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Penza Oblast Election Law Violations

90UN0810A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 90
First Edition p 3

[Article by N. Senchev in Penza: "How They 'Froze Out' the Competition"]

[Text] This is not a frequent occurrence yet. The first secretary of the Penza party obkom [oblast committee] F. Kulikov, after a stormy meeting of the buro at which they discussed serious violations of the election law, suggested that our correspondent write about this in PRAVDA.

"Hanging out dirty laundry?"

"Hanging out dirty laundry? Yes. This will make it cleaner in the corners," answered Fedor Mikhaylovich.

...The collective of one of the brigades of the kolkhoz [collective farm] Pravda nominated A. Smirnov, a division chief of the local agroindustrial association, as the candidate people's deputy from the rayon soviet. The chairman of the Neverkinskiy rayispolkom [rayon executive committee], A. Sirotin, ran in this district for deputy mandate. Soon after this the chairman of the ispolkom of the rural soviet, A. Kiloporov, met with the kolkhoz workers and suggested withdrawing A. Smirnov's candidacy. And here are the interesting arguments that were heard. If in the alternative elections Smirnov were preferred over Sirotin, that would be the end of the social development of the village of Kamennyy Ovrag.

Another fact. An engineer from the Kolkhoz imeni Chapayev, A. Kayrov, who for many years has been the secretary of the shop party organization and a candidate member of the CPSU raykom, was also forced to withdraw his candidacy under pressure. The "preventive" discussion with him was conducted by his immediate superior—the kolkhoz chairman, T. Ramazanov. In this case for whom were they clearing the way to the deputy position? For the editor of the rayon newspaper, R. Kuryayev.

When a commission came around after complaints had been made to the party obkom, it also discovered violations in Neverkinskiy Rayon that were simply amazing. For example, here is what the voters of the Krasnoye Znamya Kolkhoz reported. The brigade leader, Ulbatov, went around to the homes of the kolkhoz workers gathering signatures stating that they would vote only for A. Sirotin, the chairman of the rayon executive committee. But can one really call this campaigning for a candidate?

The rapid advancement and self-advancement of the leaders using power methods, threats, and blackmail, it turns out, are nothing unusual here. Many rayon leaders knew the real situation: Their authority had been so eroded that with alternative elections they would not gather the necessary number of votes. Therefore, instead of helping the population become correctly oriented in

the new political situation and being concerned about real popular representation in the soviets, they considered their own ambitions, transforming the pre-election campaign into a process of eliminating potential competitors.

Having been invited to the meeting of the obkom buro, A. Sirotin, the chairman of the rayon executive committee, after vicious attacks on the commission's conclusions, began to speak enthusiastically about himself as a defender of the people's interests. He was just like the character from a modern fairy tale in verse: "I cannot live for even a day without thinking about the people; in the morning I butter my bread and think about how the people are."

How concerned the chairman of the rayon executive committee was for the population is shown by the violations of social justice in the distribution of housing, the dividing up of goods that are in short supply among the leaders, and the disdain for the law—which are customary in the rayon.

The obkom buro decided to convene an expanded plenum of the CPSU rayon party committee and let the communists decide for themselves whether they need such people in their leadership.

Estonian Local Election Statistics Reported

90UN0659A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 23 Dec 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Results of Election of Estonian SSR Local Soviets of People's Deputies"]

[Text] Elections of local soviets of people's deputies were held on 10 December 1989. The election procedure was based upon the Law on the election of Estonian SSR local soviets of people's deputies approved by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on 8 August 1989.

A total of 4,256 deputies were chosen for 263 local soviets of people's deputies; 2,497 single mandate or multimandate electoral districts were formed. To prepare for the elections 263 rayon, city, settlement and rural electoral commissions (territorial electoral commissions) and 991 precinct commissions were formed. Territorial electoral commissions registered 9,192 candidates for deputy.

As of 10 December 1989 there were 1,153,338 voters in the Estonian SSR. On election day 837,768 (72.64 percent) received ballots and 835,306 (72.43 percent) voted.

The elections were declared invalid in those electoral districts where less than 50 percent of the voters voted. In Tallinn there were four such districts. They were to have elected 13 deputies (80 deputies were to be elected to the Tallinn City Soviet of People's Deputies). In the city of Maardu, which is located within Tallinn, elections were declared invalid at 3 electoral districts where 7

deputies were to have been elected (15 deputies are to be elected to the Maardu City Soviet of People's Deputies).

In rural rayons elections were declared invalid in three single mandate districts for election to three rural soviets.

In those electoral districts where elections were declared invalid, repeat elections will be held within 45 days.

A new voting system eliminating the need for runoffs was first used on these elections.

Election results were not determined at a three mandate electoral district in the Tallinn City Soviet of People's Deputies that includes precincts on ships in the harbor on election day. This is because ballot counts were not obtained from all precincts.

In view of the withdrawal of candidates on the eve of election day, the elections were delayed in six electoral districts in one city and in one rural soviet of people's deputies. Eight deputies were to be elected in these districts.

Thus, results for 34 mandates are still not available; 4,222 deputies out of a total of 4,256 have been chosen.

The results of the 10 December 1989 election, by type of soviet are:

In 15 rayon soviets 638 deputies were to be elected; all were elected. There were 497,487 voters, 408,627 (82.14 percent) received ballots and 407,422 (81.90 percent) voted.

In 6 city soviets (cities of republic subordination) 301 deputies were to be elected; 285 deputies were elected. There were 655,851 voters, 429,141 (65.43 percent) received ballots and 427,884 (65.24 percent) voted.

In 27 soviets of cities of rayon subordination 447 deputies were to be elected; 437 were elected. There were 162,729 voters, of whom 121,163 (74.46 percent) received ballots and 120,592 (74.11 percent) voted.

In 23 rural Soviets 268 deputies were to be elected; 263 were elected. There were 44,740 voters, 36,485 (81.55 percent) received ballots and 36,289 (81.11 percent) voted.

In 192 rural soviets 2,602 deputies were to be elected; 2,599 were elected. There were 305,581 voters, 256,365 (83.89 percent) received ballots and 255,591 (83.64 percent) voted.

New Tallinn Gorkom Chief Interviewed

90UN0875A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 24 Jan 90 p 2

[Interview with Tallinn Gorkom First Secretary Yak Soobik by G. Rozenshteyn: "To Honestly Seek Paths to Unity"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Rozenshteyn] The occasion for our conversation is as timely as it could be—You've recently become the head of the Tallinn party organization. Why did you agree to go into party work at this time, which is such a complex time for the party?

[Soobik] I did not agree right away. One of my arguments "against" was the fact that I had not previously worked at party organs. Another was that in this sector serious theoretical knowledge is necessary. And, well, there were a number of other considerations. But my arguments were not heeded. I think that today my task does not consist of proving that I was right, but to do everything to justify this choice. I admit that when I came here I had no idea that the situation was so complex, and that points of disagreement are so clearly and sharply defined. I had taken part earlier in the work of plenums and the republic aktiv, but there I saw more of the external side. Now "we are going in deep..."

[Rozenshteyn] And could you give an example?

[Soobik] Well, we've all accepted IME [Self Managing Estonia], the khozraschet [cost accounting] program. We accepted it cordially and peacefully; but now you see, "the rest is coming out."

[Rozenshteyn] You are talking, I suppose, about machinations from the center—the ministries and agencies in Moscow?

[Soobik] No, no. I have in mind Tallinn. Let's say the transfer of enterprises of union subordination to the republic. One must admit that the unyielding central agencies have strong support here, in Tallinn. And you see, before adoption of IME there was practically no overt opposition. Wherein does the problem lie here? In the fact that today it has not been defined just what ownership is. I liked very much one of the speeches at the Second Congress of People's Deputies: Ownership—is not only the possession of things; but also the possession of power. These words, I am certain, hold the key. How to define the role and position of the city party organization? There is the gorsovet [city Soviet] and there is the gorkom [city committee]. I know what relationship they used to have. But today? Their design should change completely, should it not?

[Rozenshteyn] But how?

[Soobik] We must relinquish purely economic matters. We must have a program in which we clearly show what we wish to achieve. Today this is a fundamental question, but there is no clear-cut, uniform understanding. I think that to a large extent the weakness of party organizations at any level is often brought about by this—not knowing their role and position in life's new processes. Let's take the ill-starred Article 6. This, after all, is not just a point in the Constitution. Some very deep things lie therein. If we remove it, we acknowledge a multi-party system. Hence it follows that our actions must not recall the old ways.

[Rozenshteyn] Obviously we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that our neighbors—Lithuania and Latvia have repealed Article 6; or more precisely, they have radically changed it. And what methods should the party use today?

[Soobik] Naturally we must consider the experience of our neighbors. And as far as new methods are concerned... The fundamental thing is the method of persuasion.

[Rozenshteyn] Is the apparat ready for such a role?

[Soobik] That's hard to say. And not only because I am not well-enough acquainted with it. The main thing is—the very complex and, let's be honest about it—the uncertain situation in Tallinn. How do we view the future capital of the republic, and how can we put this vision into practice? We have representatives in the gorsovet; to be precise, out of 67 deputies 36 are communists; but the by-elections are still ahead of us. You see, it is through the communists on the gorsovet that we conduct our policy.

[Rozenshteyn] And so it turns out that there will be two programs in the city?

[Soobik] No, there will be one program but the methods of implementing it may vary.

[Rozenshteyn] Then let us imagine a situation: the gorsovet adopts a resolution, which the gorkom cannot accept on principle. What is to be done?

[Soobik] If it is truly a matter of principle, our party group must explain to the deputies the erroneous nature of the resolution, and try to convince them.

[Rozenshteyn] Inasmuch as the gorkom does not have the unlimited power it used to have, does that mean the party must seriously get involved in the political struggle?

[Soobik] Absolutely. And here we have to see who our allies are, and with which of the deputies we can get together.

[Rozenshteyn] But after all, could it not also happen, Yak Elmarovich, that not all the communists on the gorsovet share the party's point of view?

[Soobik] I allow for various approaches; that is normal. But in the future these communists must also say "yes" or "no" on the subject of remaining in the party ranks.

[Rozenshteyn] Did I understand correctly that the approach to party membership will be stricter?

[Soobik] That's right. For the party, work is becoming extremely complicated, and we must know with whom we are working.

[Rozenshteyn] In the mail coming into the party department one can find letters suggesting elimination of the raykoms in our city. How do you feel about this suggestion?

[Soobik] Today, and especially tomorrow, when it becomes clear how many parties and what kind there are in the republic, the main struggle will begin. And so I don't want to be hasty in my reply. Nor can one ignore another circumstance—you, after all, know that the entire city system is subject to change. Some new "settlements" will appear—this is, perhaps not a precise translation from the Estonian. We have Kalamaya, Yysmyae, Kopli and so forth—very different, right? And their problems are different too. How will these new structures behave?

[Rozenshteyn] And what out of all this follows for the gorkom?

[Soobik] The gorkom will be faced with new problems. For example, the gorkom must be involved in social questions: so that the people live better, more comfortably, and more humanely at last. Is that really the case when the representatives of the fair sex have to drag shopping bags full of food to their "bedroom" rayons? The population of Lasnamyae today is greater than that of a city such as Tartu; but is there any comparison between the trade system and domestic services points and the like of Lasnamyae and Tartu? Its ridiculous even to ask such a question. Or Yysmyae, where I live, and Vilyandi? That's ridiculous too.

[Rozenshteyn] What is your attitude toward events in the Lithuanian Communist Party?

[Soobik] I watched a television program of the Lithuanian party aktiv meeting from start to finish, where the leaders of the two communist parties of Lithuania spoke. One of them appeared confident, but one could not say that about the other. I think that the events in Lithuania are the result of all the problems which accumulated in the party over the decades. I understand, that by this step the Lithuanians have forced even the CPSU Central Committee to take up the problems of the party. We are always talking about economic matters..

[Rozenshteyn] What kind of decisions do you expect from the CPSU Central Committee Plenum that is to be held soon?

[Soobik] Actually, Mikhail Sergeyevich already said a great deal in Lithuania. I just don't know what kind of collective decision will be taken on the documents of the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party. I expect that the Plenum will make a principled analysis and will define the approach for all the union republic communist parties. And it will define their rights, and will more clearly divide the priority questions for the CPSU and for the republics. In short, I have high hopes for this Plenum.

[Rozenshteyn] If it is a question of priorities... What would you place first on the political horizon—a renewed party or a renewed federation?

