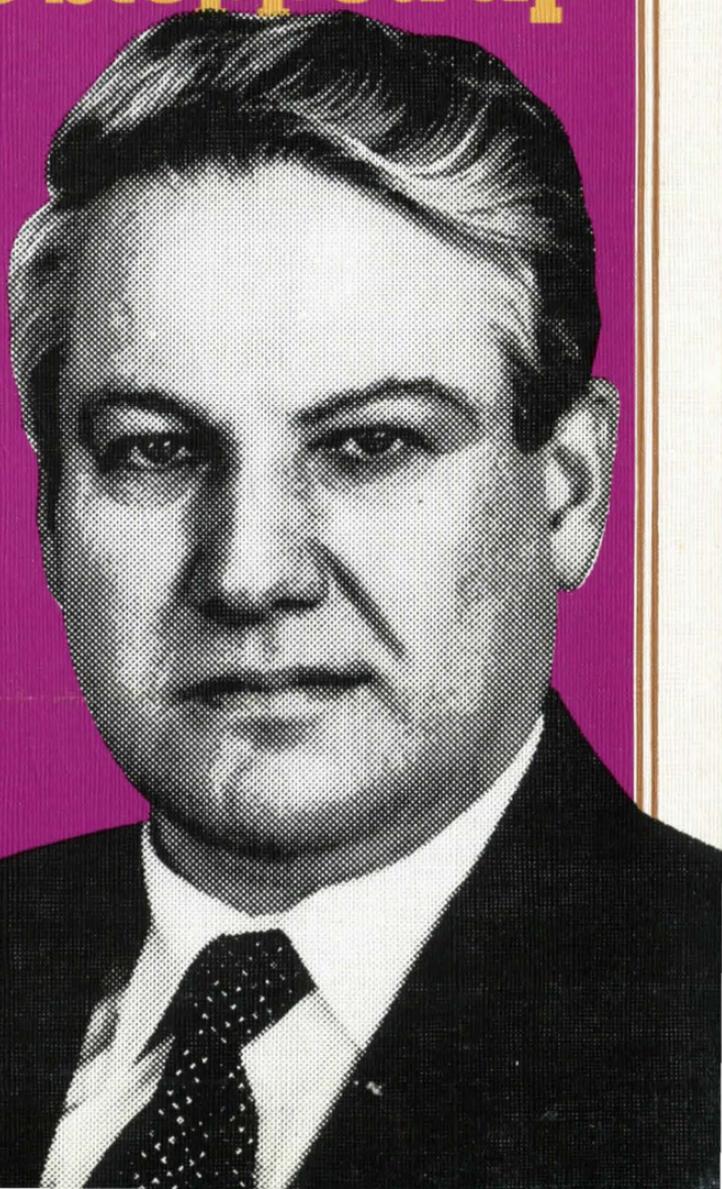


Expert Opinion

Restructuring to be stepped up

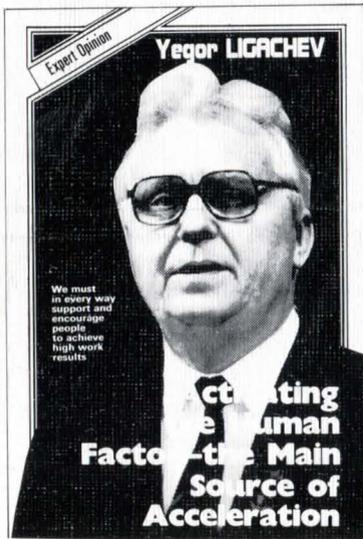
**Boris
YELTSIN**

Muscovites
approve
wider
openness



Expert Opinion

The Novosti Press Agency is putting out this series for readers who are eager to obtain reliable and exhaustive first-hand information on the USSR's accelerated social and economic development.



The following issues have been published:

Yegor LIGACHEV, Member of the Politbureau, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "Activating the Human Factor—the Main Source of Acceleration".

Alexander YAKOVLEV, Member of the Politbureau, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "Modern Socialism Must First and Foremost Know Itself".

Vsevolod MURAKHOVSKY, Vice Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee: "The Whole Agro-Industrial Complex Will Undergo Changes".

Vyacheslav SYCHOV, Secretary, Council for Mutual Economic Assistance: "The Prospects for Our Cooperation Are Good".

Ivan GLADKY, Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labour and Social Security: "Social Programmes Benefit from Economic Restructuring".

Natalia GELLERT, Chairperson of the Standing Commission on Women's Living and Working Conditions and Mother-and-Child Care of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet: "We All Can Make the Most of Ourselves".

Valentin KOPTYUG, Academician, Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Chairman of the Presidium of its Siberian Section: "Siberia Is the Most Dynamically Developing Region of the Country".

Tatyana ZASLAVSKAYA, Academician, President of the Soviet Sociological Association: "Restructuring Begins with Everyone of Us".

Gennadi YAGODIN, USSR Minister of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education: "Education Must Mould the Personality".

Dmitri LIKHACHEV, Academician, Chairman of the Board of the Soviet Culture Fund: "The 21st Century Must Be an Age of Humanism".

Valeri LEGASOV, Academician, First Deputy Director of the Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Energy: "The Lessons of Chernobyl Are Important for All".

Kirill LAVROV, People's Artiste of the USSR, Chairman of the Board of the USSR Union of Theatrical Workers: "Speaking to the Audience in the Language of Truth".

Muscovites and the restructuring effort

Boris YELTSIN, First Secretary of the Moscow Committee of the CPSU, deals with the questions raised in the more typical letters.

The Moscow newspapers receive numerous letters from their readers in which they openly and frankly raise questions and discuss all matters of concern and interest to them. Both Communists and non-Party residents of the capital have been debating the tasks enumerated by the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee held in January, 1987. It is as though a citywide meeting on key problems and a collective search for the reserves of acceleration is going on.

Moscow is the capital of the USSR, the country's leading political, economic and cultural centre. Millions of Soviet people look up to the Muscovites as a guide and yardstick, and the tenor of life in the country depends, to a large extent, on the capital residents' vim and vigour in their labour and social activity.

Muscovites' letters to newspaper editors show that the restructuring effort, now gathering momentum, concerns everyone and encourages all people to clarify the negative past phenomena, make sense of the present and peer into the future, define their own place in the countrywide endeavour and try to determine what they personally can do in the struggle for democracy, acceleration and the new quality of life in their city.

Muscovites make concrete proposals and suggestions, share their doubts and express widely different views on, and assessments of, the processes of renovation in Moscow.



Muscovites' letters about the restructuring show that while the transformations are gaining in depth and becoming more specific a watershed is distinctly emerging between the active supporters of the new and those long-accustomed to take the line of least resistance. How do you assess the restructuring dynamics today?

