Abridged.)

SURVEYS, INFORMATION AND MAIL

The Socialist Way of Life

RIGHTS AND DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL PROTECTED
DEPENDABLY

In ending this series of surveys highlighting the socialist way of life^x we publish the following contribution from Doctor of Law Yelena Lukasheva (Institute of State and Law, USSR Academy of Sciences).

The bourgeois mass media are peddling all sorts of inventions claiming that "rights are denied" to the individual in a socialist society. Permit me to comment.

A general reply is that nothing is farther from the facts. I should like to make the point that precisely the human being has always been in the focus of Marxism-Leninism. The founders of Marxism saw the objective of the revolutionary struggle for social emancipation, justice, and progress in providing every member of society with the opportunity to "freely develop his human nature".¹ The practice of existing socialism has compellingly demonstrated the viability and strength of Marxist-Leninist humanism, which proclaimed the human being as the highest value.

^x See WMR, Nos. 8,9,10,12, 1985.

¹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Collected Works, Vol. 4, p. 263.

The idea of human dignity is linked precisely to this perception of the human being--social and individual. Respect for the dignity and rights of the individual is an immutable principle of socialist democracy, of socialist self-administration.

This humanist principle does not imply that the attitude to the individual, to his nature, is passive. Not only society is reshaped in the course of socialist and communist construction. A vital component of this reshaping is the change in people's way of thinking and morals, in other words, the formation of the new citizen building his life on the basis of essential moral values--kindness, honour, conscience, dignity, justice, civic duty, and social responsibility.

A fundamentally different situation prevails in the society founded on private property and exploitation. The widely touted words "sanctity and inviolability of human rights" used by bourgeois ideologues cannot conceal the fact that millions of people are denied the elementary right to work, a dignified life, and participation in the affairs of state. The abolition of private property in the means of production, the establishment of power by the people, and the enlistment of the working people themselves into decision-making raise respect for the rights and dignity of the individual to the level of the highest political and moral value. Such is the situation in the socialist world, where political, judicial, and moral barriers are erected and reinforced against any kind of impingement upon human rights.

As well as its moral aspect respect for the individual's rights and dignity has more tangible, so to say, elements.

Between the individual and the socialist state there are political and judicial relations. And these relations have to be based on mutual responsibility. Consequently, both the individual and the state have not only rights but also duties.

"There are no rights without duties, and no duties without rights--this is an immutable political principle of a socialist society," states the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme.²

The rights of the individual are ensured by the work of the socialist state, its agencies, and officials. For their part, too, citizens themselves see to the implementation of their rights.

Underlying these relations is the organic coupling of the interests of the state, society, and the individual. Bourgeois propagandists constantly misconstrue them, charging the socialist states with ignoring the individual's interests, restricting his rights, focusing on his duties, and so forth. In fact, under socialism the state has the paramount role to play in protecting the individual's rights and dignity. It would be in order to identify several ways in which this role is manifested.

Let us begin with the fact that the socialist state legislatively defines the individual's legal status, i.e., his rights

² Pravda, October 26, 1985.

(to work, education, rest and leisure, housing, to express his opinion freely, to unite in public organisations, to participate in affairs of state and society, and so on) and duties. By judicially endorsing rights and duties, the state undertakes the commitment to guarantee them by judicial, economic, political, ideological, and organisational means.

Further, in its work the state under the new political system is guided by the constitutional principle of socialist legality, one of whose main purposes is to protect the rights and freedoms of citizens. This principle is enshrined in the constitutions of the USSR, Bulgaria, Vietnam, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other socialist countries.

Socialist legality presupposes strict and steadfast compliance with laws and other judicial acts by all agencies, officials, public organisations, and citizens without exception. It is linked indivisibly to socialist democracy, in the focus of which is the individual with his rights, interests, and freedoms. For that reason by protecting the individual's rights and freedoms socialist legality ensures the further development of democracy, enriches its content, and creates the conditions for ever broader self-administration by the people.

Lastly, the high demand made by socialist states of the judicial culture of officials is of vital significance. Such culture is more than a good knowledge of the law. It implies strict compliance with the law. Its promotion and a resolute weeding out of bureaucracy, of red tape help to reinforce

socialist legality and enhance respect for the individual's rights and freedoms.