[Soobik] The first question is, what kind of republic will there be? Without a clear answer here, we cannot say what the party will be like. I don't know if you'll agree with me, that today we do not know what the USSR is. If we do not determine this at the January Plenum, how then can we determine the status of a republic Communist Party? And in that case there will be no final decision on Lithuania. We have been doing a lot of thinking of late about the habitual desire to unify party work from Vladivostok to Kaliningrad and from Lithuania to Georgia.

[Rozenshteyn] It seems to me that objectively, the events in Lithuania have shown the way to a union of communist parties; today nothing else is envisaged.

[Soobik] I agree with you. The CPSU is a union of the parties of the union republics. True, today one cannot ask such an inappropriate question as, what does the RSFSR represent today?

[Rozenshteyn] Does the decision on creating a Bureau for the RSFSR not suit you?

[Soobik] Well, perhaps it suits me, but whether it suits Russia, I have my doubts.

[Rozenshteyn] Have the city's party organizations found their place in the pre-election struggle? Do you have your own thoughts and ideas here?

[Soobik] In today's tense situation it would seem that the gorkom and the raykoms should come forth with their candidates. But I believe that in this matter responsibility should be placed on the working collectives of the enterprises and organizations. Only after all candidates are nominated can we take a decision.

[Rozenshteyn] Of course, we are talking about communists?

[Soobik] Of course. We have nothing against the non-party members, but we do support the members of the party.

[Rozenshteyn] As far as I know you have not nominated your own candidate for parliamentary deputy. Why is that, if it's not a secret?

[Soobik] The city party organization does not yet have a program, and I do not have the moral right to do this. Everywhere I go, I am asked, "Where is the Estonian Communist Party going?" And if you don't answer, the next thing is, "What kind of deputy is that? He doesn't even know..." And then the next complication arises: How can one simultaneously work in parliament (if of course one is elected) and in the gorkom?

[Rozenshteyn] What is your view on the fact that people known throughout the republic, and not only in the republic—throughout the country—are leaving the party?

[Soobik] It is logical to arrive at such a decision after a conference or congress of the Estonian Communist Party, where the role and position of the Estonian Communist Party should be defined. If a person, leaving the Estonian Communist Party creates his own party or political organization, that would be understandable. But if he just leaves—then that means that this person joined the party for some kind of incomprehensible reasons.

[Rozenshteyn] Please tell us about your family, about yourself.

[Soobik] Shall I start with my daughter? She is a second-year student at the Tallinn Pedagogical Institute, and will be a primary school teacher. Thus far, she likes it. My wife—She is chief of the central laboratory at the Linda Association.

[Rozenshteyn] Is it really improper to ask about your enthusiasms here?

[Soobik] I like to play volleyball and basketball, since my height permits me—I'm 188 cm [6 ft 2 in] tall. But an accident on the playing field—I tore my achilles tendon—forced me to forget about active sports. That leaves only skiing—when there is snow. I definitely plan to ski this year. But on the whole there is very little free time. I went to the theater not long ago. To be fair I must say that my wife is the initiator of such excursions. She gets the tickets, and, as they say, there's no retreat...

[Rozenshteyn] And now, probably, you can't even go for a stroll. You have your personal Volga, like it or not.

[Soobik] And what for? I can get to work and home again by public transportation. I drive around enough in the car during the day.

[Rozenshteyn] A few words, please, about your previous work.

[Soobik] For many an unpopular job, as some people say—at USSR Gosstandart. This is an organization that is supposed to maintain oversight over the quality of production, and for the state of the means of measurement. Gospriemka [State Acceptance] is also here, which was introduced under a hum of approval. Today opinion of Gospriemka is different: Gospriemka "sits" on its budget and does not do anything. No matter what you say, I am convinced that today we cannot entirely reject Gospriemka.

[Rozenshteyn] But why? Are you defending the honor of your recent office?

[Soobik] When it was introduced, we were counting on putting things into elementary order—so that technological discipline was observed. But where did the second

stage go—raising the technological level of production? Here, it is true, one must ask a purely rhetorical question: And are we ready to go to the second stage?

[Rozenshteyn] What is your attitude toward the recent pay raise for the party-soviet apparat?

[Soobik] Positive, because in this case it may attract skilled cadres. Here one must distinguish: I would not try to mix party and soviet officials in the same sauce. Why? Well, because the first raise comes from the party coffers: dues, publishing ventures, and so on. In short, it does not come from the republic's budget.

[Rozenshteyn] And the last question. The city of Tallinn is a multinational city; there are many people here who are not of the indigenous population. How will you consider the interests of the non-indigenous population in your work?

[Soobik] I realize that this question is perhaps the most important one. I will honestly seek ways to escape the difficult situation which has come to pass.

[Rozenshteyn] Thank you for the conversation.

Latvian, USSR Constitutions Differ on Republic Sovereign Rights

90UN0910A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
24 Jan 90 p 3

[Ruling by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the November 10, 1989, resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "On Discrepancies Between Some Union Republic Legislative Acts and the USSR Constitution"]

[Text] The view of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium that several Latvian SSR legislative acts contradict the USSR Constitution raises some objections.

The conclusion seems formalistic and it was passed without taking into account social and political processes under way in union republics. In a number of republics, including the Latvian SSR, intensive legislative activity is under way, with the aim of restoring political and economic sovereignty.

In its above-mentioned resolution, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium recognized such activity on the part of supreme organs of state power of union republics as positive and referred it to decisions on democratization of all aspects of life in the country passed by the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the 1st Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

This list should be supplemented with the CPSU platform dated September 20, 1989, "On Nationalities Policy of the Party in Present Conditions", which stressed the need to strictly define the rights and mutual obligations of the union and the republics in order to bring order into the federal system, with the republics acquiring "all rights reflecting their status as sovereign

socialist states within the federation. They have the power to decide all issues of state and public life except for ones which they **voluntarily** (stress added) transfer to the competence of the union."

The division of power between the USSR and the union republics is of crucial importance. Unfortunately, that issue has not been resolved and there is no guarantee that it will be resolved in the near future.

The above-mentioned circumstances and the urgent need to bolster the declaration of sovereignty of the union republic with an actual legislative act compelled the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet to pass laws some parts of which were recognized to contradict the USSR Constitution.

This primarily means Article 71 of the Latvian SSR Constitution (as defined by the Latvian SSR law dated July 29, 1989), which states that the USSR Constitution and USSR laws come into force on the territory of the Latvian SSR upon being ratified or once a resolution on their coming into force is passed by the supreme organ of state power of the Latvian SSR.

This interpretation formally contradicts Articles 73 and 74 of the USSR Constitution defining the power of the union and the precedence of the union law over the republic law. However, as already mentioned, the need to review union rights has been generally recognized, with republics receiving full powers which would eliminate conflict between union and republic laws.

In this respect, the USSR law dated November 27, 1989, "On Economic Independence of the Lithuanian SSR, the Latvian SSR and the Estonian SSR" can serve as precedent, for it stated that USSR legislative acts regulating economic activities remain in force on the territory of the above-mentioned republics only insofar as they do not impede their transition to economic independence.

This law recognized the existence of the objective need for the republics to resolve the issue of applicability of USSR legislative acts, and whether or not they respond to specific needs of the union republic.

The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium appealed to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to review the parts of the USSR Constitution which limit the sovereignty of the Latvian SSR, but the supreme organs of state power of the USSR have not reacted to such appeals.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium also saw a deviation from the USSR Constitution in the fact that Article 11 of the Latvian SSR Constitution (as defined by the Latvian SSR law dated July 29, 1989) listed as the property of the republic its land, underground resources, continental and territorial waters, forests and other natural resources.

Objections to this part became meaningless when the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the above-mentioned law on

economic independence of the Baltic republics, recognized the primacy of their claim on their land and other natural resources.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium saw as a violation of union legislation the fact that the above-mentioned article of the Constitution of the republic called its continental shelf its exclusive property.

The ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated February 6, 1968, "On the Continental Shelf of the USSR" stated that the USSR has a sovereign right over the part of the continental shelf adjacent to the outer border of the USSR territorial waters. This statement is, in our view, important for relations between the USSR and foreign powers, but it does not exclude the claim of a union republic on the continental shelf adjacent to its territory. To avoid different interpretations of this issue, we feel it is necessary to review it when the rights of the USSR and the union republics are defined, with the view of affirming the claim of the union republics on their continental shelf.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium saw it as a violation of Article 34 of the USSR Constitution on equality of all citizens when the Latvian SSR law limited the right to hold a large number of offices to citizens fluent in the language of the union republic.

This accusation directed at the Latvian SSR law on languages dated May 5, 1989, is unfounded, since the law contains no restrictions on the right to hold office. Article 4 of the law states that "all employees of organs of state power and state authorities, as well as employees of offices, enterprises and organizations whose responsibilities include direct contact with citizens, must know and use both Latvian and Russian languages at a level necessary to carry out their professional duties." It is clear that this requirement of fluency in Latvian and Russian is not tantamount to a restriction on employment. What it means is that officials whose duties include direct contact with the public and who do not know either Latvian or Russian must learn it so as to allow every resident of the republic coming into contact with state authorities, management organs and other offices, organizations and enterprises to choose the language of communication they prefer, be it Latvian or Russian. In this regard, we must recall Article 2 of the above-mentioned law, which states that the state provides an opportunity to all residents of the Latvian SSR to learn the Latvian language by funding classes in that language; according to the resolution of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet dated May 5, 1989, Article 4 will come into force in the course of three years from the date of promulgation of the law on languages.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, referring to Article 85 of the Latvian SSR Constitution, claimed that it contains considerable deviations from the principles of universal and equal suffrage, in the form of a special minimum residency requirement for election as a people's deputy.

Article 85 of the Latvian SSR Constitution (as defined by the law dated July 29, 1989) states that a Latvian SSR people's deputy must be a Latvian SSR citizen who has lived on the territory of the republic for a period of 10 years, and a local soviet deputy, for 5 years.

These minimum residency terms are not in their essence meant to restrict the voting rights of citizens, but should ensure the high quality of elected deputies. It is hard to imagine how a deputy who does not live in the republic, and therefore does not know the social and political problems of the republic, could take part in the work of the soviet and fully safeguard the interests of his constituents.

The resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated November 10, 1989, "On Discrepancies between Some Union Republic Legislative Acts and the USSR Constitution" was also reviewed by the business office of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, the Latvian SSR Ministry of Justice, the Latvian SSR Supreme Court and the Latvian SSR Association of Jurists, who expressed opinions similar to this one.

The Latvian SSR Procurator's Office feels that in cases when a republic-level act is being passed which contradicts the USSR Constitution or any other union law, the republic should first appeal to union-level authorities with a proposal to alter the relevant union laws. Our objections to this idea are contained in this ruling.

Draft Law on Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

90UN0851A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
6 Jan 90 pp 1-2

[Draft of Latvian SSR Law on the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] **Article 1. The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers is the highest organ of state administration of the Latvian SSR**

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers—the government of the Latvian SSR—is the highest organ of state administration of the Latvian SSR.

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers is authorized to decide all questions of state administration attributed to its jurisdiction in accordance with the Constitution, the present and other laws of the Latvian SSR.

In its activity, the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers is guided by the Constitution and laws of the Latvian SSR.

Article 2. Basic Directions of the Activity of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, within the limits of its jurisdiction, carries out activity with respect to the following basic directions:

1) The creation of conditions for the effective economic, social and cultural development of the republic, the

increase of the standard of living of the people, the development of the language and national culture of the Latvian nation, as well as the other nationality groups living in Latvia;

2) the improvement of production relations, the development of various types of property, the creation of various conditions for all forms of management with regard to the diversity of the types of property;

3) economic cooperation with union republics and foreign countries;

4) consistent democratization and improvement of state administration, the development of the initiative and independence of the organs of local self-government and enterprises;

5) the realization of legislative initiative; the organization of the implementation of laws and its own decisions.

Article 3. Procedure for the Formation of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers. Composition of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers is formed by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet consisting of the chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, the deputies and deputy chairmen of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, the business manager of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, the ministers of the Latvian SSR, and the chairmen of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers is formed with a membership of not more than 33 persons.

Upon representation of the chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet may include other officials in the composition of the Latvian SSR government.

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers abdicates its powers before the newly-elected Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet at its first session.