At the present stage of the restructuring the business of correctly assessing its rates is assuming fundamental significance. What people think about it I have heard on many occasions when exchanging views with Party activists, in work collectives, and during my talks with Muscovites. Diametrically-opposed views run the gamut from the radical, with people insisting on "liquidating", "abolishing" and "introducing right away". to cautious-sceptical, with people wondering if the changes are much too steep and radical and urging the adoption of an "easy does it" policy. I believe this diversity of views to be natural and, what is more, more encouraging than an indifferent contemplation of events.

The pioneering political and economic decisions, unexampled in our history, already adopted and being prepared, have, naturally, generated great expectations, impatience, and, indeed, a burning desire and striving to do away with the elements of stagnation and social corrosion. One can easily appreciate the desire to negotiate and overcome the steep and essentially new stage in the development of society and gain the fruits of renovation right away. But the unprecedented character and magnitude of the transformations that have been launched call, above all, not for emotions and an indiscriminate repudiation of past experience, but for an in-depth analysis of the causes of the mistakes made and the creation of the new in a consistent and steady way. The growing masses of the working people are tangibly becoming the policy-makers. And, unques-

MOSCOW THE CITY PARTY ORGANIZATION

It unites in its ranks representatives of over 70 nationalities and ethnic groups and has a membership of over one million

Including:

	women—	31.5 per cent
	workers—	40 per cent
	office employees and students—	60 per cent
	people with a higher education—	about 50 per cent

aged:

up to 30 years—	11.4 per cent
31-40 years—	22.4 per cent
41-50 years—	21.0 per cent
51-60 years—	20.8 per cent
over 60 years—	24.4 per cent

"Membership of the CPSU is open to any citizen of the Soviet Union who accepts the Programme and the Rules of the Party, takes an active part in communist construction, works in one of the Party organizations, carries out Party decisions, and pays membership dues."

... "Persons may join the Party on reaching the age of eighteen."

From the Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

tionably, it is not easy for everyone to choose his place and keep up with the pace of restructuring. But it is impossible to find one's bearings without an ability to determine a clearcut divide between the pernicious sluggishness and a foolish haste and fussiness. One can lose his political sense of proportion. Those who dramatize the temporary setbacks and panic seeing no immediate gains are as immature politically as those who do not see that time is running out and shelve what has to be done, procrastinating and waiting until the "requisite conditions" are created (by whom?).

We must try to avoid mistakes. But in order to keep them to a minimum, at least, we must, as V. I. Lenin taught, "give some thought to testing the steps forward we proclaim every hour, take every minute and then prove every second that they are flimsy, superficial and misunderstood." Lenin's demand for a high level of political culture is especially relevant today.

To learn to work under the new conditions does not merely mean a repudiation of stereotypes and trite patterns and approaches; this demands well-thought-out decisions and the making of a thorough evaluation to foresee possible consequences. Not infrequently, we still leave this out of consideration. For instance, many enterprises have divided in two their work collectives in passing over to the double-shift work system. This is done not for the sake of effectiveness but, again, for the sake of the prevailing "vogue". Inept actions, undue haste which is akin to eyewash, even give rise to situations of conflict. Ill-considered decisions result in a lot of wasted effort. One must not forget that in conditions of openness an adopted decision, even of an experimental character, is regarded by people as an obligation.

That means that after thoroughly considering and adopting a decision it is necessary to act promptly and resolutely. It is through the actions of the Communists and non-Party people and of all supporters of the restructuring, that its pace will be determined. Obviously, it is the immediate two or three years ahead, the initial stage of the acceleration trajectory that will require maximal efforts, and an all-out mobilization of our energies and resources.

4

MOSCOW THE CITY SOVIET OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

—the highest local government body in the city

800 deputies were elected to the Moscow Soviet on June 21, 1987

Including:

	men—	428
	women—	372
	workers—	378
	office employees—	422
CPSU members and candidates—		412
young people aged up to 30 years—		253

Elections to the Moscow Soviet are held once in two years. The deputies include heads of enterprises and organizations, specialists in various sectors of the national economy, science and culture, workers, and representatives of youth and sports organizations.

5



The restructuring and personnel: these two concepts always go together. For without efficient personnel and higher cadres devoted to the cause it is hard to expect major changes. What corrections have been introduced by the City Party Committee into personnel development work since the January Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee?

I would add to the qualities you've indicated genuine modesty, real integrity, professional competence and proficiency. For a lack of modesty, conscientiousness, and openness in dealing with the people whom one serves, deprives even the most efficient worker (public official or Party functionary) of trust and thereby discredits in the eyes of the working people the political line which he represents. And without the professional competence, and specifically, economic proficiency, of all cadres, not merely economic managers and executives, the work ahead will not be done properly. The financial illiteracy of a number of leaders has, for instance, brought the work collectives of some of Moscow's plants that have passed over to self-financing to the verge of a crisis. Although it must be admitted that the central bodies have also failed to check out and test this mechanism in full.

A high-priority task is to assess the abilities of everyone, of specialist personnel and higher cadres alike, publicly and on the merits of each particular case, in order to determine who can lead and supervise the restructuring endeavour. This work is to be completed later this year, in the main.

The Bureau of the City Party Committee urges the city's and district cadres to get rid of the deep-seated "ulcers" such as the mania of whitewash reporting, deafness to social questions, sponging upon the state or the habit of resting on one's laurels.

6 We consider an atmosphere of criticism, from the ground up, to be a highly efficacious remedy, especially in the specific conditions of the capital where the aura of a "model beyond criticism" has not yet dissipated. But of

course, one cannot make out a universally-applicable prescription for criticism in our day. But it is certainly clear that "the vitamin of restructuring" should not be taken in excess. It is clear that criticisms "from below" are more useful than a good talking-to from "above". It is further clear that constructive, purposeful criticisms which help to identify the places where the transformations "slip and skid" and to bridge the gap between words and deeds are the most effective. This gap is the most dangerous thing. Undue haste in making promises is contraindicated to the office-holder or functionary of any rank.

The rectification of the aberrations and miscalculations of former personnel development-and-deployment policy is meeting with the support of a majority of the city's Party activists. This has also been confirmed by a recent sociological survey conducted at the City Committee's request by the Academy of Social Sciences for the CPSU Central Committee. About 40 per cent of all respondents believe that significant personnel changes are yet to be made. A vulnerable facet in personnel development policy is that the system of promotion, certification and training of officials and functionaries is still inadequate and there is a lack of a planned and systemic approach, especially in the selection and promotion of reserves and replacements. We now work intensively upon this problem.