In addition, the state makes definite requirements of the behaviour of citizens, formulates judicial duties, and establishes the measure of responsibility for violations of these requirements. The exercise by the individual of his rights and freedoms should not be prejudicial to the interests of society and the state, to the rights of other individuals. This is spelled out in provisions in the constitutions of Bulgaria, Hungary, Cuba, and the USSR and in operating legislation in other socialist countries.

Precisely this is the starting-point of bourgeois propaganda's rhetoric about the "suppression" of freedoms in a socialist society. Let us take a closer look at unfounded assertions of this kind.

The fulfilment of civic duties and respect for the interests of society, the state, and fellow citizens are a vital condition for normal human association. Had that not been the case, the talk about the rights and dignity of the individual would have been an empty sound.

An analogous approach is recorded in the relevant international documents. The UN pact on civil and political rights, for example, allows for the possibility of restrictions in the exercise of rights in order to ensure: a) respect for the rights

and freedoms of other persons; b) the interests of state security, social law and order, and the health and morality of the population (Articles 12, 19). Similar restrictions are envisaged in the International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (Article 4) and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 29).

In socialist countries legislation is concerned not with restricting this or that freedom but with preventing abuse of freedoms. For instance, in the Soviet Union the law prohibits war propaganda, the spread of misanthropic ideas, the stirring up of hostility and hatred on grounds of nationality or religion, the spread of narcotics and pornography, and the running of gambling houses and brothels. How does one qualify this--as impingements upon the individual's rights and freedoms or the protection of the individual against destructive influences, the protection of his dignity and health?

Now a few words about the possibilities of citizens to ensure respect for their rights and dignity. These possibilities are determined by, above all, the character of the socialist system, the entire system of social relations based on the principles of social justice, and by the corresponding socio-psychological climate in which any impingement upon the individual's rights and dignity is seen as unlawful and immoral.

Bourgeois democracy offers protection of the individual's rights and freedoms virtually through only the court of law (the innumerable instance of court harassment of peace fighters in Britain, the Berufsverbot in the FRG, the Peltier case in the USA, and so on are indicative of how the bourgeois custodians of the law understand their duties). In a socialist society the individual's rights are protected by the entire political superstructure--the state apparatus, party organs, the trade unions, and other public organisations. A significant factor here is the constitutional right of citizens to submit grievances, statements, and recommendations to bodies of authority of all levels. This right is one of the major guarantees of compliance with laws on the part of officials. It is recorded in the constitutions of all the socialist countries. Moreover, legislation establishes a specific time-limit for examining the substance of grievances and forbids sending them to those charged in these grievances.

The right to submit grievances, statements, and recommendations is profoundly democratic in terms of content. It places under the people's control the work of state and public organs and of officials, binding the latter to be attentive to the interests of citizens and respect their rights and dignity.

Let me emphasise that in a socialist society the attitude to letters, statements, and grievances is one of the key criteria in evaluating the work of the state apparatus. The ruling parties of socialist countries attach special significance to this sphere of its work, noting the need for a tactful and

attentive attitude to letters and statements from citizens and doing everything to remove any remaining bureaucratic practices, red tape, and indifference and neglect towards the needs and interests of the working people. This, too, is a manifestation of respect for the rights and dignity of the individual.

Lastly, it goes without saying that there is the possibility of filing a complaint in a court against actions that transgress the law, against actions in which officials abuse their powers and impinge upon the rights of citizens.

Let us return to the question of the relationship between rights and duties. A favourite argument of anti-communist propaganda is that duties and the growth of their significance are the result of an extension of the "totalitarian foundations" of the life of socialist societies.

Our ideological adversaries are not very scrupulous about the arguments they use. It is hard to assume that they seriously regard the elementary duties of citizens as being something abnormal. But let us not concern ourselves with their propaganda kitchen. It is much more important to note the following objective phenomenon implicit in socialist countries. We are observing a process of growth of the individual's responsibility to society. This process springs from the growth of political consciousness, the consolidation of moral principles, and the active position that people take in life. It is thus a matter not of any extension of the alleged "totalitarian foundations" but of the individual's mounting respect for his duties, of

society's moral progress, which demonstrates the creative strength of citizens and the advantages of the socialist way of life. The individual's social responsibility is a direct component of social relations in which the rights, honour, and dignity of citizens are observed, respected, and guaranteed. Under these conditions the relationship between the rights and duties of citizens embodies social justice, the organic combination of the interests of society and the individual.