Article 4. General Questions of the Jurisdiction of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, within the limits of its powers:

1) Realizes the economic independence of the republic;

2) secures the guidance of the economic, social, and cultural development of the republic; regulates the processes of demography and migration;

3) coordinates and directs the work of the ministries and state committees of the Latvian SSR, as well as of other organs and organizations within its jurisdiction;

4) assists the executive committees of the rayon and city (city of republic subordination) Soviets of People's Deputies in the realization of their powers;

5) takes measures for the protection and scientifically-substantiated use of the land and its mineral resources, water resources, the plant and animal world, the preservation of the purity of air and water, the guarantee of the reproduction of natural resources and the improvement of the environment, as well as the protection of the monuments of history, architecture, and cultural legacy;

6) organizes the work for the preparation and submits for review and confirmation of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet the drafts of the state plan of the economic, social and cultural development of the Latvian SSR and the state budget of the Latvian SSR, takes measures for their implementation, and presents to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet reports on the implementation of the plans and on the execution of the budget;

7) takes measures toward the integration of the economy of the Latvian SSR and the economies of the other union republics and foreign countries;

8) develops and conducts policy in the sphere of finance, credit, taxes, and prices;

9) conducts policy in the sphere of science and technology;

10) forms and protects the consumer market;

11) regulates questions of the use of manpower resources, defines differentiated conditions for the payment of wages, pensions, stipends, and allowances;

12) secures, with regard to public requirements, the organization of the training and utilization of cadres, their retraining and improvement of qualifications;

13) takes measures to protect the interests of the state, to preserve public order, and to guarantee the protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens;

14) introduces, for review of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, proposals concerning the suspension of the acts of the organs of the state administration of the USSR in case of their non-conformity with the laws of the Latvian SSR.

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, in case of necessity, may transfer the decision of some questions of state administration that enter into its jurisdiction to the ministries and state committees of the Latvian SSR, to other organs within its jurisdiction, and to the executive committees of the local Soviets of People's Deputies.

Article 5. Responsibility and Accountability of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers is responsible to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and is accountable to it.

The newly-formed Latvian SSR Council of Ministers presents for review of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet the program of forthcoming activity for its term of office.

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, at least once a year, reports back about its work to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 6. The Right of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers to Resign

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers has the right to declare to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet its resignation in case it is impossible, in its view, to implement the program of its activity.

Every member of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers has the right to resign separately.

The resignation of the chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers entails the abdication of the powers of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers by the full membership.

Article 7. The Question of Confidence in the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

The chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, on behalf of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, may put before the Latvian Supreme Soviet the question of expressing confidence in the government of the Latvian SSR.

If the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers does not receive the confidence of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, it is obligated to resign.

Article 8. Questions Decided in Sessions of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

In sessions of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers the most important questions of the development of the national economy in conditions of economic independence, self-management, and self-financing, the securing of the growth of the prosperity and spiritual culture of the people, scientific-technical progress, the rational use and protection of natural resources, and the state of the environment are decided; drafts of current and long-term state plans of the economic, social and cultural development of the Latvian SSR, the state budget of the Latvian SSR, the results of the implementation of the state plans and the execution of the budget, and the draft laws of the Latvian SSR are examined, and other very important questions of state, economic, and socio-cultural construction are examined and decided.

Article 9. The Presidium of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

For the decision of questions connected with securing the effective management of the national economy, and other questions of state administration, the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, consisting of the chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, the first deputies, the deputy chairmen, and the business manager of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, acts as the constant organ of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

Upon the representation of the chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers may include other members of the government in the composition of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

Article 10. The Relations of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers with State Organs of the USSR and the Union Republics

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, proceeding from the goals and tasks of a sovereign state, cooperates with the USSR Council of Ministers, the ministries and state committees of the USSR, other organs within the jurisdiction of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Councils of Ministers of the union republics for the realization of the plans of economic, social and cultural development of the republic, and integrated nationwide, inter-sectoral and regional programs.

To secure the daily relations of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers with the USSR and the Councils of Ministers of the union republics, representations of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers may be created.

Article 11. Relations of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers with the Executive Committees of the Local Soviets of People's Deputies

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, within the limits of its powers and in accordance with the laws of the Latvian SSR on local self-government:

- 1) Cooperates with the executive committees of the local Soviets of People's Deputies;
- 2) secures the coordination of actions between the executive committees of the local Soviets of People's Deputies and the ministries and state committees of the Latvian SSR, other organs within its jurisdiction, in regard to the realization of their competence and the practical implementation of the plans of economic, social and cultural development, integrated programs, and decides the questions that arise in so doing.

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers has the right to repeal decisions and orders of the executive committees of the rayon and city (cities of republic subordination) of Soviets of People's Deputies that contradict the law.

Article 12. Guidance of the Work of Ministries and State Committees of the Latvian SSR and Other Organs Within the Jurisdiction of the Latvian Council of Ministers

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers:

- 1) Introduces in the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet proposals for the formation and abolition of ministries and state committees of the Latvian SSR;
- 2) in the case of necessity, forms committees, main administrations, inspections, and other departments at the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers for affairs of the

economic and socio-cultural construction, as well as reorganizes and abolishes these organs;

3) appoints and dismisses from office the executives of committees, main administrations, inspections, and other departments at the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, the deputy ministers of the Latvian SSR, the deputy chairmen of the Latvian SSR state committees, and the deputy heads of other organs within its jurisdiction;

4) takes measures in order that the ministers and state committees of the Latvian SSR and other organs within its jurisdiction make full use of the rights granted to them for the fulfillment of the tasks entrusted to them and the realization of their functions by them, and for the independent solution of the questions ascribed to their jurisdiction;

5) has the right to abolish acts of ministries and state committees of the Latvian SSR and other organs within its jurisdiction that contradict the law;

6) may encourage the ministers of the Latvian SSR, the chairmen of the state committees of the Latvian SSR, the heads of other organs within its jurisdiction, and their deputies, as well as impose disciplinary penalties in accordance with the procedure set forth by the law.

Article 13. Ministries and State Committees of the Latvian SSR

The ministries and state committees of the Latvian SSR are the organs of state administration of the Latvian SSR. Making use of legal and economic methods of management, the ministries and state committees create conditions for the manifestation of initiative and entrepreneurship of labor collectives, the economic independence of the enterprises, every conceivable use of the principles of full khozraschet, and self-financing. On the basis of the acceleration of the socio-economic and scientific-technical development of the sectors, they secure the satisfaction of the demand of the national economy and the population for high-quality products, work, and services, the increase of production efficiency, the increase of the contribution to the national income, and the integrated solution of social tasks.

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers may entrust the realization of some functions of inter-sectoral management to ministries and state committees of the Latvian SSR.

Within the limits of their competence, the Latvian SSR ministries and state committees promulgate acts on the basis and in fulfillment of the laws of the Latvian SSR and other decisions of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the decrees and orders of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, and organize and verify their implementation.

The normative acts promulgated by the ministries and state committees of the Latvian SSR within the limits of their competence, which are subject to the obligatory implementation in other sectors of the national economy

and by the population, enter into force after their registration in the Latvian SSR Ministry of Justice.

The Latvian SSR ministries are headed by ministers, the Latvian SSR state committees—by chairmen.

Statutes on ministries and state committees of the Latvian SSR are confirmed by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

Article 14. Ministries of the Latvian SSR

The ministries of the Latvian SSR are:

Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR,

Ministry of Health of the Latvian SSR,

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Latvian SSR,

Ministry of Municipal Services of the Latvian SSR,

Ministry of Culture of the Latvian SSR,

Ministry of Education of the Latvian SSR,

Ministry of Industry of the Latvian SSR,

Ministry of Communications of the Latvian SSR,

Ministry of Social Security of the Latvian SSR,

Ministry of Trade of the Latvian SSR,

Ministry of Transport and Highways of the Latvian SSR,

Ministry of Finance of the Latvian SSR,

Ministry of Economics of the Latvian SSR,

Ministry of Justice of the Latvian SSR.

Article 15. State Committees of the Latvian SSR

The state committees of the Latvian SSR are:

State Agroindustrial Committee of the Latvian SSR,

State Committee for Material-Technical Supply of the Latvian SSR,

State Committee for Statistics of the Latvian SSR,

State Committee for Construction and Architecture of the Latvian SSR,

State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting of the Latvian SSR,

State Committee for Fuel and Energy of the Latvian SSR,

State Committee for Physical and Sports of the Latvian SSR,

State Committee for State Security of the Latvian SSR.

Article 16. Other Organs Within the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

Within the jurisdiction of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers are also committees, main administrations,

inspections and departments at the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers for economic and socio-cultural construction and in accordance with the law of the Latvian SSR—other organs, organizations, and associations.

The statutes of these organs are confirmed by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

Article 17. Sessions of the Latvian Council of Ministers and Its Presidium, Procedure for the Adoption of Decisions at the Sessions

Sessions of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers are held at least once a quarter. Sessions of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR are held as necessary.

Sessions of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and its Presidium are competent in the presence of no less than two-thirds of the total membership respectively of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and its Presidium.

At sessions of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and its Presidium, decisions are taken by a majority of votes respectively of the members of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and the members of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

Article 18. The Chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers. The Deputy Chairmen of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

The chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers heads the government of the Latvian SSR and directs its activity.

The chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers:

- 1) Forms the personnel of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and introduces corresponding proposals in the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet;
- 2) presents, in the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, proposals concerning the dismissal from office and the appointment of individual persons who make up the staff of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers;
- 3) organizes the work of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and its Presidium, is in charge of its sessions;
- 4) secures collegiality and glasnost in the work of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and its Presidium;
- 5) represents the Latvian SSR in international relations in accordance with the Constitution and the laws of the Latvian SSR;
- 6) in urgent cases takes decisions with respect to some questions of state administration.

The first deputies and the deputy chairmen of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, in accordance with the distribution of obligations, the coordination of the activity of the ministers and chairmen of the state

committees of the Latvian SSR, the heads of other organs within the jurisdiction of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers; carry out a preliminary review of the proposals, draft decrees and orders that are introduced in the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

In the case of the absence of chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, the duties of the chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, on his instructions, are carried out by one of the first deputy chairmen or, in their absence—by one of the deputy chairmen of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

Article 19. Members of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

The members of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers:

- 1) Bear responsibility for the sphere of activity entrusted to them and for the activity of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers as a whole;
- 2) have the right to be present at sessions of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, the sessions of its commissions and committees, and to be heard;
- 3) take part in the examination of questions at sessions of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, its Presidium, and other permanent organs;
- 4) have the right to submit, to the government of the Latvian SSR, proposals concerning the examination of questions that fall within the jurisdiction of the Latvian Council of Ministers, to come out with an initiative for the development of decisions of the government of the Latvian SSR and laws of the Latvian SSR.

The members of the Latvian Council of Ministers cannot have criminal proceedings instituted against them and be detained, arrested, subjected to search or measures of administrative penalty imposed through judicial proceedings, without the consent of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, and, in the period between sessions, the Presidium of the Latvian Supreme Soviet.

Article 20. The Permanent Commissions of the Latvian Council of Ministers and Other Working Organs

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers forms permanent commissions. The tasks, functions, and procedure of the activity of these commissions are determined by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

For the preparation of proposals connected with the development of sectors of the national economy or spheres of management, the development of draft decrees of the government of the Latvian SSR, and the examination of differences with respect to draft decrees, as well as for the implementation of individual instructions of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and its Presidium, temporary commissions and other working organs of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers may be created.

The procedure for the submission of proposals to the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and their examination is determined by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

Article 21. Decrees and Orders of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, on the basis and in fulfillment of the Constitution and the laws of the Latvian SSR and other decisions of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, promulgates decrees and orders, organizes verifies their implementation. Decrees and orders of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers must be executed without fail throughout the entire territory of the Latvian SSR.

The decrees of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers are published in Latvian and Russian in the VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA I PRAVITELSTVA LATVIYSKOY SSR, and, if their wide and immediate publication is necessary, are brought to the general notice of the mass media.

The Presidium of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers adopts protocol decisions.

Decisions on operational and other current questions are promulgated in the form of orders of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

Decrees of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers are signed by the chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and the business manager of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers. Orders of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers are signed by the chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, the first deputies or deputy chairmen of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, in accordance with the procedure established by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

Article 22. Administration of Affairs of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

The Administration of Affairs of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers is the apparatus of the government of the Latvian SSR and carries out the preparation of the questions for review in the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, as well as secures the systematic verification of the implementation of the decisions of the government.

The statute of the Administration of Affairs of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and its structure are approved by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

Chairman of the Latvian SSR
Supreme Soviet Presidium
Secretary of the Latvian
SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Ukrainian People's Deputy Candidate on Voter Activism

90UN0811A Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 3
13-20 Jan 90 p 6

[Article by Stanislav Kalinichev, OGONEK correspondent and Ukrainian SSR people's deputy candidate: "Democratization at Crossroads: The Last Chance"]

[Text] There is a tale that perestroika, on its way from Moscow to Kiev, stopped at the railroad crossing signal in the village of Mikhaylovskiy. This joke now sounds like a sad statement of fact. The election campaign for USSR people's deputies took place in the spring, stirring the people. What electoral passions flared up in Zhitomir, Kharkov and even Kiev itself! It seemed that the people had awakened from political hibernation.