We have gradually been accumulating the experience of electing the higher cadres.

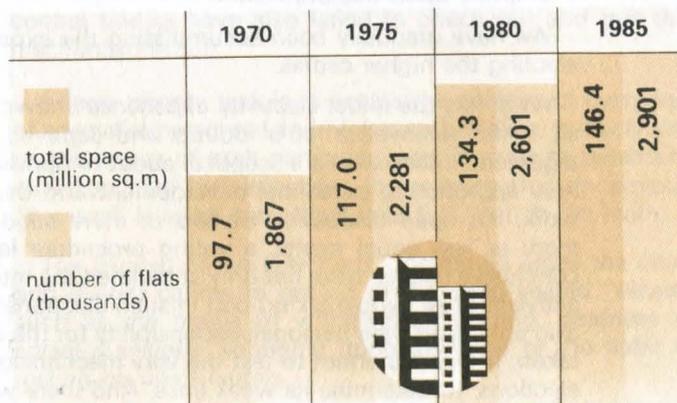
7 What has the initial electivity experience shown? First of all, it has removed a lot of doubts and deprived of many arguments those who are sceptical about or opposed to the new approach to personnel development-and-deployment work. An open discussion of two or more candidates of more or less equal merits, a voting procedure leading to conclusive results, have not only stimulated the interest and activism of all people taking part in such elections but have also enhanced their personal responsibility for the decisions taken. It was important to test the very mechanism of such elections, to determine its weak links. And there were such links. Many people used to discuss the candidates put forward on the strength of their personal-file biographical particulars which do little to reveal candidates' real character-traits and the strong and weak points of their

work. On the whole, we believe that initial experience in this field has been useful.

We are continuing the line of raising the personal responsibility of the cadres for what they do. At the Plenary Meeting of the City Party Committee held on May 30 we discussed the work reports delivered by two members of the Bureau of the Moscow City CPSU Committee: Secretary of the City Party Committee Ilya Pisarev and Chairman of the Moscow City Council of Trade Unions Vladimir Shcherbakov described their personal contributions to the implementation of the decisions of the City's recent Party Conference.

Why did we decide to hear the reports of these particular members of the Bureau? Because each one heads an area of work crucial to the solution of problems directly influencing the individual. Construction is an all-important sector in the city's long-term development. The social conditions at the enterprises and in organizations are our common concern, so the Bureau decided to make the Chairman of the City Trade Union Council responsible for this sphere. We consider the reports delivered by Pisarev and Shcherbakov to

MOSCOW
Housing stock
(as at the end of the year)



The bulk of the housing stock in the city has been built in the years of Soviet government.

A further 48 million sq.m of housing is to be provided in Moscow towards the close of this century. This means that every Moscow family will receive a well-appointed flat.

8

be interesting and useful both for the sectors they head and for them personally. Other speakers at the Plenary Meeting noted some positive changes in the sphere of construction and in the work of Moscow's trade unions. At the same time, sharp but comradely criticisms were made of the state of affairs in the sectors headed by Pisarev and Shcherbakov and of their personal qualities.



You emphasized the danger of words diverging from deeds. Our newspapers often report that particular decisions are adopted on this or that question. An abundance of words makes one cautious: can it be that they will drown the deeds? Has the City Party Committee passed from words to deeds?

Obviously, the gap between words and deeds has not been bridged completely, but we believe, the time lag has been reduced. One might enumerate what has already been done in the city. But, of course, the assessments made by the Muscovites are more important than the views of the First Secretary, the members of the Bureau and of the City Party Committee. When people see the new in their shop, in their street, in the family budget, then the assessment of our efforts will be more meaningful.



And what is it that you personally are not satisfied with in the implementation of what has been projected?

I am dissatisfied that less has been done so far than planned; that there are still miscalculations in personnel selection; that I have not studied in sufficient detail Moscow's specific features. I could do with more persistence and perseverance.



I would like to single out the question of collective leadership and decision-making in Party work. It is an open secret that on some Party committees there develops a "distance" between the First Secretary and the other members of the

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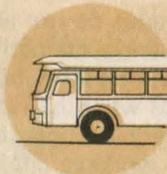
bureau which hinders their common work. The spotlight is on the "First" one while the others are in the shade. What then is the situation in the bureau of the City Party Committee? Do other members of the bureau get confused sometimes in your presence?

It is always difficult to answer such questions. I would put it this way. The "alignment" in the bureau is such: I am the first among equals. The examples of the past are still distinctly remembered when some people completely forgot Lenin's lessons. We leaders must remember that the habits of monopolizing all thought and criticism, of imagining ourselves to be always right, will not disappear "by themselves". In our Bureau, one might say, neither the First Secretary nor the members of the Bureau find it easy to overcome stereotypes. Over the years the members of the bureaux of many leading bodies were selected according to a false principle: since this is a collective of like-minded people, everyone should think and speak in accordance with what the senior official presiding over a sitting or session says. The relapses of an erroneously-understood correlation between collective leadership and one-man management or supervision still make themselves felt in some regions and districts, on the Party committees of Ministries, departments and enterprises. A chairman lays down the law instead of setting the tone of a meeting or discussion. Those present are either silent or say "yes" to his every word. There is neither collective thinking, nor a comparison of views, nor genuine Party comradeship. Collective leadership implies comradeship. The damage done by this sort of thought uniformity, an unquestioning agreement with any utterances and decisions of the "First" one is great above all for the cause which we all serve. And this is also a disservice to a particular leader. No end of examples can be adduced to illustrate this. If a chairperson is incapable of fostering an atmosphere in which anyone can calmly, and without any subsequent stresses, express a different view there is no question of collective leadership in such a body. One must always bear this in mind.

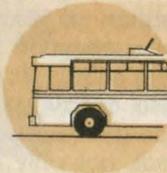
An atmosphere more consonant with our day has gradu-

MOSCOW City transport

carries almost 9 billion
passengers annually



Buses— 516 routes with a total
length of 5,564 km



Trolley-buses— 78 routes with a total
length of 861 km



Trams— 37 routes with a total
length of 467 km



The Metro— 9 lines with a total length
of 212.5 km; 132 stations

The Moscow Metro ranks first in the world in passenger carrying capacity; during the rush hours the trains follow at an interval of 90 seconds and of 80 seconds on the busiest lines. Eight to nine million passenger trips are made daily. Towards the year 2000 the length of the Moscow Metro lines will have reached 360 km.

ally been created at the sittings of the Bureau of the City Party Committee. We have jointly worked out a procedure for the discussion and solution of questions according to which every member of the Bureau has not only the right but also every opportunity to express his opinion. I should add that the opinions of comrades do not always coincide with mine which permits comparing alternative variants and choosing an optimal one. I see sometimes how difficult it is for a comrade to raise his hand when he wants to raise an objection. But we shall together overcome these difficulties too. We also practice regular working conferences of the bureau members which are not connected with the discussion of documents and adoption of decisions but are devoted to the elaboration of a common approach to a problem. More criticism is being shown in the assessment of the state of affairs. We also conduct closed sessions where the role and participation of everyone are discussed without "adornments". We look not only at the state of affairs in the section one is in charge of but also at his personal qualities, character-traits and personal contribution. Criticisms do not bypass the First Secretary either. Although, so far this has been done with "much difficulty".