In this connection let us consider one of the main aspects of bourgeois propaganda: its allegations that human rights are violated under socialism. Special zeal is displayed here by Washington, which is trying to use these allegations as a pretext for interference in the internal affairs of socialist countries and appear before public opinion in the pose of a champion of human rights and a model of compliance with these rights. How do the claims to this role fit in with the socio-political realities of the USA and its behaviour under international law?

It is no accident that the ruling circles of the USA and their NATO allies have made the question of human rights practically the core of their ideological attacks on the USSR and other socialist countries. With their unbridled smear campaigns against socialism they are seeking to divert attention from the situation prevailing in their own backyard. But facts are stubborn things.

Is it not a fact that by whipping up the arms race it is the imperialist powers that are endangering on a global scale the human being's prime right, the right to life, without which everything else loses all significance? Is it not a fact

that in the industrialised capitalist countries tens of millions of people are denied yet another basic right, the right to work? Are not racism and racial discrimination in the USA and some other "citadels" of bourgeois democracy, Britain, for instance, a flagrant violation of human rights, freedoms and dignity? Or, what about the social discrimination against women rampant throughout the capitalist world? In the USA this discrimination is, on top of everything else, still legal: the amendment to the Constitution giving women equal rights with men was voted down in 1982 by the legislatures of the states and by the US Congress. Then, what about the flouting of the rights of trade unions, a model of which was the short ^{work} / made by Washington of the American air controllers union? Also, what about the systematic secret surveillance? The police have files on practically the entire adult population of the USA. There have been 6,400,000 political screenings of persons working in government agencies during the past twelve years. The bugging of telephones and the opening of letters are widely practised by the secret services in Britain.

There is no end to facts of this kind. The stigmatising of other countries with the allegation that they deny human rights and the unceremonious flouting of civil rights in the capitalist world constitute the slanderous and hypocritical crux of the bourgeois propaganda campaign.

The congenital falsity of this campaign becomes even more evident when one looks at the USA's activity and stand
 ← in matters concerning international law.

Suffice it to note that of the 19 treaty acts on human rights adopted within the framework of the United Nations Organisation, the USA has ratified only five. The obstructionist policy pursued by Washington and its closest allies dragged out, in particular, for almost two decades the drawing up of two international pacts--one on civil and political human rights and the other on economic, social, and cultural human rights. Although these documents were adopted by the UN in 1966, they still remain to be ratified by the USA. In the same unjustifiable way /the USA ignores the international conventions on the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination (1965), on the prevention of genocide (1948) and apartheid (1973) and on punishment for these crimes, on the abolition of discrimination in education (UNESCO, 1960), and some other international laws. Of the 160 conventions passed by the International Labour Organisation, the USA has ratified only seven, and none of these seven concern the human right to employment.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, on the contrary, have ratified and comply with all acts in international law on the question of human rights, including the relevant (seventh) principle of the Helsinki Final Act, whose fulfilment by the socialist countries bourgeois propaganda is making a special effort to deny. In this context, one can state that in the Soviet Union all the ten principles of the Final Act have been given the highest legislative force--they have been incorporated in the Constitution of the USSR.

The pose of mentor taken by Washington and its allies relative to socialist countries obviously does not fit them. No inventions can refute the fact that socialism proclaims, ensures in practice, and constantly develops a sum of rights and freedoms of the individual that is inaccessible to capitalism, that it is only the new social system that actually protects the dignity of the human being.

This is the long-term guideline of socialist society's development. As the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme states, "the ideas of freedom, human rights, and dignity of the individual are filled with real vital content"; "the party will continue to facilitate ... the creation of increasingly favourable conditions for and guarantees of their full realisation".³

³ Ibid.