In Kiev, K.I. Masik, first secretary of the party gorkom, was defeated in the elections. Several hundred thousands voters voted against him. It was decided to move the secretary to a different post since he did not have the trust of the masses. Was he sent to the factory to work as an engineer? Did he get the position of shop manager? Plant director? No way. His new placement was as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. This is what your votes are worth, "comrade" voters.

In the previous election campaign, there was hardly an election meeting without severe criticism against the republic's leaders and V.V. Shcherbitskiy personally. He was one of the key figures of the stagnation period and the hero of Chernobyl: he was the one who allowed thousands of Kiev residents and their children to spend the sunny days of April 29 and 30, 1986, on Dnepr beaches, under radiation storms, even as half of Europe stayed indoors protecting themselves from radioactivity. On May 1, standing at the head of the republic's leadership on the government reviewing stand, he was accepting flowers from Octobrists and Young Pioneers. Those kids had been drilled in the square long before the start of the rally. Kiev residents remember well that horrible shot on television, as they remember all those who stood then on the reviewing stand and, even though they had the true information, were accepting flowers from the unsuspecting children. That shot is a documentary proof of a group crime against the people. But many of those to whom the kids presented flowers are still in the republic's leadership.

The same was true of Shcherbitskiy. Only before the start of the current election campaign did the Ukrainian CP Central Committee come together in a plenum and decided to remove him from the helm. The session was broadcast on television. He was being hailed as a beloved father of the people. Central Committee members came to the podium one after another and showered the hero with a flood of praise as though he had led the republic into the ranks of prosperous nations of the world. Listening to those sycophantic panegyrics, one felt overwhelming shame. Central Committee members spoke as

though there was no rationing, no bare store shelves, no endless lines in which millions of citizens are forced to queue up every day.

Take for instance the current situation in the press, on radio, on television and in the media in general. It is a monopoly of the strictest kind. It is not an accident that the deputies' club of the republic, whose members include many USSR people's deputies, must publish its newspaper, GOLOS, outside the Ukraine. If these are the rights USSR deputies enjoy, what is there left to say?

The current election campaign began as a fresh assault by the old apparatus. Opportunities for holding election meetings at the place of residence were cut to a minimum while at workplace, in offices, where people are constrained by subordination links, party economic managers made a grab for deputy slots. Twenty directors general registered for the 22 deputy slots allotted to Kiev, as well as almost as many regular directors, as many directors and managers of trusts and almost all first secretaries of party raykoms and chairmen of existing rayon ispolkoms.

I have seen records of some meetings, where all those present voted, and all voted yes, and none voted no. This is a painfully familiar tale.

The largest mass movement in the Ukraine in support of perestroika (Rukh) has been denied registration for over a year and can not nominate candidates. I personally do not fully share the Rukh program. The movement itself, too, is quite mixed, but this does not give anyone the right to ignore it.

Many voters no longer believe that they can have an impact on the situation in the country. I have heard many statements like this: "In Moscow, some new ideas could be accepted, but not here. When Moscow orders to bite nails, they start chopping off fingers here."

I have attended several meetings of residents at which some candidates for Ukrainian SSR people's deputies were nominated, including myself. It was so difficult to gather people. No meeting began on time. Of the 300-400 participants who had agreed to come, more than half were late. Some meetings could not be held at all while at others, after an hour or two of work, fewer than 200 people were left in the audience and the meetings were declared invalid.

Apathy and fatigue increasingly paralyze voters. Newspapers carry on a tepid discussion as though it were just another campaign, no exciting articles have appeared and no leaders have stepped forward. Support groups and clubs of supporters of various candidates, so active only last winter, have disappeared. There is nothing any more.

If it continues in this vein, the elections in some districts may fail altogether since fewer than half of all voters would show up. But the saddest thing is that we have lost

hope that things would ever change for the better. There is a saying that every nation has the government it deserves.

We must understand that the activity of a Soviet at any level entirely depends on how politically active the citizens themselves are, those who must breathe down the necks of their candidates.

We must not forget that changes begun in Moscow arrive at the local level in a much curtailed form. If now all of us, our entire community, with all interest and without heeding persistent advice from some quarters, fail to elect those who truly represent the interests of the people, all new structures may simply collapse without powerful support from below.

It may be our last chance to show that we have the will to change our fatherland for the better. Is it conceivable that we will squander it?

Copyright: Izdatelstvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Ogonek", 1990.

Ukrainian Decree on Chernobyl Tax Exemption

90UN0912A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
13 Jan 90 p 3

[Decree issued by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in Kiev on 12 January: "Exempting From Some Types of Taxation Those Taxpayers Who Live on the Territory and Have Been Exposed to Radioactive Contamination"]

[Text] With the goal of providing a single system for exempting from the payment of taxes those citizens, enterprises, institutions, and organizations that are situated on the territory and have been exposed to radioactive contamination as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl AES [Nuclear Power Station], the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

1. In accordance with Article 8 of the Statutes on Local Taxes, approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 26 January 1981, to exempt from the payment of local taxes those citizens as well as cooperative enterprises, institutions, and organizations with structures and plots of land assigned to them that are situated in the rayons that suffered from the accident at the Chernobyl AES.

2. In accordance with Article 8 of the USSR Law on Agricultural Taxes, to provide for the exemption, through the executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies of Zhitomir, Kiev, Rovno, and Chernigov Oblasts, from payment of the agricultural farm tax of those citizens located in the rayons specified in Article 1 of this decree.

3. To charge the USSR Ministry of Finance with exempting, on the basis of Article 7 of the Edict of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 21 March 1988 "On the Taxation of Owners of Means of Transportation and Other Self-Propelled Vehicles and Mechanisms," those enterprises, institutions, and organizations as well as citizens located in the localities specified in Article 1 of this decree from the payment of the tax on owners of means of transportation.

4. To entrust the USSR Ministry of Finances and the soviet executive committees of the Zhitomir, Kiev, Rovno, and Chernigov Oblast soviets of people's deputies with verification of the implementation of this decree.

V. Shevchenko, chairman,
Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium;
N. Khomenko, secretary,
Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Kiev, 12 January 1990

New Crimean Oblispolkom Chairman Elected
90UN0732B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
28 Dec 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "Crimea Oblast Soviet Session"]

[Text] A session of the Crimea Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, which examined an organizational matter, was held on 27 December. A.M. Roshchupkin was relieved of his duties as chairman of the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] at his request in connection with his retirement on pension.

Elections of a new chairman were conducted on a basis of choice. The candidacies of G.I. Kapshchuk, secretary of the Crimea Obkom [oblast party committee], and V.V. Kurashik, first deputy chairman of the oblispolkom, were discussed. As a result of a secret ballot V.V. Kurashik was elected oblispolkom chairman.

The session was addressed by N.V. Bagrov, first secretary of the Crimea Obkom.

Lithuanian Independence Commission Meets*90UN0918A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
1 Feb 90 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "In the Commission on Preparing a Plan for the Restoration of Lithuanian Independence"]

[Text] On 30 January a meeting of the Commission on Preparing a Plan for the Restoration of Lithuanian Independence took place in the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. Presiding over the meeting was Deputy Kazimeras Moteka, a member of the collegium of chairmen.

All members of the commission's collegium of chairmen addressed the basic issues on the meeting agenda. Means and methods of organizing the system of government and resolving economic problems were analyzed by deputies Yustinas Martsinkyavichyus and Algirdas Zhukauskas as among the major conditions for restoring Lithuanian independence. Deputy Romualdas Ozolas treated theoretical and practical aspects of the concept of Lithuanian independence. Algirdas Brazauskas, chairman of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, spoke about relations between Lithuania and the republics of the Soviet Union, foreign countries, and about interethnic relations in Lithuania.

Other commission members participated in the discussions.

A working group was established which will determine the basic avenues of commission activity in preparing a plan for the restoration of Lithuanian independence. The group consists of Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Deputies Alfonsas Matsytis, Kazimeras Moteka, Romualdas Ozolas, Yustas Paletskis, Lyudvikas Sabutis, Bronislovas Zaykauskas, Zenonas Zhilyavichyus, and ranking functionaries of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Vitautas Petrauskas and Vitautas Sinkyavichyus. It was decided to engage scholars and economic experts in this effort, with the aim of preparing the plan for restoring Lithuanian independence in efficient and expert fashion.

The next meeting is planned for 19 February.

RSFSR, Separatist Movements Considered*90UN0936B Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian No 4, 26 Jan 90 pp 3, 4*

[Article by E. Volodin, doctor of philosophical sciences: "The New Russia in a Changing World"]

[Text] The problem of the integrity of the USSR is extremely crucial today. This can be seen if only from the programs and declarations of various movements and fronts in the union republics. "Everything is not so simple," said M.S. Gorbachev when he was in Lithuania, having in mind the mechanism for seceding from the Soviet Union. "...all the people will be discussing this draft law. And I think we must work it out together. That

is the only way! If anyone thinks that it is all quite simple, they should be in kindergarten."

We consider it possible to draw the readers' attention to the predictions of our country's political development when one takes into account the possibility of the secession of various republics from the USSR.

What awaits Soviet Russia in this case and what realities should it take into account in the future? Doctor of Philosophical Sciences E. Volodin reflects on these issues in his article.

It is painful and difficult to begin this topic. It is painful and difficult because we have been given such a heavy burden in participating in the destruction of a great power such as the Union of Republics, a superpower, the former center of what used to be called the socialist camp.

Separatist processes are taking place along all the western and southern borders of the Soviet Union. Nationalism is taking the upper hand in these political movements and the problem of secession has already been raised as a political slogan and practical action by the leaders of various fronts that during the course of the year have cast off like unnecessary old clothes the final words that were initially a part of their name—"in support of perestroika."

Here we must explain the concept of "nationalism." It is used not because secession is understood by regional nationalism as a withdrawal from the USSR but as a separation from Russia, and they short-sightedly use the abstraction "center" to explain the quite concrete actions and plans of the regional "national revivalists." Nationalism should not be used to designate the legitimate feelings and actions of people in defense of their ethnic originality, their cultural uniqueness, or their religious beliefs. When using the concept nationalism I have in mind, in the first place, the fact that national movements everywhere verge on the most ardent Russophobia, which immediately distorts the actual national movements and their content, and for this modern nationalists will have to answer to their own people.

Nationalism is used as a concept also because the leaders of the fronts are already applying the national indicator to divide the residents of the republic into full-fledged residents and subhumans, at the same time ignoring the legitimate rights to a national life even of indigenous peoples who have or who wish to create and develop national state autonomy.

As we can see, it is possible to make a distinction between the movement for disclosure and enhancement of national uniqueness, which is filled with meaning and humanism and which has always been self-deepening and open to the world, on the one hand, and nationalism as a parasite on national uniqueness with the intention of raising it to an absolute to which all residents of the national region without exception are to be compared.

As concerns Russophobia, I do not intend to discuss it here but I will say that it would diminish significantly if the "center" would not engage in their strange creation of myths which is more like a game of give-away at the expense of the national worth of Russia and the Russians. And, actually, we should not pay attention to the malicious outbursts of regional nationalists when we have behind us the history and the knowledge of Russia's role in protecting those peoples whose current nationalist leaders' malice derives from this very history and this very knowledge. And we do not have to respond to those provincial Bonapartes with our experience in historical life—they are not the ones who represent the people with whom we have shared the country and preserved the power for centuries.

The most important task we have now is not to allow the regional nationalists to divide the republics' populations up according to varieties. If the Baltic area, the Transcaucasus, or other regions were to secede no power except Russia could provide a guarantee of the equal rights of the peoples or their representatives in the areas that are still union republics. The "center" is no help here for if it were it would not allow the republics to adopt racist laws. And the "world community" and the "Western democracies" in the name of changing the geopolitical apportionment have also remained silent and will remain silent about the parallelism of the laws of the leading Baltic republics and the retrograde Republic of South Africa. Only Russia, by applying political and economic and other means, is capable of creating its representations in the national union republics and not allowing nationalists to raise the racist theory to the level of a political doctrine which is degrading to their own people. This is a legitimate political action of Russia which is entering a new stage in its political history when there are no historical allies left, when it can count on help from nobody, and when only through their own efforts can Russians bring a halt to internal stagnation and world destabilization.