You've mentioned the difficulty of overcoming former stereotypes. True, there are still quite a few honest officials and functionaries who have not yet overcome the past practices. All of a sudden one hears an old song: these people begin praising and prettifying the real state of affairs. One could hear this from the rostrums of certain Plenary Meetings of District Party Committees. Your formative years are also in "that epoch". Do you always succeed in getting rid of the burden of the past, and how do you do this? What else, in your view, must be done in order to prevent a restoration of the former style and habits of Party protocol?

12 I'll begin with what you call the habits of Party protocol. This is a survival of the window-dressing style which has

MOSCOW
Output growth rates by industrial sectors
(1980 = 100 per cent)

	1984	1985	1986
 all industry	107.3	111.9	116.9
 power industry	118.9	128.5	133.8
 iron and steel industry	111.1	114.0	119.6
 chemical and petrochemical industries	108.6	114.5	120.0
 machine-building and metal-working	116.2	125.5	134.5
 forestry, wood-working and pulp and paper industries	110.0	112.9	117.6
 building materials' industry	104.4	105.0	107.2
 light industry	95.6	96.4	97.5
 food industries	106.0	107.9	110.9
 printing industry	104.4	106.5	109.6

deep roots. In the matter of rituals in the past few years, many leaders have outdone even the clergy. They know where and when to start clapping their hands and where and when to say the "right" words, how to welcome the high-ups and what "scenery" to put up to grace an event. This is an invention of "smart dealers" and toadies trying to keep afloat. But normal people also played up to them for fear of appearing a white crow. Gradually, ritualism became deeply-ingrained like coal dust. And, most appalling of all, it became customary and obligatory.

I'll tell you straitaway: not yet all corners of the Party house have been cleaned of it. The servile are still trying to use it to their ends. Their tenacity and ability to adjust to new conditions and new leaders are incredible. Again they are beginning to extol and exaggerate some people's personal services. And it is outrageous if a leader "rises to the bait". Here one must show modesty, scrupulousness and vigilance. These qualities can only be fostered by a self-critical examination of one's own conduct and actions.

MOSCOW
Average monthly earnings of
workers and office employees
(roubles)

1970	137.0
1975	154.1
1980	176.4
1985	193.0

14

The monthly earnings of the workers and office employees in the country as a whole averaged 190.1 roubles in 1985.

The Bureau of the City Party Committee has comprehensively analyzed the results of the Plenary meetings of the District CPSU Committees. Every instance of self-praise and lack of criticism was given a principled appraisal, just as the very latest window-dressing tricks. We are all too often excessively concerned with the superficial aspects of an undertaking, with the effect of an event. In so doing we forget the main thing—the essence, the content, the concrete proposals and decisions and indeed the work itself.

But of course, psychologically, it is not easy for a person of mature age to change his ways. He grew accustomed to a certain type of atmosphere and evolved in it as a leader. And suddenly there is a totally different level of responsibility and a new approach to his work. Everything is different. No wonder, some people get all mixed up. It is essential to mobilize one's willpower in good time, to see the main goal and to go towards it day after day without belittling and without overestimating what has been done.

Do I manage not to look into the past? What can I say to this? Without the past there is no present. But the past mistakes were not made without our participation. Today you think sometimes that something was indeed done and you succeeded in some of your undertakings. But then you say to yourself: "Stop! Look around: there are so many unresolved problems!" Complacency is "healed" by trips to enterprises, by personal meetings and interviews with people in their workplaces, in the streets, in shops and stores and at trade fairs.

Moscow workers are no-nonsense people, they immediately put things in their proper places and call a spade a spade. Sometimes one feels ashamed and ill at ease that some things could have been done but were not done.

In the past years we overlooked many things. And we must be vigilant to prevent a relapse into the old ways. First of all, one must be ruthless to himself and demanding on others. We must show more thought for the men of labour. Above all we must promote democracy in every way. Unless we democratize our life, self-conceit and arbitrariness could again rear their ugly heads, and bureaucratism could again thrive. And this is a nutrient medium for indifference and stagnation.

15



Yes, indeed, the democratization of life is a sure guarantee against our backsliding into the old rut. Incidentally, many Muscovites note this. They want to know how the process of democratization is going on in the city. Don't we permit exaggerations in chasing the fashion?

Facts show that the deepening of democracy does not proceed smoothly. Yes, people have been showing more willingness to voice their views and criticisms. They now feel that their opinions and positions carry weight. At any rate, a disagreement with a "superior" is no longer a shocking event. There is a growing number of examples of men of labour becoming aware that they are the full-fledged masters both in production and in social affairs, starting to act more vigorously, and "invading" the spheres earlier inaccessible to them.

What is most significant is that the number of people who habitually stay silent has been diminishing! Let a person disagree, let him make mistakes but let him not sit with drooping wings; let individuals speak up, prove whatever they have to prove and fight for their cause. But may this cause be a serious and worthwhile one. Government by people, self-government, unless it is sham, is aimed at creation, at the improvement of things in the economy and in the social sphere. But improvements must be real and big and not petty and cosmetic in somebody's selfish interests.

In discussing at the City Committee's Bureau the results of all Plenary Meetings in the districts we had to deal with the alarming symptoms of deceptive democracy. Sometimes things are carried to absurd extremes. At the Plenary Meeting of one District Party Committee a speaker left the Presidium table and went down into the hall to a microphone installed there. To look more "democratic".

This is an exaggeration and a burlesque. And you have correctly reminded me that democracy is in vogue now, that some people play at democracy. There is nothing more pernicious than worshipping form. For formalism can stifle the restructuring.