FACE TO FACE WITH DISASTER

Soviet Public Opinion and the Chernobyl Catastrophe

Alexander Volkov

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"The Tomb" is the title of a play Moscow's Znamya magazine published four months after the Chernobyl disaster. It reads like an eyewitness account, although the stage is set in a medical centre, a fictitious Radiation Safety Institute. The radiation sickness patients are trying to sort out what has happened, realising that they may have only hours left to live. The author, the journalist Vladimir Gubarev, freely admits that the play is a blend of fiction and fact. When he left for Chernobyl, his plan was to "write about everything, with complete frankness". Harsh reality suggested the genre of the tragedy for the play.

"The Tomb" is on at theatres in Tambov, Tiraspol, Krasnodar and other Soviet cities, at Stockholm's Dramaten Theatre and at the Royal Shakespeare Company in London. It has been translated in Japan, India and socialist countries. The reason for this widespread interest is that it attempts to assess Chernobyl from the angle of a dedicated civic position--something people all over the world, first and foremost (and for obvious reasons) in the Soviet Union, regard as a vital and urgent need.

In the USSR, the first response of the public to news of the disaster was natural and straightforward: compassion for those who

were at the epicentre of the accident, a desire to help shoulder the burden, admiration and respect for the heroism of those who risked their lives to stop the accident from spreading, and offers to join them. These were matter-of-fact, calm and usually low-key (I have read many such letters)--"I, an expert (driver, construction worker or whatever other specialist), could take part in the work..."

Support took different forms. People opened their hearts and homes to the evacuees from the danger zone. Contributions poured into Special Account 904 of the USSR State Bank, opened for financial assistance to those affected by the accident. Within a short time, it swelled to more than 500 million roubles. Teams of student volunteers manned construction sites in Kiev and Gomel regions. Medical personnel who often worked around the clock to preserve human health and save lives said the way donors unhesitatingly gave their bone marrow to the radiation victims, knowing not who the recipient would be--a hero or perhaps even one of the culprits--was a convincing manifestation of moral commitment and humanism.

It was a spontaneous, common and natural human response. Despite the great degree of courage and solidarity, this reaction did not really surprise us because that was typical of our people. At the same time, many were thinking painful and bitter thoughts, asking how on earth this could happen and why thousands had to display selfless heroism "in the trenches dug by negligence and irresponsibility", as someone put it. How this crass negligence of a few reverberated throughout Europe and the world and alarmed

people in Tambov and Stockholm and elsewhere was, to us, a source of guilt and shame. Yes, we felt guilty and ashamed that the accident occurred in our country (we knew that similar things had happened in other nations, but that did nothing to alleviate our feelings).

The year that has elapsed since the Chernobyl accident has been a year of intense reappraisal and reflection progressing from the immediate and spontaneous reaction on to an increasingly profound understanding of the causes behind the tragedy, to a comparison with other negative development and, most importantly, to conclusions for the future. Naturally, a special technical investigation was carried out to prevent similar disasters from recurring. Even though the probability of an unbroken chain of six gross blunders again occurring in the way it happened at Chernobyl, is infinitesimal, the entire system of nuclear power generation was subjected to a rigorous review. But public opinion was engaged in a broader reappraisal, focusing its attention on the social, psychological, moral and, in the final analysis, political issues raised by Chernobyl and on their heretofore unknown nature.

The misfortune struck after the 27th Congress of the CPSU and, in a way, reaffirmed the urgent need of the social transformations charted by the party because the accident fit into the series of negative phenomena exposed by the party forum, although Chernobyl called attention to itself and to its causes with particular force and brutality. The new atmosphere which was taking root throughout the country after the congress frustrated

all attempts at glossing over the tragedy or palliating the danger of the breach of trust committed by officials. A frank and honest discussion began in the media and at press conferences almost immediately after the accident. I say "almost" because we are still learning how to handle genuine openness; besides, the subject of the analysis is not among the particularly open fields. This level of truth is hard to master, and it does not become a routine norm overnight.

People abroad, too, may have seen at least some of the televised press conferences which were held one after another in our country. Taking part were highly prominent experts and important government officials. Every mass market newspaper and periodical in the Soviet Union wrote about Chernobyl. Today, the name crops up in an article by an economist reflecting on the human factor in the field of production, in a sociologist's analysis of the interaction of man and machinery, and even in a literary critic's essay on topical artistic question.