A new act is beginning in the world historical drama but can its action be described as only tragic? It goes without saying that nobody gets to experience only joy. But the existing state of affairs cannot continue because it is unnatural. Could the union of the countries of the block be long and durable if it has been ideologized through and through and its economy is based on subsidies—direct or concealed—in the economies of other countries? Is this now why, for instance, we have so quickly lost the idea of our Slavic unity, we are not representing the culture and history of the southern and western Slavs, and we have forgotten about the most complex spiritual processes that generate our greatest cultural values?

The picture does not change when we look at the relationships between the republics within the union. For decades subsidies from the budget of Russia into the budgets of the union republics were used to "eliminate the actual inequality" until the donor finally collapsed. And who stands to gain and is interested in this collapse?

This is one of the reasons for the appearance of regional nationalism and one of the explanations why nationalism raises the question of the collapse of the USSR.

The time is coming for courage and settling accounts. Courage because Russia must again be concentrated and self-determined in order to clarify its position in the new world and its historical purpose in this world. The "center" is becoming something of a chimera, and, released from its power, Russia can select its own historical goal for itself.

The time is coming for settling accounts because the republics are not moving from dormitories into individual apartments but are destroying their circulatory system, they are severing ties, and breaking down the home which has been under construction not since 1940 or since 1917 but for more than a millennium. This is no fly-by-night affair, we need a certain amount of courage here so that we will have no more claims against one another or presentation of unpaid bills.

There are difficulties here but they are not as unresolvable as they might seem at first. Russian statistics have been at a good level and at least for all of the 20th century one can tell fairly well who stole from whom and what kind of colonization took place. And if it turns out that Russia owes someone something, her debts will have to be repaid. We are aware of both the drawing up and the distribution of the all-union budget for the past decades. And here it is necessary to calculate so as not to end up with the bitter taste of premature decisions in our mouths. Both for Russia and for the fraternal union republics.

The problem of borders is much more complicated. It goes without saying that it is only in a state of nationalistic blindness that one can think that the secession will occur with the present borders. It is absurd to think that the interrepublic borders imposed through the flowing blood of Russia during the twenties and arbitrarily changed in subsequent decades have any significance. It is the task of all republics to solve this problem among themselves but it is just as much a matter of principle for Russia to determine her own borders with all other republics. There are contractual acts for this, beginning at least with the 15th century (exceptions are the current Latvia and Estonia which did not have their own statehood. Other exceptions are the Ukraine and Belorussia from whom separation will indeed be a national tragedy).

Naturally, it will be necessary to distribute proportionately among the republics the existing currency indebtedness and the debts of foreign countries to the Soviet Union. It is also important for each republic to be fully and comprehensively represented in the new world community of states and nations.

Finally, the country's defense is an inalienable right and duty of each independent state. The Russian army should be on Russian territory, just as it is the duty of each republic that leaves the union to create its own

military formations or not create them at all. But it seems to me that, God forbid, Russia should not conclude any future military agreements with the new states that are former union republics. This would be a basis for further political and economic blackmail and it is not Russia's business to play old and pointless games.

My prognosis does not envision Russia as a part of any conference which nobody needs except the "center"...

And so we will continue. Russia is left alone. This prediction will not necessarily come true but it is not so fantastic that we can ignore it. We must take into account the path that has been traveled, the extreme case, and be prepared to meet it with courageous action under any circumstances of life.

Russia will be alone but does this mean that she will become a second-rate state, being left out of the orchestra of world politics? Those who have counted on this and worked for this are gravely mistaken. Russia is still a mainland, the Eurasian continent with all of its raw material supplies and industrial potential, intellectual power and, if one must recall it, the missile-space complex and an army equipped with modern technology, which taken together leave us among the leading powers. And so that we do not return to this again I note that the new Russia simply will not pay any attention to the ideas that are now being actively promoted concerning the division of its territory into principalities. The Russian people and government will not stand for this.

The concentrated Russia will finally engage in self-recognition and see its people, their destinies, their problems, and their hopes. And the truth—regardless of the blindness that had to be reached in order not to know and not to see the destinies of our brothers along the Volga with whom for centuries, shoulder to shoulder, we have defended the independence of the homeland and adorned it beautifully. And do we know a lot about the Bashkirs and Kalmyks whose cavalry was the pride of the Russian army? And what do the Russians know about the Altays, who have preserved one of the world's oldest cultures for themselves, for us, and for mankind? And the heartfelt generosity, kindness, and openness of the peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East—have they indeed become a part of our common destiny and is all of their spiritual wealth to be found in the overall content of Russian life? And the peoples of the Northern Caucasus and the epic of the sleds which created their national character—do we, Russians, really understand them thoroughly and deeply? Look, I have listed only a few of our intra-Russian, interethnic problems, but I have listed enough to show the diversity of the Russian life and the importance of its recognition and assimilation.

We have hard work ahead of us for restoring the all-Russian economic ties and the market and the revival of the peasantry. We need a national program for the development of Central Russia. Life is being renewed here, Russia is being renewed, and the destiny of the

homeland will be decided in this historical center of Russia. With the crisis conditions in the Urals, the Kuzbass, and a number of regions of Siberia—a catastrophe in the center of Russia is already a reality and now there is no task more important than to reanimate the sources of our national and state life.

Concentration and self-deepening presuppose the revival of historical memory and spirituality. In spite of the cultural-historical pogroms in which recent decades are rich, Russia and her people have created a culture and acquired spiritual experience so that they have gone beyond the national framework and become world historical phenomena. We know their volume and content and we are showing the peoples of Russia the paths to their restoration. Regardless of how the current fighters for the introduction into our awareness of the nonspiritual ruminations of mass culture have orated about the backwardness of Russia, the worldwide scope of Russian culture is irrefutable and the task of the new Russia is to educate its citizens on a national-popular basis.

The self-determination of national-state life will create new conditions for the relationship between ideological and religious processes. These conditions will require clarity and a lack of ambiguity in state ideology and these will undoubtedly give a new impetus to the development of religious beliefs which have become the national destiny for the people's of Russia. One can assume that for Russians and other peoples who linked their destinies to Christianity the significance of Orthodoxy will increase sharply and the Russian Orthodox Church, separated from the state by the spiritual poisoning of believers and their presence among atheists, will develop and strengthen the moral foundations of the society. It is even more important to determine precisely the state idea and the state ideology so that it will contribute to unification in the matter of construction of the life of Russia and the coexistence of various religious faiths and world views. All this means a change in the supreme power of Russia, which will remain Soviet Russia but will sharply increase the role and authority of the Soviet of Nationalities as the center for coordination of efforts to protect Russia's future and reveal the capabilities of each ethnic group that is participating in her destiny.

All that has been said requires another honest conclusion: We are faced with a difficult destiny, hard work, and deliberate self-restraint. This is not the first time for Russia, which recalls the times of Ivan Kalita, the Time of Trouble of the 17th century, and the postwar troubles. Russia survived then and she will survive in the future if everyone understands that without her the people are incomplete, that the world cannot do without Russia. "We are Russians and we shall overcome everything," said the great Suvorov. And therefore she shall survive.

And what about the rest of the world? Will national-state xenophobia become our historical future?

No, of course not. Russia will continue to be open to the world but this openness will change in quality. Instead of

universal ideological expansion revolving on economic subsidies at the expense of our own well-being, Russia will turn to the world with her inexhaustible spiritual and cultural experience which anyone who wishes to can choose freely. It is prepared, as before, through free choice to extract the best from the cultural experience of other peoples. While taking back her own name, Russia is taking back her dignity and her own historical purpose.

Russia has become concentrated.

United Workers Front Congress Examined

90UN0941A Leningrad *LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA*
in Russian 28 Jan 90 p 2

[A. Ozhegov article: "Debates Without Opponents—At the Second Congress of the United Workers Front"]

[Text] You will agree that so far perestroika has no noticeable achievements in the economic area. But the changes that have taken place in social life are simply amazing. The unanimous—because of the lingering habit—struggle against unanimity has been marked by appreciable results: dissonant pluralism and polarization of opinions. Dozens of politicized associations and groups have appeared, from monarchists to Christian democrats to anarcho-communists. They argue bitterly with one another and sometimes criticize their opponents without restraint.

There is an especially large amount of polemics with leaders and members of the United Workers Front of Russia who, in the words of their opponents, have not yet "seen the light" and are not restructuring themselves: They say that just as before, during the times of economic "uniform thinking," they are asserting the priority of state planning over the market and commodity-monetary relations, in which emphasis is placed on profit and income and not satisfaction of the needs of the workers.

There is nothing you can do; the United Front frequently does indeed give cause for people to criticize it. The obtrusive rhetoric in certain populist statements, the dogmatic and nonhistorical quoting from the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the nondialectical use of past ideological postulates in evaluating the contradictions in the current situation—all these and also other shortcomings were noted by members of the Front themselves at the Second Congress of the OFT [United Workers Front] of Russia which was held recently in our city.

With time the Front's theoretical principles will, naturally, develop, but the source and the motive force of their development will be the same—the desire for social equality of citizens and a resolute rejection of "private ownership according to the essence of the bourgeois economy." This was clearly shown once again at the Leningrad congress.

A little more than four months after the first constituent forum, the coordination council of the OFT considered "the time ripe" for the regular all-Russian meeting. So much has happened during these past days of loud events that have to be discussed and the Front must determine its position with respect to them! Finally—and this is especially important—the time has come to work out tactics for the fight in the elections to the republic and local soviets of people's deputies.

The congress worked hard for two days in the Palace of Culture imeni Lensovet; 114 delegates—with a decisive vote—from 35 cities of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and also guests representing intermovements of other republics of the country, under slogans such as "Hail the unity of peoples of the USSR!", "Power in the soviets—to the workers!", and "Give us the Russian Communist Party!", discussed with keen interest the report of the coordination council which was presented by one of the co-chairmen, a Leningrad roofer N.A. Polovodov, and the report from the fitter-assembler of Russkiy Dizel—also our compatriot—I.V. Krasavin concerning the tactics for the election campaign and the election platform of the OFT.

A contradictory and sometimes—I shall be honest—even strange impression is left by the statements of certain speakers in the debates. One of them, for example, suggested entering a party of the dictatorship of the proletariat that originated in Kazan and another put forth as a basis for ideological unity of the Russian patriots the "morally pure," spiritual legacy of our ancestors: "Noble thought, noble word, noble deed!" Although this may be attractive it is a fairly abstract formulation that is far removed from today's harsh realities of life and scientific substantiation. The question is how to carry out good intentions in daily life when what is good for some people, alas, does not improve the well-being of others. For it was the glaring cases of social differentiation of the standards of living of the citizens that were discussed when the floor was taken over by the Siberians, N.P. Konovalov, an engineer, and Yu.I. Sofronov, chairman of the Novosibirsk OFT, who also called for unification of patriots, but on the "path of real socialism."

I had a confused and very unpleasant feeling, and I noticed that several other delegates did too, when we heard about the attempts of hostile forces, both foreign and domestic. Even the unforgettable American Secretary of State Allen Dulles was mentioned once from the podium of an OFT congress. They included among his "insidious" intrigues, in particular, the domestic economic innovations of the sixties which all but lay the basis for the "capitalization" of the national economy.

A considerable proportion of the congress' delegates and speakers were workers who still participate in the active political struggle and are learning to analyze the most complex political and economic metamorphoses of perestroika. And the United Workers Front itself is taking only its first steps into the political field. Mistakes and

delusions are obviously inevitable during the time of establishment. But is it right—under any circumstances—to have arguments and weighty evidence be replaced by extremely questionable conclusions to the effect that a number of eminent Soviet economists and philosophers, in the opinion of OFT theoreticians, hold an “essentially pro-bourgeois-class position” and have placed themselves in the service of corrupt elements and merchants of the shadow economy. To put it bluntly, those who had gathered there decided to include among the “apologists” of the new “sov- bourgeoisie” in particular the “pseudo-democrats” from the interregional deputy group and respected scientists who defend the principle of the market economy and are convinced that this is what will finally help to radically improve the well-being of the workers.

But for an ideological refutation of their political opponents it was obviously necessary to prove above all the advantages of the economic concept developed by the theoreticians of the front, including Doctors of Philosophy M.V. Popov and R.I. Kosolapov (former editor-in-chief of the theoretical journal of the party Central Committee, *KOMMUNIST*), Doctors of Economic Sciences A.A. Sergeyev, L.I. Gramateyeva, and other scholars who resolutely defend the priority of public ownership of the means of production as the basis of socialism and the plan over the market.

But here is what is remarkable: In the alternative variant of the economic reform and the election platform of members of the OFT of Russia there were many points that were extremely similar to those of their opponents. This pertains, for instance, to the introduction of divers forms of socialist land use, the elimination of the alienation of the workers from the means of production, computerization of the process of education along with increasing emphasis on the humanities, the creation of joint firms with foreign enterprises, and a radical solution to economic problems by economic methods. The United Front, for example, is in favor of more and more skilled labor and “civilized cooperatives that live by their own labor.”