16 But of course we must not permit this. Today our ability

MOSCOW Sales of durable consumer goods

(thousands of items)

		1970	1975	1980	1986
	watches and clocks of all types	1,626	2,060	2,184	2,587
	radio sets	360	374	351	287
	TV sets	259	299	326	416
	tape recorders	80	148	235	558
	upright pianos and grand pianos	12	14	13	9
	photo cameras	141	167	199	176
	cine cameras	17	15	11	10
	refrigerators	366	298	195	220
	washing machines	93	100	115	196
	vacuum cleaners	90	120	178	229
	electric floor polishers	18	8	4	2
	sewing machines	80	81	75	119
	motorcycles and motor scooters	28	28	29	10
	bicycles and mopeds	45	57	65	101
	cars	7	77	75	88

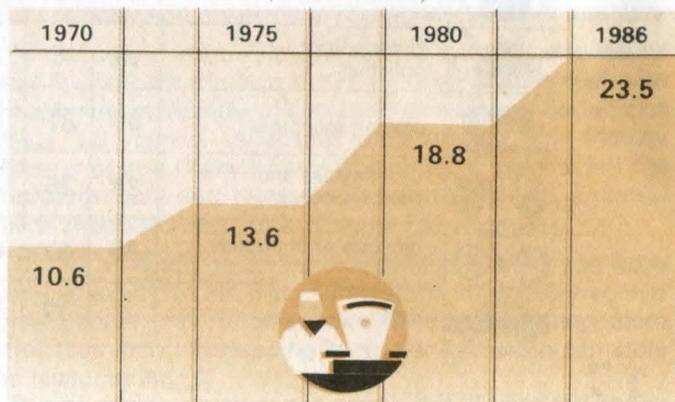
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to work in conditions of democracy is constantly being tested. The time has come to mobilize people not by a shout or command but by intellect and professional competence. What is needed is reliance on the people's collective thought and on mutual trust, rather than blind obedience.

A lot is being said about the right combination of democracy and discipline. And this is only natural. In clumsy hands democracy is easily reduced to demagoguery and anarchy. We have expended a lot of energy in turning permissiveness out of doors. We have heaved a sigh of relief. But in some places permissiveness is already trying to re-enter our house through a window. It is being helped to re-emerge by the exploitation of democracy for group and personal purposes and interests, with one half-truth being replaced by another.

The promotion of democracy requires that everyone should learn to respect the opinion of the next man, and not merely do the bidding of superiors or, even, of a simple arithmetical majority, but search out, in common with others, the solutions that optimally take account of the interests of the state, the work collective and the individual.

MOSCOW
State and cooperative
retail trade turnover
including public catering
(billion roubles)



There are quite a few letters about the functioning of the municipal services, unreliable heat supply and uncared-for streets. There are also questions concerning trade in vegetables. Muscovites ask whether the city needs noisy fairs and whether they are of any benefit. Are they not part of window-dressing?

Window-dressing gets us nowhere. What can be said about the fairs? Last year they sold about 140 thousand tons of fruit and vegetables, fish products and confectionery, "gifts of the forest" and so forth. And now, on the eve of March 8¹, over 10 million flowers have been brought to Moscow. A telling blow is being dealt to the profiteers. We plan holding USSR fairs on the eve of national holidays. On Saturdays and Sundays we shall manage with our own resources and with the help of Moscow Region. Considering the experience gained so far, we shall try to extend and diversify the product range and attract a greater number of horticulturists, gardeners, handicraftsmen and artificers, in accordance with the new Law on Individual Labour Activity. Amateur art and performance collectives, artists and musicians, will also have a worthy place at the fairs.

Fairs in Russia have always been festive occasions, full of joy and noise. I visited many Moscow fairs and heard, as a rule, words of appreciation being addressed to their organizers, cooperators and workers of the agro-industrial complexes of the Union Republics and the regions of the Russian Federation. There are, perhaps, people who are not content with all this. Let them propose something instead of trade fairs.

Naturally, there is day-to-day trade and public catering besides trade fairs. Here we still have many problems, just as in the work of the municipal services. The leading cadres in these spheres have been "renovated" in large part. But many of them still lack sufficient experience. We teach them to work and make no allowances for their inexperience. The Muscovites are fed up with "trade stories", so we keep this

¹ March 8 is International Women's Day

sector under unremitting Party control. Well, order in the city must be established and maintained by all of us, together. It is high time we became the masters of not only the entire state but also of our own courtyard and the street where we live.



A full-scale picture of the capital's economic and social life was unfolded at the Plenary Meeting of the City Party Committee in February, 1987. Some time has elapsed since then. Are Moscow's economic development forecasts being implemented?

The beginning of this year was rather dramatic for the city's economy. The state product acceptance inspection² was introduced at many enterprises in January, and everybody was worried by the question: how would they all work in conditions of more stringent requirements? Our fears were justified: the assurances made by a number of

² The state product acceptance inspection is an extra-departmental body established to control the quality of products turned out by industrial and agricultural enterprises; it reports to the USSR State Committee for Standards.

MOSCOW
Per capita trade turnover
(roubles)

1970	1,468
1975	1,750
1980	2,281
1986	2,684

plant managers and high economic executives that their enterprises were ready for the product acceptance inspection proved to be false promises. In January and then February many districts in Moscow failed to fulfil the state plans even though, on the whole, the city fulfilled its plans.

We succeeded in arresting the negative tendency in March and started making up for the losses. The plan for the first quarter was fulfilled for almost all basic indices. A significant feature is that the growth rates of labour productivity (3.7 per cent) appreciably exceeded the output growth rates (2.9 per cent). These figures indicate that intensive factors in production are beginning to work steadily although rather slowly. The correctness of our decision to stop recruiting workers from other population centres is being confirmed. Now plant managers and economic executives no longer place their hopes on attracting labour from other regions but count on the search for high-productivity equipment, the introduction of progressive technologies and well-thought-out labour organization. And these are the first signs of a change in mentality and orientation towards scientific and technological progress.

More attention is also being given to the social sphere. For the first time all districts of the capital have fulfilled their assignments for the commissioning of the housing stock and social and communal facilities and amenities including trade and public catering space.

That is, positive shifts are evident in the key areas of effective labour utilization, production renovation and systemic provision of both housing and communal facilities and amenities in the micro-districts (neighbourhoods).

But this is a mere beginning because, for most Muscovites, these figures have not been translated into results such as: improvements in product quality and diversity of goods in shops and stores, in re-housing and the efficient functioning of public transport. We are concerned that the pace of work is not steady and fast enough. Thus, the work collectives stepped up their work in March and improved the performance indices. And immediately, many of them relaxed. A number of enterprises again permitted themselves a serious lag in the first ten days of April. And this affected the output of most essential goods. Does this culture of work accord with the spirit of restructuring? We cannot get used to a steady work pace. We stop and relax

and wax sentimental over our achievements, and then we rush on making up for lost time. This results in a lot of shoddy work and defective products. This results in failure to abide by product delivery agreements and contracts. Enterprises in 20 districts failed to deliver goods and items under agreements and contracts. I think they have no grounds for expecting success unless they put an end to rushed work and the neglect of contractual relations.