The party congress which displayed a revolutionary spirit has already taken place, and journalists have been called on to "write about everything, with complete frankness". This is why a play urging analysis of the social roots of the disaster appeared so soon, an angry play, if you like. But an angry and impassioned condemnation of individuals and of common grave errors would not have been enough in this case. The analysis undertaken by the public, by various experts, journalists, writers and political activists revealed very serious problems: problems which had arisen inevitably and therefore required to be solved by integrated research, democratic public discussion and joint action.

This brings to mind an interview with Valery Legasov, a member of the USSR Academy of Sciences who was active in efforts to combat the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster. He said that several years before he had been put in charge of a general industrial safety study group. Among other things, the group examined the potential dangers of various types of power production, reviewing the entire technological cycle and identifying the more vulnerable points. It concluded that major industrial accidents were soon to occur world-wide. The reason was that a qualitatively new situation was taking shape characterised by a drastic increase in the concentration of production capacities at a single plant often controlled by a single operator. Events in our country and abroad have shown that such fears were well-founded.¹

Does this mean that the Chernobyl disaster was objectively imminent and preordained? Legasov's answer is that the accident was improbable at a nuclear power plant because it would require an unbroken sequence of many wrong steps. Yet it did occur, and where it was least expected.

At once it became clear that we were living in a world quite different from what we had yesterday. It is now clear that after Chernobyl we can no longer live the way we did before it, that we must learn all its lessons. Having armed himself with powerful tools of technology, Legasov says, man has only just begun to think about how he can make them safe. "Today, we don't have to fight against what has already blown up or may suddenly blow up tomorrow.... We've got to fight for the development of safety techniques that are equal to the powers man now commands. That is a problem common to the entire world."²

That is the opinion of a physicist. Meanwhile, social scientists believe that the problem is not only technological but also social, and that the safeguards against accidents should therefore be both technological and social, and sufficient for the powers harnessed by man. Although, to be precise, this view is shared by physicists, engineers, medical experts, journalists and many other people who took part in the discussion of Chernobyl's lessons. Perhaps the social scientists were the ones who gave a professional appraisal of the inevitable nature of developments which presented themselves in an unbroken succession of "many wrong steps".

The economist and sociologist Tatiana Zaslavskaya, also a member of the Academy of Sciences, analyses the importance of the human factor in industrial production and cites the example of Chernobyl to emphasise that as labour becomes better equipped technologically, society pays an increasingly high price for the imperfect skills, flippant confidence and crude irresponsibility of individuals and consequently, for the underlying inadequacies of the system of economic and social relations. "This tragic event," she writes about the Chernobyl accident, "throws into particularly bold relief the importance of the human factor--both its positive and, unfortunately, negative importance--in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution."³

The sinister flames of Chernobyl highlighted a completely new dimension of the human factor in industrial production--its global aspect. We now know that nuclear pollution recognises no national borders. But it is not only nuclear pollution. The effects of an accident at a Swiss pharmaceutical factory have also trans-

cended borders and poisoned all of the Rhine. Acid rain and other environmental dangers do not recognise national sovereignty either. It follows that today, each person entrusted with controlling power often of awesome might or any industrial capacities capable of generating accidents if managed negligently must be aware of his or her responsibility. This responsibility has assumed a new global dimension. It is a responsibility to all mankind.

This sense of responsibility is evident in many letters sent to editorial offices. People who write them express a simple and common-sense idea: the important thing is to have an atmosphere of self-discipline and self-regulation. This atmosphere must be common and universal. A situation where workmanship is shoddy in vacuum cleaners and television sets but fine in reactors or spaceships cannot last long. Social safeguards against accidents must work across the board. But should it be protection only from slipshod, irresponsible individuals?