At the congress of the Russian OFT it sometimes happened that the delegates after the debates were inconsistent in their final conclusions—it was as though they had one political yardstick for themselves and a different one for others. For example, those who had gathered there unanimously condemned the separatism of the Communist Party of Lithuania, the split in its ranks, and the desire of the people's fronts of the Baltic republics to withdraw from the union and introduce their own citizenship on their territories. But then the delegates also unanimously suggested to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet that it consider the question of “introducing the concept of Russian citizenship with the declaration that all the land, forests, rivers, and so forth, structures, and enterprises on Russian land to be republic property.”

I do not know what noble thoughts and intentions guided the party delegates when at a meeting of the temporary

party group of the congress (86 members of the CPSU) by a majority of votes (seven against, one abstention) they adopted the “historic” decision to convene as early as this year, during 21-22 April—in our city, incidentally—the “Initiating congress of communists of Russia as preparation for the constituent congress of the Russian Communist Party as an organic constituent part of the CPSU.” But this decree, in my opinion, cannot be called anything but a political declaration—it is, as it were, beyond the pale—outside the framework of the CPSU regulations. Without a second's hesitation the party group of the OFT congress in the heat of emotional debates appropriated the authority of the Plenum of the Party Central Committee and the Russian Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee...

The conclusion arises automatically: The OFT is not yet fully responsible to its name and its voluntary calling—to unite the workers in the struggle for perestroika. In the activity of the United Front there are frequent manifestations of dogmatic, sometimes even perhaps sectarian tendencies, which in no way contributes to the consolidation of progressive forces on the basis of common human values and a joint creative search for a way out of the political and economic crisis that has developed in the country. And can a modern political organization achieve much in its development if it is largely “closed” to the different thinking of its opponents and “alien” viewpoints and scientific theories?

‘Democratic Platform’ Conference Discussed

*90UN0941D Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 30 Jan 90 p 1*

[Report on interview with I.P. Lapotnikov, secretary of the party committee of the All-Union Geological Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Ministry of Geology, and D.G. Greys, worker and member of the party committee of the Kirovskiy Zavod Association, by V. Chichin: “Party Means ‘Part’”; place and date not given]

[Text] “We communists are representatives of party clubs and party organizations of 102 cities in the country and 13 republics and we announce the creation within the CPSU of the association of communists of the ‘Democratic Platform’ which is in favor of a radical reform of the CPSU in the direction of a democratic parliamentary party operating under the conditions of a multiparty system...”

This is the beginning of the declaration of the all-union conference of party club and party organizations which was held in Moscow during 20-21 January.

I think that the very fact that this conference was held and its decision even against the background of the turbulent events in the country's social life are an extraordinary phenomenon. But is this really unexpected? Is it not natural that in the current situation when perestroika is bogging down and the CPSU, in the opinion of many, including communists, is “not pulling

its share of the load," people are looking for a way out of the crisis in places other than the Politburo?...

Therefore let us forget about labels. Let us speak about the essence. The more so since there is a possibility of obtaining information first hand—the people with whom we shall be speaking today not only were delegates to the conference but were elected to the coordination council of the "Democratic Platform."

The first question for I.P. Lapotnikov, secretary of the party committee of VSEGEI [All-Union Geological Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Ministry of Geology], and D.G. Greys, worker and member of the party committee of the Kirovsiy Zavod Association is this:

[Chichin] How did you become delegates to this conference?

[Lapotnikov] Like the majority of its participants, I represented a party organization. I must say that the initiators of the conference—members of the Moscow party club—in spite of the difficulties that were raised, tried to make the procedure for the elections as democratic as possible. Invitations to participate in the conference were sent to all party clubs in the country and hundreds of party organizations were notified of it... I, for example, was elected as a delegate by the party committee of the institute. I came to Moscow with the minutes from this meeting.

[Greys] And I represented the Leningrad party club...

[Chichin] Since most of the readers are probably hearing about this for the first time, give us a little more detail...

[Greys] Our party club is one of the horizontal structures in the party with which, I am convinced, the future lies. They are created on special-purpose, territorial, functional, and other bases. So far our party club is a nonregulation party organization with dual membership but we pay our party dues to our local party organizations. The club's regulations and declaration were just developed in October and therefore our membership is not very large. But in Kharkhov, for example, the party club includes more than 500 communists. Delegates elected as I was at meetings of party clubs comprised 18 percent of the participants in the conference.

[Chichin] And how serious were its members?

[Lapotnikov] In my opinion, they were extremely serious. A total of more than 1,000 delegates participated in the work, 455 of whom were voting members and 700—nonvoting members. There was also a large group of USSR people's deputies and about 100 journalists were accredited, including foreign ones. For those who have become accustomed to being skeptical about any measure not sanctioned from above, I shall especially emphasize this fact: 43 percent of the delegates were party workers—from a gorkom [city party committee] secretary to a secretary of a shop organization.

[Chichin] Now about the main thing—the documents adopted by the conference. Some of them have already been published.

[Greys] And, alas, not in LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA. Let us discuss the Democratic Platform on the pages of the party newspaper (whether people like it or not this is still an event in the life of the party).

[Chichin] We would have liked to. But, unfortunately, we were not invited to the conference and we did not receive the resolution on it. And now let us return to the Democratic Platform. My question is simple: How is it principally different from the platform of the Leningrad party organization?

[Lapotnikov] First of all, the status is understood differently. The platform of the Leningrad party organization is based on the old idea of the role of the party—as the vanguard of the society. And the democratic platform is based on the idea that the CPSU should become a parliamentary party, that is, one of several political parties with equal rights.

[Chichin] But since the party is of the parliamentary type this means that there must be guarantees of minority rights, freedoms of platforms and groups, and the same horizontal structures in the party... And all this contradicts the heretofore unshakeable principle of party construction—democratic centralism!

[Greys] I am not the only one who has tried to find in Lenin's works a deciphering of this principle but I must admit that I found nothing except for "replaceability and electability" of cadres. And the principle of democratic centralism "began to play" with the facets it needed. I do not think we need to be chained to such a legacy.

[Chichin] I have attentively read all the documents of the conference and I can say without hesitation that I am prepared to sign them. But I do not know about you and one circumstance still disturbs me. Let us recall the program and regulations with which you entered the CPSU and compare them to the principles of the Democratic Platform and... In brief, does it not seem to you that the proposed radical measures can be regarded not only as a renewal of the CPSU but at the same time as a kind of, excuse me, arranged burial of the current party. If there is no justification for the latter, and there are examples of this abroad, are we not fooling ourselves. As they say, either or...

[Lapotnikov] Well, let us not beat around the bush. In the first place, we are proceeding not from our personal interests but from the interests of society. Which is better? With the current CPSU, with a renewed CPSU, or without any CPSU at all—people must decide this for themselves. And only under the conditions of a multi-party system will we be able to take the place we deserve in society. This is both objective and fair. It is no accident that the word "party" is translated as "part."

[Chichin] That is all correct. But I am interested in something else. How did you, for example, a communist and secretary of a party committee, explain your being in the party as it is? Does it not look like you are using this as an "ecological niche"? So what is holding you back?

[Lapotnikov] I proceed from two principle considerations. First. For now, except for the CPSU, there is no other structure which today could be a real political force capable of offering society a way out of the crisis.

The second is purely personal. The party, both before I entered and afterwards, took out so much unrepaid credit from the people that it is embarrassing to leave the CPSU without doing everything possible to settle accounts. An honest recognition of our mistakes and our responsibility for the country's current state of affairs, in my view, is extremely important today. Only then can we make a clean breast of it with the people and then we shall have a chance, I emphasize, a chance and not a guarantee, that the CPSU will receive a vote of confidence.

[Chichin] I know that after the conference you had a conversation in Smolnyy with B.V. Gidasov. Did you have anything in common?

[Greys] I cannot give you a simple answer. We understood that in principle Boris Veniaminovich is in favor of the Democratic Platform. For example, he made a firm promise to defend in the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee the proposal for democratic—direct, secret, in party precincts—elections to the 28th CPSU Congress. But at the same time I cannot understand, for example, what has and is standing in the way of conducting these elections for the extraordinary oblast party conference—the situation demands it. But so far it turns out that in Leningrad there are two centers for preparing for this conference. One is in Smolnyy and the other at the base for proponents of the Democratic Platform—Leningrad State University...

[Chichin] It cannot be ruled out that such a situation, only on a larger scale, could also occur after the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Was this variant taken into account at the conference?

[Lapotnikov] Of course. The plenum must take radical steps for democratization of life within the party. Our conference made a request to the plenum to permit five representatives of the coordination of the Democratic Platform to participate in its work and, incidentally, I was among them. If we end up at the plenum we shall try to convince its participants to adopt first of all a democratic variant of elections to the forthcoming CPSU Congress—otherwise it will not justify the hopes we placed in it. But if we fail at the plenum we shall have to begin to prepare for an alternative congress. But I am still placing my hopes in common sense.

[Chichin] I should like to hope that all communists will display it in this extremely complex stage in the life of the party, regardless of what views and platforms they may adhere to.

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in Russian 13 Feb 90 p 1

["Belorussian SSR Law on Languages in the Belorussian SSR"; issued in Minsk, 26 January 1990]

[Text] A language is not only a means of communication but the soul of a people and the foundation, the most important part of its culture. When a language lives, the people live. Each language with its literary, geographic, and historical variety is a priceless treasure belonging not to one people but to all humanity.

Each person has the duty and obligation of preserving his native language, promoting its development and growth, and treating the languages of other peoples with respect.

People of different nationalities have long lived in Belorussia and various languages have been spoken. However the scope for use of the language of the indigenous population of Belorussia, who gave the country its name and who historically make up the majority of the republic's inhabitants, has narrowed significantly in recent years, and the language's very existence became threatened. The need has arisen to defend Belorussian on a state and ethnic basis. This means of defense only permits Belorussian to be given the status of Belorussian SSR state language.

The status of state language for Belorussian does not affect the constitutional rights of citizens of other nationalities to use Russian or other languages. All Belorussian SSR citizens, regardless of nationality and native language, enjoy equal rights and have equal obligations to the state.

I. General Provisions

Article 1. Goals of legislation on languages in the Belorussian SSR

The Belorussian SSR legislation on language has for its object the regulation of relations in the sphere of the development and use of Belorussian, Russian, and other languages used by the population of the republic in its state, socioeconomic, and cultural life; the defense of the constitutional rights of the citizens in this sphere; the encouragement of respectful attitudes toward the national worth of the person, his culture, and his language; and the further consolidation of friendship and cooperation of peoples.

Article 2. The state language and other languages in the Belorussian SSR

In accordance with the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Belorussian SSR, the state language of Belorussian SSR is Belorussian.

The Belorussian SSR guarantees the comprehensive development and functioning of Belorussian in all spheres of public life.

The Belorussian SSR guarantees the right of the free use of Russian as the language of interethnic communication of the peoples of the USSR.

The Belorussian SSR manifests state concern about the free development and use of all national languages which are used by the republic's population.

Republic and local state and party organizations, enterprises, institutions, and social organizations create for the citizens of the Belorussian SSR the necessary conditions for the study of Belorussian and Russian and for the citizens' improved mastery of these languages.

The law does not regulate the use of languages in unofficial communication, in the communications of the members of labor collectives, in the USSR Armed Forces, or in the border, internal, and railway forces stationed on the territory of the Belorussian SSR.

Article 3. The right of citizens to use their national language

Citizens of the Belorussian SSR are guaranteed the right to use their national language. They are also guaranteed the right to petition state and party organs, enterprises, institutions, and social organizations in Belorussian, Russian, or any other language acceptable to the parties.

A ruling on the substance of a petition is framed in Belorussian. The response is given to the citizen in Belorussian or, if he wishes, in a translation into Russian.

Refusal by an official to accept and examine a citizen's petition in the state language, the language of interethnic communication, or the working language of a given institution with reference to ignorance of the language of the petition is punishable according to current legislation.

Article 4. Requirement for officials and other workers of state and party organs, enterprises, institutions, and social organizations to master Belorussian and Russian

Leaders and other workers of state institutions, party, soviet, and trade union organs, social organizations, and enterprises must master Belorussian and Russian to the degree necessary for the execution of their official duties.

The organs of state power and state administration as well as institutions, enterprises, and organizations must accept and examine documents which are submitted in Belorussian or Russian by citizens.

Article 5. The defense of languages

Any privileges or limitations of personal rights on the basis of language are unacceptable.