We have only one forecast: tomorrow life must be better than today. In all sectors and all spheres. It is for this that we are retooling production and strengthening the social base. For instance, in this five-year plan period capital investment in the health services and cultural development field exceeds the figure for the 11th five-year plan period³ by fifty per cent. There are not just projections but firm,

³ 1981-1985

MOSCOW
The number of child-care centres

1970	2,658	332.2
1975	2,535	369.6
1980	2,781	433.0
1986	2,998	483.6



Half a million children attend Moscow's kindergartens and crechés. But the population's requirements for pre-school child care centres have been growing, and the problem of providing small Muscovites with places in kindergartens and creches is still rather acute.

legally-binding, resource-backed agreements with the USSR State Planning Committee and the ministries of public health, light industry and trade, and other departments, which will become tangible for the city's residents in the near future. In order to realize our plans it is necessary to step up the pace of the restructuring. We on the Party Committees, and economic managers and executives, and all Muscovites, must do this. Not merely to flatter ourselves with the first changes—and then take it easy. With such an immense potential—which Moscow has—we already should have had much greater advances and much better results in everything.



The essence of many letters to newspaper editors is this: the "forward edge" of the restructuring passes not so much through machine-tools as through the social interests of various layers of society. The mail reflects the ongoing political clash between the healthy and degenerate forces. For instance, here are typical excerpts from two letters expressing diametrically-opposed views. A not-so-young woman from Moscow, the wife of a rather highly-placed office-holder, writes maliciously: "Don't castigate us. Don't you see that this is futile. We are the elite, and you will not arrest society's stratification. You don't have enough strength. We shall tear up the sickly sails of your restructuring—you'll not reach your destination. So, restrain your ardour." An Army veteran writes, as if from the other pole: "It is time we started to fill up the trench of social injustice. We shall sweep off the road those who resist restructuring." You see how the struggle between the supporters and adversaries of the restructuring is hotting up. What is your view of this struggle: will it abate or sharpen with the further steps of the restructuring?

Why has the restructuring been going on slowly, at a sluggish pace? Largely because its path is still beset with

quite a few stumbling blocks and even mines. The farther it will advance the stiffer presumably will the resistance grow. The point is not only in what the "not-so-young" Moscow woman writes about. What she means above all is privileges. I can tell you that the Editorial Board of the *Moskovskaya Pravda*⁴ has raised, in some of the publications, rather sharp social issues, and the readers' reaction reaches the City's Party Committee. I mean, for instance, the special schools, the use of service transport and other things. We keep an eye on all these questions. They have been discussed by the bureau of the City's Party Committee. Here both extremes are harmful. But I have no doubt that it is necessary to seek a way of rectifying the social aberration in the establishment of foreign-language-oriented schools, to extend the possibility of learning a foreign language to as many children as possible. It is also necessary to seek a method of using service transport in a more effective way. We are seeking ways of eliminating all glaring disproportions, as they are called. We are not afraid for the sails of the restructuring. No one will be able to tear them up.

But considerable complexities await us in the work of assuring social justice. I mean justice in the full sense of the word, first of all in the field of labour and labour remuneration policy. These questions affect millions of people. The clash of interests makes itself felt here more acutely than elsewhere. We know, for instance, how slowly the product-quality inspection-and-acceptance system is being introduced and how painfully the administrative personnel is being cut back. Departmental interests and the egoism of bureaucratic centralism are retarding these processes. For the latest measures adopted by the CPSU Central Committee are aimed at the extension of the rights and powers of the enterprises and work collectives. Those in the nuclei of the Ministries who have become accustomed to wielding power themselves and to imposing responsibility upon others, are resisting. The same reform laws are not translated into life by themselves. To achieve this it is

⁴ *Moskovskaya Pravda* is the newspaper of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU and the Moscow Soviet; published since July 18, 1918, six days a week with a daily press run of 665,000 copies.

MOSCOW				
Total school and higher-school student body	(thousands)			
	2,584.1	3,005.3	3,317.1	3,789.0
General secondary schools				
number of schools	1,229	1,232	1,206	1,234
student body (thousands)	923.3	878.7	859.2	949.4
Vocational schools				
number of schools	149	163	196	200
student body (thousands)	61.6	88.4	108.5	120.6
Specialized secondary schools				
total number	139	139	139	148
student body (thousands)	230.8	225.7	201.9	187.2
Higher educational establishments				
number of higher schools	77	76	76	76
student body (thousands)	617.1	635.2	632.0	591.1
including women, per cent	49	50	53	56
	1970/71	1975/76	1980/81	1986/87

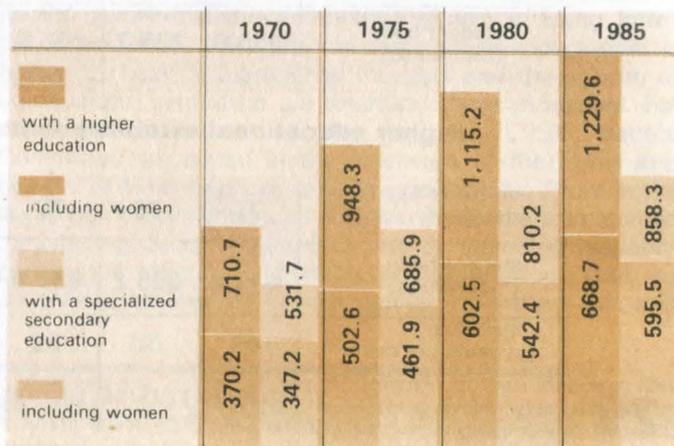
necessary to invigorate departmental management and supervision and to back up the laws with precise instructions and decisions. The opponents of the restructuring do not come out against it openly. Secretly retarding the course of the reforms, they simply do not carry through the practical work they are entrusted with. It is possible to mar any work or undertaking by half-measures.

Won't there be malcontents when the principle of justice goes into effect in the field of distribution of all social consumption funds? Of course, there will be. And what we need in this case is more openness and application of the principle: he who produces material values, distributes them.

Among other acute problems the one of improving socialist law is especially important. I have already had occasion to speak on this theme to many audiences in Moscow. I shall not repeat the well-known facts attesting to a sort of mutual insurance system that but recently operated within the law and order bodies.