Portraying the nuclear power plant manager, the author of "The Tomb" poses a highly topical question--how dangerous is a dull, meek and easily manipulated individual? He owned his promotions not to his talent but to his convenience. According to the play, the previous manager had been dismissed for challenging the decisions of the higher-ups when the latter were determined to send in, at any cost, a "mission accomplished" report to their superiors. →

The former manager turned down unreliable, flammable roofing and refused to beat a deadline if this meant loss of quality. He was considered difficult and quarrelsome. The man who replaced him, pliant, accommodating and convenient for bureaucrats, let the accident happen. I asked the author of the play if he copied this character from someone. The character is fictitious, he replied, there is no such post at the power plant: there's the director and the chief engineer. Rather, "The Tomb" shows a certain composite figure of an executive which, regrettably, is nonetheless a very real one.

One cannot dispute that. And it need not necessarily be a manager. Today, the role of each individual participating in production is incomparably more important than before; therefore, the range of requirements to him or her is widening. True, man has always been the principal force of production, and Marx called the "developed productive power of all individuals" the "real wealth" of society.⁴ There was a time when production could function even if man was, "to use a striking expression of the ancients, distinguishable only as instrumentum vocale from an animal as instrumentum semi-vocale and from an implement as instrumentum mutum".⁵ Conveyor-belt production turned man into an appendage, a "cog" of the machine. A different law is making itself felt to an ever greater degree today: the higher the overall level the productive forces reach in their development, the more man and his distinctive abilities as part of the forces of production stand out among them, and the more he is objectively required to assert and manifest

his human--intellectual, moral and creative--abilities. If this is not true of an individual, if he still feels like a "cog" of this or that mechanism, and if his moral qualities are inadequate to the capacities, power and forces of nature or machinery, this individual may become a menace to society.

Then what do we do about the human factor of accidents and disasters? Impose strict controls, constant monitoring and harsh penalties for negligence? All that is only partly right--if at all--but it is not enough. Often, excessive monitoring and rigorous control "from above" work precisely to make people passive and irresponsible and prompt them to unthinkingly "obey orders".

Having launched a policy of accelerating social development and reorganising society along revolutionary lines, our party has definitively selected a different and much more promising course--granting maximum autonomy to those engaged in production, clearly outlining the rights and duties of each and thereby promoting initiative and responsibility, all this coupled with control by the public, based on efforts to effectively implement the ideas of autonomous management, socialist democracy and openness. Speaking at the January 1987 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachov said: "We have decisively taken the course of supporting enterprising, thinking and energetic people."⁶ The Plenary Meeting mapped out specific steps to considerably expand the scope of democracy in the field of production. Election of administrators and managers, their accountability to the workers as a collective, and broad participation of workers in decision-

making are all aimed at making any and all technological and economic decisions at any enterprise as consonant as possible with—and not contradictory to—the interests of our working people, our social goals. This course we regard as offering an opportunity for the fullest and most consistent realisation of the advantages of socialism—that is, overcoming the practice of hired labour, man's alienation in the process of production. As Lenin said with his usual forthright clarity, this is an opportunity "to work for oneself", not for exploiters.⁷

Some may say that this bears little relation to what happened at Chernobyl. True, the reorganisation that is under way in the Soviet Union was prompted by an overall analysis of the situation in the USSR and began before the tragedy struck. But it would have been impossible to find answers to the harsh questions posed by Chernobyl without this reorganisation effort. It provides the principal social safeguards guaranteeing scientific and technological progress in the interests of man, environmental protection and industrial safety.

Chernobyl has also put the spotlight on a different problem of safety and security.

When I asked the author of the play why he set it in a medical centre, Gubarev answered by recalling how a group of journalists came to tour the Chernobyl area and went on a hydrofoil trip on the Pripiat River. It was a fine spring day, the river sparkling with sunlight, the gardens on the banks in full bloom, and the birds singing. You simply refused to believe that there was deadly radiation all around. You cannot see, hear or smell it. It is a silent killer.

"I couldn't get over this feeling," Gubarev says. "My colleagues asked me why I did not take notes. But I did not understand how this could be conveyed at all."

Many of those who visited the zone of the accident were struck by the invisibility of this terrible danger, by man's inability to feel its presence, by the silence of the senses. It had a similarity to the war danger, a danger equally covert and almost imperceptible. It is present in the stockpiles of nuclear weapons, in missile silos and in decisions taken by certain governments, but it is hidden from sight. It can be perceived intellectually, but not everyone is aware of it, not even a majority.