Public defamation or disparagement of the state language or other language, the creation of obstacles and limitations to their use, or the advocacy of enmity on the grounds of language is punishable by established law.

Article 6. Organizing implementation of the Law on Languages in the Belorussian SSR

Organization of the implementation of the Law on Languages in the Belorussian SSR is entrusted to the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and the executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies.

II. The Language of State and Party Organs, Enterprises, Institutions, and Social Organizations

Article 7. The language of acts of the organs of state power and administration

Acts of the higher organs of state power and administration of the Belorussian SSR are adopted in Belorussian and published in Belorussian and Russian.

Acts of the ministries and departments and the local organs of state power and administration of the Belorussian SSR are adopted and published in Belorussian and, when necessary, in the national language of the majority of the population in one or another locality.

Text on seals, stamps, postmarks, records of service, and official forms of state and party organs, enterprises, institutions, and social organizations in the Belorussian SSR will be executed in Belorussian or, where necessary, in Belorussian and Russian or another language.

Article 8. The language of office work and documentation

In the Belorussian SSR, the language of office work and documentation and of the mutual relations between state and party organs, enterprises, institutions, and social organizations is Belorussian.

The language of office work and documentation at enterprises (including those subordinate to the Union) is Belorussian or, where necessary, Russian.

Article 9. The language of the mutual relations of republic and local organs with Union organs and the organs of other republics

The language of the mutual relations of republic and local state and party organs, enterprises, institutions, and social organizations with Union organs is Russian; with the organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations of other union republics it is Russian or another language acceptable to both parties.

Article 10. The language of technical and design documentation

Technical and design documentation in the Belorussian SSR is written in Belorussian or Russian or, with regard for the destination, in another language.

Article 11. The language of documents concerning the status of Belorussian SSR citizens

Official documents testifying to the status of a citizen—passport, work records, education documents, and birth, marriage, and death certificates—are executed in

Belorussian and Russian; where necessary, individual documents are executed in Belorussian and another language.

Article 12. The language of congresses, conferences, and other forums

In the Belorussian SSR, the working language of congresses, sessions, conferences, plenums, meetings, assemblies, and other gatherings is Belorussian.

The working language of inter-republic, all-union, and international gatherings and forums conducted on the territory of the Belorussian SSR is whatever language the participants of the forum have specified.

Participants of local, republic, all-union, and international gatherings and forums are guaranteed the right to choose the language of their speeches where translation into the working language is available.

Article 13. The language of documents for elections of people's deputies

Documentation for elections of people's deputies of the local, republic, and Union organs of state power is drawn up in Belorussian.

Documentation for elections of USSR people's deputies is presented in Russian to the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies.

Election bulletins are printed in Belorussian or in the national language of the population of the electoral district.

Article 14. The language in the service sphere

In transportation and trade and in the sphere of medical and consumer services, Belorussian or another language acceptable to both sides is used.

Article 15. The language of judicial proceedings

Judicial proceedings in the Belorussian SSR are conducted in Belorussian or in the national language of the majority of the population in a given locality.

Where criminal and civil cases are tried in the courts, a person who is taking part in the case and cannot speak the language of the judicial proceedings is guaranteed the right to be acquainted with the pertinent materials, participation in legal activities via an interpreter, and the right to speak in court in his native language.

Investigative and legal documents are distributed to a person taking part in the case, at his demand, in a translation into the native language or any language that he speaks.

Article 16. The language of proceedings in cases of administrative offenses

Proceedings in cases of administrative violations in the Belorussian SSR are carried out in Belorussian or the national language of the majority of the population of a given locality.

If a person who is the subject of administrative proceeding does not speak the language in which the proceedings are being held, he may speak in his native language and make use of an interpreter.

Article 17. The language of notarial office work

Notarial clerical work in state notary bureaus and executive committees of city, settlement, and rural soviets of people's deputies is conducted in the same language in which the judicial proceedings for a given locality are conducted.

If a person has applied to a notary bureau and does not know the language in which judicial proceedings are conducted, texts of the documents that have been drawn up must be made available in translation into Russian or another language.

Article 18. The language of arbitration proceedings

Arbitration proceedings in cases where the parties are located on the territory of the Belorussian SSR are carried out in Belorussian.

Arbitration proceedings in cases where a party is located on the territory of another union republic are carried out in Russian.

If cases are sent to the USSR State Court of Arbitration or to the state court of arbitration of another union republic, the materials drawn up in Belorussian are subject to translation into Russian.

Article 19. The language of the directorate of the procurator

Acts of the directorate of the procurator in the Belorussian SSR are drawn up in Belorussian. In connection with the procurator's activities, correspondence with all institutions, enterprises, and organizations situated on the territory of the Belorussian SSR is conducted in this language.

Russian language is used in relations with the USSR Procuracy and other Union organs, and with the organs of the directorate of the procurator and other institutions of the union republics.

Article 20. The language of legal aid

Legal aid to citizens and organizations is given in Belorussian or in a language acceptable to all parties.

Article 21. The language of international treaties and agreements

The languages of the international treaties of the Belorussian SSR as well as agreements of enterprises, institutions, and social organizations of the Belorussian SSR with enterprises, institutions, and social organizations of other states is Belorussian and the language of the other party of the treaty or agreement.

III. The Language of Education, Science, and Culture

Article 22. The right to instruction and education in the national language

The Belorussian SSR provides each inhabitant of the republic the inalienable right to instruction and education in Belorussian or Russian. This right is guaranteed by a system of preschool institutions, general education schools, vocational training schools, specialized secondary institutions, and higher educational institutions.

The citizens of other nationalities living in the republic also have the right to instruction and education in their native language. The state creates the conditions for the realization of this right.

Leaders and other officials of the public education system must speak the language of instruction in which the appropriate organizations work.

Article 23. The language of instruction in children's preschool institutions

Instruction in children's preschool institutions as well as in orphanages in the Belorussian SSR is conducted in Belorussian.

In areas where citizens of other nationalities are settled closely together, children's preschool institutions are created where instruction of the children is conducted in Russian or another national language.

Where necessary, separate groups can be created in children's preschool institutions for instruction in another language.

Article 24. The language of training and instruction in general education schools

In the Belorussian SSR, training and instruction in general education schools is conducted in Belorussian.

In areas where citizens of other nationalities are settled closely together, general education schools or classes are created in which training and instruction are conducted in Russian or another national language.

Where necessary, classes can be created in general education schools for training and instruction in another language.

The study of both Belorussian and Russian is compulsory in all general education schools in the Belorussian SSR.

A procedure for the study of Belorussian for students temporarily on the territory of the republic is determined by the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Public Education.

Article 25. The language of instruction in vocational training schools, specialized secondary institutions, and higher educational institutions

Instruction and education in vocational training schools, specialized secondary institutions, and higher educational

institutions in the Belorussian SSR are carried out in Belorussian; in some specialties and professions, instruction is in Belorussian, Russian, or another language. The list of these specialties and professions is determined by the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers.

In all educational institutions of the Belorussian SSR with another language of instruction, Belorussian is studied independently of the departmental affiliation of these institutions.

Article 26. Entrance examinations for language

Students entering the republic's specialized secondary institutions and higher educational institutions take an entrance examination for Belorussian, while those who are not certified for Belorussian choose an entrance examination for either Belorussian or Russian.

Article 27. The language in the sphere of science

In the Belorussian SSR, the results of scientific research are written up in Belorussian or, with regard for their destination, in Russian.

Those who conduct scientific research may choose the language for publishing scientific results.

Article 28. The language in the sphere of culture

In the Belorussian SSR, the language in the sphere of culture is Belorussian. The preservation and development of culture in the languages of the representatives of other peoples living in the republic are also guaranteed.

With the goal of giving the republic's citizens a broad familiarity with the achievements of the culture of the peoples of the USSR and of worldwide culture, the Belorussian SSR guarantees that artistic, political, scientific, educational, and other literature will be translated and published in Belorussian and that films and audiovisual productions will be produced and shown.

IV. The Language of Information and Communications

Article 29. The language of the mass media

In the Belorussian SSR, the language of the official mass media is Belorussian.

The language of the official mass media may also be Russian or the languages of other nationalities.

Article 30. The language of the mail and telegraph

Inside the borders of the Belorussian SSR, postal and telegraph correspondence from citizens, state and party organs, enterprises, institutions, and social organizations are accepted in either Belorussian or Russian.

The mail and the telegraph services are supplied with stamps, envelopes, postcards, forms, etc. which are inscribed in either Belorussian or Russian and which conform to the requirements of the World Postal Convention.

Article 31. The language of announcements and reports

The text of official announcements, reports, posters, placards, advertisements, etc. are executed in Belorussian. A translation into another language may be placed beside the Belorussian text.

Article 32. The language for markings of goods

Markings of goods, labels on goods, and instructions on the use of goods manufacture in the Belorussian SSR are executed in Belorussian.

Markings of goods for export beyond the borders of the Belorussian SSR are executed in Belorussian, Russian, or in the language of the customer.

Names inside trademarks are given in Belorussian.

V. The Language of Names**Article 33. The language of names of state and party organs, enterprises, institutions, and social organizations**

Official names of state and party organs, enterprises, institutions, and social organizations are given in Belorussian. To the right of (or below) these names a translation into Russian or another language may be given where necessary.

Article 34. The language of place-names and new editions of maps

In the Belorussian SSR, place-names (the names of populated areas, administrative and territorial units, streets, squares, rivers, etc.) are given in Belorussian.

The names of places beyond the borders of the Belorussian SSR are given in Belorussian in accordance with tradition while new names are given in a transcription of the originating language.

New editions of maps intended for use in the Belorussian SSR are manufactured and printed in Belorussian.

Article 35. The language of personal names

Belorussian personal names are used in accord with the traditional laws of the nation concerning proper names and the Belorussian language.

Personal names from other languages are written and used in Belorussian in accordance with the rules for reproducing foreign proper names.

VI. Assistance in the National and Cultural Development of Belorussians Living Outside the Borders of the Belorussian SSR**Article 36. Assistance in the national and cultural development of Belorussians living outside the borders of the Belorussian SSR**

The Belorussian SSR, on the basis of agreements with other union republics, assists in the national and cultural development of Belorussians living in these republics.

The Belorussian SSR, in accordance with the rules of international law, assists in the accommodation of the national and cultural interests of persons of Belorussian origin residing in foreign countries.

N. Dementey, chairman,
Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,
L. Syroyegina, secretary,
Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Belorussian SSR Language Law Implementation Schedule

90UN1068B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 13 Feb 90 p 1

["Decree of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet on a Procedure for Implementing the Belorussian SSR Law 'On Languages in the Belorussian SSR'"; issued in Minsk, 26 January 1990]

[Text] The Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. To implement the Belorussian SSR Law "On Languages in the Belorussian SSR" on 1 September 1990.
2. To establish the following deadlines for gradual implementation of the provisions of the Law in all spheres of public life:
 - articles 11, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, and 35 will be implemented in the course of the three years following the date the Law goes into effect;
 - articles 4, 7, and 12 will be implemented in the course of three to five years following the date the Law goes into effect;
 - articles 8, 10, 13, 14, and 23 will be implemented in the course of five years following the date the Law goes into effect;
 - articles 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, and 26 will be implemented in the course of 10 years following the date the Law goes into effect;

3. To charge the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers with developing and, by 1 September 1990, adopting a "State Program for the Development of Belorussian and Other National Languages in the Belorussian SSR."

N. Dementey, chairman,
Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,
L. Syroyegina, secretary,
Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Amendment to Belorussian Constitution

90UN1068C Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 13 Feb 90 p 1

["Belorussian SSR Law on an Amendment to Article 68 of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Belorussian SSR"; issued in Minsk, 26 January 1990]

[Text] With the goal of granting Belorussian the status of state language, the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

To amend article 68 of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Belorussian SSR with sections four, five, and six as follows:

"The state language of the Belorussian SSR is Belorussian."

"The Belorussian SSR guarantees the free use of Russian as the language of interethnic communication of the peoples of the USSR."

"The procedure for using Belorussian, Russian, and other languages in the Belorussian SSR is defined by Belorussian SSR legislation."

N. Dementey, chairman,
Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,
L. Syroyegina, secretary,
Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Draft Decree on Latvian Language Qualifications for Official Positions

90UN1110A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
2 Feb 90 p 3

["Draft Regulations on the Levels and Procedures for Evaluating the Knowledge of the Latvian Language as the State Language of the Latvian SSR"]

[Text] On 16 January 1990, the Commission of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium for Languages considered and discussed draft Regulations on the Levels and Procedures for Evaluating the Knowledge of the Latvian Language as the State Language of the Latvian SSR developed by language specialists from the imeni Andrey Upit Institute of Language and Literature of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences.