It is impossible to permit a situation in which some

MOSCOW
THE NUMBER OF SPECIALISTS WITH A HIGHER AND SPECIALIZED SECONDARY EDUCATION EMPLOYED IN THE CITY'S NATIONAL ECONOMY
 (thousands)



people live under the law while others—above it. And this is precisely what we had. It was not only fathers filling high posts in the Party, state organizations, in trade, who were immune to the law. Even their children and grandchildren, hid in the shade of parental immunity and did whatever they liked. Are we guaranteed against such things in the future? No, we are not; until the law and order bodies resolutely rally to the defence of the laws and the interests of the working people. This process is now getting under way. So far, the activity of these bodies does not quite satisfy us. Cases of bribery and abuses of power still happen there. We shall continue the work of cleansing.

Otherwise, all talk about social justice will turn into hot air. Instances of lawlessness breed mistrust and disappointment, and they lead to the development of negative phenomena. To the ignominy of Moscow drug-addiction, prostitution and child crime have emerged. We have yet to analyze these ills in order to eradicate phenomena alien to socialism.

Some people's immediate interests will be infringed upon in the struggle for social justice. But, on the whole, this struggle will strengthen the unity of all strata of society. The unity into which wedges were driven by the appeasement of self-seekers, bribetakers and others wishing to ride to their earthly paradise on the backs of the working people. The restructuring will start gathering momentum if this unity becomes monolithic. When will this happen? This depends on how resolutely we tackle the further democratization of all of society, on the basis of socialism and for the sake of it.



Muscovites anxiously discuss problems having to do with the preservation of Moscow's singular aspect, especially its centre. There have been quite a few articles in the press and telecasts on this theme, full of concern. What has already been done in order to stop the destructive processes and what are the prospects for the preservation and enrichment of the city's architectural aspect?

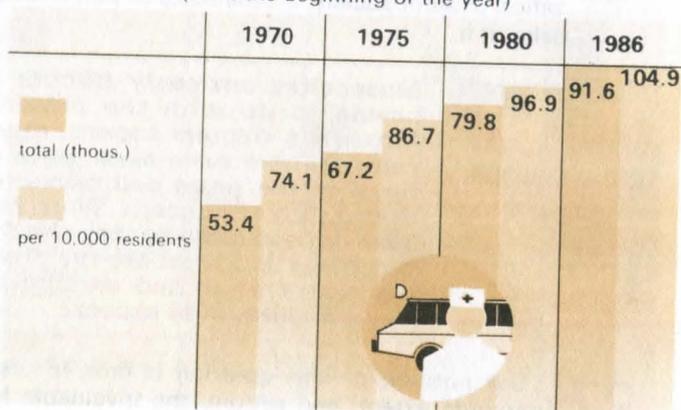
Our position on this question is firm: to preserve, to a maximum extent, and restore, the invaluable historic and

cultural monuments. To stop their unsubstantiated (and often barbarous) demolition.

This is a very serious problem. It is constantly at the centre of attention of the City's Party Committee and the Moscow Soviet. These functions a city development council which, collectively and with due account of the views of the public and specialists, deals with the fundamental questions of new construction in the city and seeks to preserve everything of value in its architecture. When discussing the traditions of urban development and planning in Moscow we should bear in mind that Moscow, in the span of its 840 years, has been built, and developed, not as a museum but as a living city. Otherwise, we would still have had a wooden Kremlin, and the Neglinka river and other small rivers instead of the central streets.

It stands to reason that we are all against a thoughtless repetition of the past and an overhasty build-up of the city with faceless boxes. While taking care to protect everything that is of historic value we also consider how to make the city comfortable for its residents. And, surely, the Muscovites will support our decision to channel more money towards the liquidation of communal (shared) flats and towards the development of transportation networks, enterprises of trade and everyday services, and the moderni-

MOSCOW
The number of doctors
(as at the beginning of the year)



zation of long-neglected central district-heating, running-water and other service-lines and structures. Fifty per cent of the service-lines and structures in the city's centre are in a state of collapse. This was again confirmed by the past winter.

The retooling of the capital's industry also requires more resources. We shall work more effectively and, consequently, will lead a more prosperous life; so, more resources will be allocated for the restoration of the monuments of the past.

The Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet adopted a decision on a comprehensive reconstruction and restoration of the historically-established centre of the city containing two-thirds of all architectural monuments. All this work is to be carried out with maximum care. The reconstruction and restoration will be carried out simultaneously with the provision of engineering-and-transportation facilities for the housing stock and provision of cultural and everyday communal services and amenities and an all-round improvement of the streets and squares.

Thus, the restoration and further development of the city's centre have the object of improving the housing conditions for downtown dwellers.

The centre will be developed as a built-up environment for work, everyday life and the recreation of Muscovites and guests of the capital, and not as a sort of formal administrative-museum area.

The elaboration of the Architectural Heritage integral special-purpose programme is nearing completion. Its purpose is to raise, during the period ending in 2000, the significance of the architectural heritage in Moscow's urban development to a new high. The programme envisages the protection of 9,500 buildings of historic value and restoration of 1,564 architectural monuments.

To achieve this, we are to strengthen the production base of the repair and restoration organizations of the Moscow City Executive Committee and also those of the USSR and Republican Ministries of Culture.

The rights and powers of the city's state bodies supervising the protection and uses of the historical and cultural monuments will be extended significantly. It is planned to concentrate the functions of supervision of research work,

designing and restoration of monuments, in one organization.

Before long, the Architectural Heritage programme will be submitted to the Muscovites for a discussion whereupon, with due consideration for the opinions of citizens, it will enter into force.

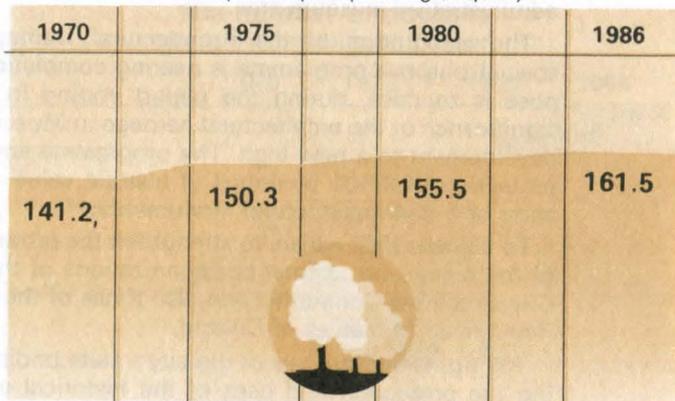


Some Muscovites are under the impression that you avoid giving an assessment of the new phenomena in literature, the cinema and the theatre. Tendencies here are many and diverse. Could the City Party Committee and you personally exert a greater influence on the course of the restructuring in the city's creative unions?