While on an environmental protection lecture circuit in Finland, I was asked an unexpected question, one that even sounded strange at first: what is more dangerous—the possibility of a nuclear war breaking out or the already actual destruction of the environment, specifically, its radiological contamination? Well, after all, you can't be sure if a war will really start, but you know polluted air is now a fact. My first impulse was to say that "both were worse", that both were problems of human survival. But the question was asked for a reason: the audience was thinking about the order of priorities to be adopted in a document addressed to the public. And so we pooled our efforts.

First, we reasoned, the radiation released in the explosion of the smallest nuclear warhead would equal three Chernobyls. If only one per cent of the currently available stockpiles is used in a nuclear attack, a nuclear winter is inevitable. And nuclear

winter will destroy man--not a man, nor hundreds of even thousands of people but all men--the entire human race. Forests killed by acid rain can be replanted; we have managed to clean up many rivers; but the destruction of humanity is irreversible. What could be compared to the magnitude of this danger?

Second, there is still time to avert an environmental disaster. This time is limited, it must not be wasted, but it would still take longer than a decade to make the environment unfit for human habitation. But SDI nuclear warheads are to be deployed in the sky above us within this decade. Experts have proven that the risk of a nuclear war breaking out instantaneously and perhaps even independently of a human decision will then become much more real than it is now. It looks like the time factor is particularly relevant in the assessment of the dangers mankind is facing.

Third, the most obvious argument: if the political climate could be "decontaminated", if trust and cooperation among nations could be restored and strengthened and disarmament negotiated on that basis, then we could earmark huge resources for environmental protection. Essentially, insufficient funds are the main obstacle to the solution of all other global problems as well.

The Chernobyl disaster stimulated work to develop collective international assistance to accident victims. This kind of solidarity is quite tangible. People from different countries sent money, clothes and even fruit to the special Chernobyl relief fund, in an effort to help. That was a bit naive but very moving and noble impulse by which our nation sets great store. The names

of Robert Gale and Armand Hammer, an American surgeon and an American businessman who offered their help in the treatment of the victims, are familiar to everyone in the Soviet Union, even to schoolchildren. We also remember what Robert Gale said at a press conference in Moscow: one cannot hope that physicians will similarly help people after nuclear explosions in a war. It is entirely possible that there will be no one to treat or to be treated.

Soviet and international public opinion has already reached a conclusion: solidarity must be displayed before, not after a nuclear catastrophe--solidarity in the struggle to prevent it. Otherwise, the tomb, as one of the main characters in the play tells another, Professor ^{Cole}~~Gale~~, an American (the similarity of the names is no coincidence, of course), will be a "collective, planetary tomb".

This image and the title of the play come from the word used to denote the structure in which a radiating reactor is encased. According to the play, it also refers to the concrete vault into which the sealed lead coffin with the body of someone who died of radiation is lowered, because the body "still emits radiation--two to three roentgens an hour... And it will remain radioactive for decades."

All this is said and written not to scare people but to prompt them to act.

We are witnessing a leap forward in the shaping of mankind as a single, integral entity, although in many respects still fragmented. We also note the emergence of a universal concern

over the preservation of civilisation and the survival of the human race. Unfortunately, the biblical "end of the world" may indeed come--not through divine interference but as a result of human action. Nothing can forestall or prevent this most terrible of catastrophes except man's determination, responsibility and will. This is why a system of social safeguards is necessary at the international level too, a system based on the same principles of openness, democracy and participation.

Issues of war and peace must be decided not only by politicians but by millions of people. For this reason Soviet statements, proposals and peace initiatives are always addressed not only to politicians but also to the world's peoples. We have faith in the peoples' sagacity in their social activity. We believe that Spaceship Earth carries no passengers--we are all its crew.



¹ See Izvestiya, January 23, 1987.

² Ibid.

³ Kommunist, No.13, 1986, p. 61.

⁴ Karl Marx, Grundrisse. Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy (Rough Draft), Harmondsmith, 1973, p. 708.

⁵ Karl Marx, Capital, Vol. I, Moscow, 1956, p. 196.

⁶ Mikheil Gorbachov, Reorganisation and the Party's Personnel Policy, Moscow, 1987, p. 52.

⁷ V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 26, p. 407.