I think this impression is correct in part only. The City Party Committee is aware of the processes taking place in creative unions, and we are working out a new style of our relationships. We approach the solution of these problems in a balanced way: without permitting administrative coer-

MOSCOW Greenery plantings

(the total area, minus greenery along lanes and driveways and yard plantings, sq.km)



30

Moscow ranks with the world's "greenest" cities, with 43-44 square metres of plantings per resident.

cion, without imposing our position on anyone; neither do we depart from the Party principles in art. As to me, I do not want to make sweeping assertions. I agree that more time should be devoted to work with creative collectives. Unfortunately, I do not always manage to read a new book in good time or to see the very latest in art and culture.



To take a broader view of openness: how do you see it today and tomorrow? Along what lines should it be expanded?

So far, some people see openness as an opportunity to berate the past. One must respect society's natural need to make sense of the past mistakes. Unless this is done honestly and openly, then what fettered us yesterday will continue to interfere with our progress. Openness is an effective instrument for moral purification and social renovation.

But openness is not only a research instrument for a historian. It must also serve the present and future, i.e. the cause of restructuring and acceleration. Openness is an indispensable condition for ensuring the democratization of our entire life. Its value for society will continue growing.

An open discussion of problems stimulates people's political and social activism and helps overcome indifference and scepticism. In the glare of openness, the decisions made are more substantiated. This has been shown by the nationwide discussions of such problems, for instance, as the preservation of historical and architectural monuments in Moscow. I heard from a worker at a plant: openness is truth. What a pithy definition. Truth cannot be incomplete. For then it will not be truth. Openness is not openness if it is made to wear blinkers: this, for instance, may be discussed and that may not. We in Moscow have set course for total openness, for complete sincerity and frankness in the discussion of all problems. Either this or that, either truth or untruth. Either fling the windows open so that the wind could sweep away all cobwebs or again sweep all litter into the corners and put a padlock on the whole thing.

It is hard to overestimate the role of the mass media in all this. The journalists are now quicker in getting rid of the habits of the past years to speak in undertones and to

31

criticize only on cue. Many, though, are still being fettered by their own inner censor—overcaution. It is time they made a bold inspection of high places and identified the self-important who are in no hurry to start the restructuring and wish to leave everything as it is.

But our people have already said never again and imperatively demand real changes from us.

But genuine openness is not limited to newspaper articles and TV. Meetings at enterprises show that people are better acquainted with the events in the country and abroad than with the affairs of their own work collectives. And still, how very often do the decisions adopted in deep secrecy from workers, but affecting personnel decisions, the distribution of housing and vouchers for health resorts and sanatoria, and questions of production management, reduce openness to an abstraction. It is up to each and everyone of us to make openness a normal part of everyday life.

Борис Николаевич Ельцин

ПРИБАВЛЯТЬ ОБОРОТЫ ПЕРЕСТРОЙКИ

Серия «Авторитетное мнение»

на английском языке

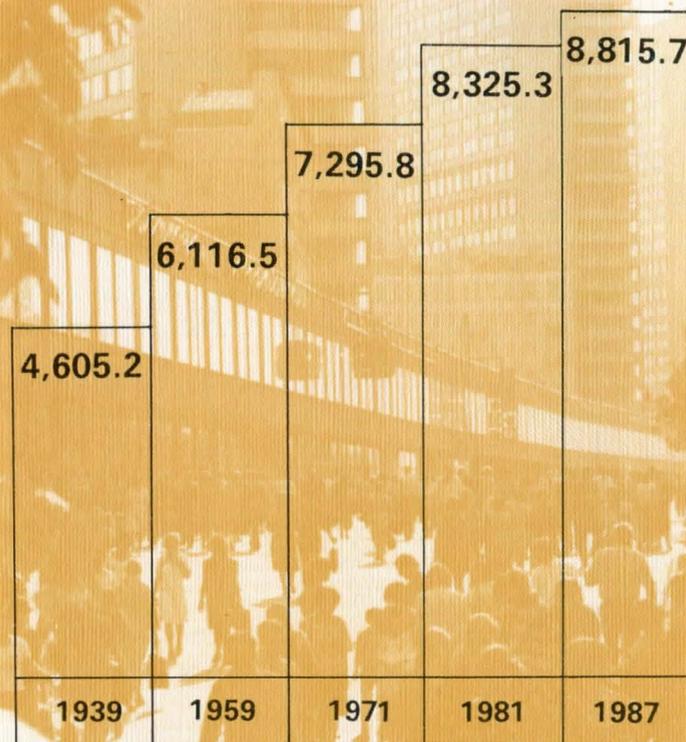
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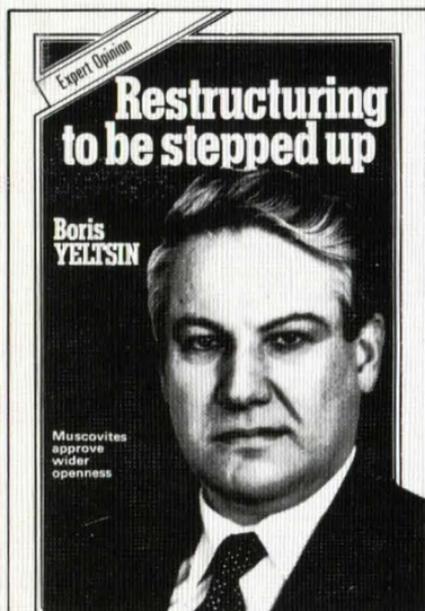
Expert Opinion

MOSCOW POPULATION
(thousand people; as at the beginning of the year)



The population will have reached 10 million by the year 2000.

Boris YELTSIN



Boris Yeltsin was born in 1931; he graduated from the Urals Polytechnic in 1955; was a foreman with a building administration in the Urals between 1955-1957; a project manager, a senior project manager, the chief engineer and the chief of the Building Administration between 1957-1963; the chief engineer of an integrated house building factory between 1963-1965; the director of an integrated house building factory in Sverdlovsk between 1965-1968.

Boris Yeltsin was a Department Head at the Sverdlovsk Regional Committee of the CPSU between 1968-1975; the Secretary of the Sverdlovsk Regional Committee of the CPSU between 1975-76; First Secretary of the Sverdlovsk Regional Committee of the CPSU between 1976-1985; a Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and a Department Head at the CPSU Central Committee between 1985-1986.

Yeltsin became First Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU in December, 1985, and has since occupied this post. He has been a Member of the CPSU Central Committee since 1981, a Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 9-11th convocations, a Member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1984-1985 and since June, 1986.

Yeltsin was elected Alternate Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau at the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, held in January, 1987.



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