We are publishing this proposal for a public discussion prior to its adoption by the government of the republic.

The present regulations have been developed for the period of transition to introducing the Latvian language in practice as the state language of the Latvian SSR which has been scheduled pursuant to the resolution of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet dated 5 May 1989 with a view to ensuring the mastering and introduction of the Latvian language in the scope set forth in the Law of the Latvian SSR on Languages.

It is envisaged that separate regulations will be developed with regard to the Russian language as the language of federative (union) relations in the USSR, as well as the use of other languages in the republic and the degree of their knowledge.

The present regulations have been developed with a view to specifying and differentiating the level of mastery of the state language which is necessary for employees in

various positions and occupations whose responsibilities include communicating with the citizens or filling out business documents. Fluency in the state language is an important indicator of qualifications, along with the professional knowledge of specific work, for the employees who need to know the state language by virtue of their position or occupation. A three-tier system of evaluating the level of command of the language is proposed because the necessary level varies for different positions and occupations:

Level A—elementary command of the spoken language;

Level B—command of the language which is necessary for the occupation;

Level C—fluency in the language.

The scope of knowledge which is necessary at each level, as well as the content of instruction materials, the mode of testing knowledge, and the functions of testing and procedures of responsibility, are briefly described below. Examples of positions and occupations for which a corresponding level of knowledge of the language is necessary are given in each subdivision in order to illustrate the 3-level principle of division in its specific reference to occupations and positions. The list of positions and occupations is incomplete; it does not include the entire nomenclature of specific positions and occupations which exist in various offices, enterprises, and organizations. The classification of specific positions and occupations is performed by an office, enterprise, or organization itself.

All employees have a right to master the state language to a greater degree than is necessary to perform their official duties.

The regulations do not apply to occupations for which the knowledge of the Latvian language, along with the knowledge of a native language, is not compulsory.

Standard of Mastery of the Language (Level A)

Elementary Command of the Spoken Language

I. Occupations and Positions

This standard of mastery of the language is necessary for employees which engage in minimal and topically restricted communication with the citizens, for example:

doormen, cloakroom attendants, elevator operators, ground keepers, guards, motor vehicle drivers, employees of service enterprises (barbers, bath attendants, TV repairmen, and others) and so on.

II. Scope of Knowledge

1. Mastering a small vocabulary for occupational communication, using occupationally necessary phrases in Latvian; a minimum of 900 words and expressions.

2. Understanding Latvian-language speech and responding to questions about topics associated with work-related duties.
3. Reading and understanding elementary texts about everyday life and the occupation written in Latvian.
4. Skills of spoken etiquette.

III. Content of Instructional Material (Training Courses)

The topics of conversations: greetings, acquaintance, saying goodbye, information about oneself and one's family, place of work and residence, counting, time of day and date, weather, temperature, seasons, units of measurement, foodstuffs, clothing, shopping, communications (transportation), purchasing tickets, services, polyclinic, hospital, post office, telephone, cable office, school, cultural establishments, sports, recreation, urban and rural areas, nature, the environment, texts of shop signs and messages, and others.

In the course of conversations, substantial differences between the expressions of the Latvian and Russian languages are noted.

IV. Test Questions

1. Conversing in the Latvian language, responding to questions about topics associated with typical situations in the course of performing official duties.
2. Reading a small, simple text in the Latvian language, rendering it concisely or answering questions about it (in the Latvian or Russian language at one's option, with a view to verifying the understanding of the material read).

Standard of Mastery of the Language (Level B)

Mastery of the Language Which Is Occupationally Necessary

I. Occupations and Positions

The standard of mastery of the language in question is necessary for employees the performance of whose occupational duties entails continuous communication with the citizens (consequently, for those who need complete knowledge of the spoken language within the framework of occupational communication), handling documents or other texts (instructions, orders, decrees, and so on) in the state language (consequently, occupationally restricted knowledge of the written language is necessary), or translating official documents from the Latvian language into Russian or from the Russian language into Latvian.

For example:

managers of the middle and lower echelons, shop chiefs and engineers and other specialists (including teachers), salespeople, employees of the sphere of services and public catering who serve the customers directly (order takers, and so on), all employees of communications who communicate with the citizens, employees of records sections,

merchandise experts, supply agents, accountants, cashiers, clerks, clerical workers, employees of archives, dispatchers, controllers, inspectors, auditors, commandants, warehouse managers, nurse-administrators, employees of law-enforcement organs, and so on).

II. Scope of Knowledge

1. Mastering the Latvian-language vocabulary (terms) and expressions which are necessary for performing occupational or official duties and the ability to actually use them; the minimal amount of words and expressions—2,000 units.
2. The ability to engage in a conversation associated with the occupation or position.
3. Mastering the written language to the degree necessary for the occupation or position (including filling out documents, drafting and compiling instructions, orders, memos, and other texts, and so on).
4. Reading and translating from the Latvian language into Russian and from the Russian language into Latvian simple texts associated with the occupation or position.

III. Content of Instructional Material (Training Courses)

Topics for conversations: the topics envisaged for level A. Besides, topics should be touched upon which are directly associated with the occupation, current events in public and political life, topics: the state and the people, the mass media, agriculture, industry, commerce, and so on.

An elementary course of grammar of the Latvian language is mastered along with the conversations (the stock of terms and terminological units of a particular industry in the Russian and Latvian is generalized by the specialists of a pertinent office, enterprise, or organization themselves in consultation with the Terminology Commission of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences).

IV. Test Questions

1. Reading and translating an unfamiliar text in the Latvian language (about industry-specific topics).
2. Filling out documents which are necessary for work and drafting the texts of such documents.
3. Conversing in the Latvian language about an occupationally relevant topic or about the history and culture of Latvia and current socio-political events in the republics.

Standard of Mastery of the Language (Level C)

Fluency in the Language

I. Occupations and Positions

Fluency in the language is necessary for the employees whose responsibilities include direct (leadership, organizational, and so on) participation in the internal work of an office, enterprise, or organization and in outside contacts

within the confines of the republic, as well as extensive communication with the citizens of the republic and various social strata. This level is necessary for the employees whose official responsibilities call for good knowledge and participation in the processes of economic and spiritual life of the republic and on whom the material and social well-being and health of the residents of the republic directly depend. For example:

leaders of the supreme echelon, their deputies and secretaries, chief specialists, clerks and clerical employees engaged in reviewing the petitions of citizens, physicians, middle-level medical personnel, lawyers, employees of soviet executive committees, managers in the sphere of culture and education, school management, employees of the mass media, editors, proofreaders, translators, and so on.

II. Scope of Knowledge

1. The ability to speak and, if necessary in the occupation, write in the Latvian language.
2. The ability to translate from the Latvian language into Russian and from the Russian language into Latvian.

III. Content of Instructional Material (Training Courses)

The topics of conversations are virtually unrestricted.

Mastering the language in the scope envisaged for level C is based on mastering the course of Latvian for secondary schools (for Russian-language schools). Main industry-specific terms are mastered simultaneously with training; for more details, see chapter III (Level B).

IV. Test Questions

1. A written translation (with a dictionary) from Russian of a text about a topic related to the occupation.
2. A fluent conversation about socio-political and cultural topics.

Procedures for Testing (Certification)

The goal of testing (certification) is to establish whether an employee is fit to perform his official duties from the point of view of his knowledge of the language and determine that his level of mastery of the language meets the requirements of Levels A, B, or C.

Ministries, departments, offices, enterprises, and organizations organize testing (verification) by setting up for this purpose special commissions consisting of three to five persons; compensation is paid to the chairman and members of the commission within the amount of the funds allocated.

The commission includes between two and four Latvian-language specialists with college degrees in philology (teachers, instructors of higher educational establishments, methods specialists, and research associates of

institutes) and one person who knows the Latvian language representing the office, enterprise, or organization the employees of which are certified.

The chairman of the commission is confirmed by the rayon (city) soviet executive committee.

Pursuant to Article 21 of the Latvian SSR Law on Languages, the operation of the commissions is overseen by the soviets of people's deputies.

The certification of level A groups may be performed in the form of conversations.

Certificates with three columns (levels A, B, and C respectively) are used to record the favorable results of testing.

The favorable result of testing ("passed") is confirmed in the certificate by the full official signatures of commission members with the date indicated.

Issues of testing (certification) methods are resolved by the Ministry of Education.

Citizens who have mastered the course of Latvian in the educational establishments of the republic with the Latvian language of instruction, as well as those who are fluent in Latvian, are exempt from certification.

The certification of employees will be carried out gradually until 5 May 1992.

Responsibility for Certification

If citizens, employees, or the management of the office in question have grievances and complaints about the knowledge of the state language by a certified employee being insufficient for performing official duties the employee is recertified.

In the event of repeat grievances or complaints about employees certified by the same commission the chairman and members of the commission are recertified.

* * *

We ask that responses to this draft, as well as proposed amendments and additions, be sent before 15 February of this year to the Government Commission of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers for Ensuring the Operation of the Latvian Language (226170, GSP [Official City Post Office], Riga, 36 Lenin Street).

Leading Sajudis Member Profiled

90UN0726A Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 50,
Dec 89 pp 10-13

[Article by Nina Chugunova under rubric "A Portrait Against the Background of Change": "Azuolas: To Each His Own Revelation"]

[Text] Any Lithuanian knows that AZHUOLAS [as printed] is not an alias but simply a more correct, more Lithuanian spelling.

Ozolas is getting thinner by the day.

That's what Lithuanians told me during the Lithuanian session.

One day Ozolas, deputy for Sajudis, filibustered the adoption of a decision to hold a referendum.

"And after that he kept going on and on in front of the TV camera!"

He's too learned. That's what people tell me. Some don't like it. People have to strain to get used to Ozolas and start understanding him. Not like Landsbergis!..

Landsbergis blossoms out in front of a crowd. The crowd revels in the flow of his clear speech, that perfect speech immediately embraces the Lithuanian spirit, and he breathes like they all breathe.

For Ozolas a rally is an incomprehensible obstacle, a cause of hidden dissatisfaction, of brief suffocation, of an instantaneous catch in the throat. He doesn't like to speak at rallies. But he does, because rallies are necessary.

To Ozolas there is nothing more sacred than Lithuania.

(He pulls a watch on a chain from his vest pocket and snaps the cover.)

That day we were discussing how different times differed, when he suddenly interrupted himself to tell how he had joined the party without ever having been a Young Pioneer when he should have been, or a Komsomol member. They ask how much land his father had. He doesn't know. They don't believe him. He makes a telephone call to a town near Siauliai. When he returns to the party commission he is not only a liar but also a former landowner. He himself is surprised by the size of the holding. That was in 1973, that is, not too long ago to forget the persistence with which he was questioned about land in pre-Soviet times.

On the very first day, in a sun-drenched room with a wide open balcony door on the third floor of the dilapidated "Sajudis Palace," as one paper called it, he says, eye-glasses glinting:

"All right! Well, I suppose I could tell you some very banal story about some very ordinary, faceless person following the same road as Lithuania, which is now painfully, bloodily, desperately, casting aside... all that has befallen her. Perhaps the banality of my story makes it easier to see all that has happened to Lithuania. The phenomenon of purity, of what Lithuanian things can represent—that is what we are desperately seeking today, but how it ends, what it will lead to, and whether it might not be necessary, whether we may not have to... well, let

us say, explode the heart? I see one thing: today spirituality and un-der-stand-ing—understanding as activity of the spirit—are gaining the upper hand, and it makes me rejoice inside."

Here is an example of thinking out loud, quite a simple one.

In a situation which need not be described, he says: "Actually, I am of those who shoot."

He is confident that he has expressed himself extremely precisely and, most important, clearly.

"All right," he says, as though making up his mind. "Perhaps taking a banal fate is just what is needed to show the tragic quality of our daily life, and in that sense everything is rather 'fortunate,' because I was never in jail, didn't fight in the forests, was not exiled or deported, and was never in the higher echelons of power—but neither was I ever entirely with everyone.

"Try to show," he suddenly fires up, "how difficult it is to be at all. Because man is much less free than he imagines. But there is one thing... I have to warn you..."

And he says that he is Latvian. A Lithuanian with a Latvian name that in Lithuanian would sound: Azhuolas.

Azhuolas (fragments)

His great-great-grandfather was a serf of the Zubov family, whom one of the Zubovs had lost in a card game, but it isn't known to whom, nor is it known whether it actually happened at all.

The Zubovs, as you may know, had many estates in Lithuania, and they were all paragons of rationality. They were famous for their enlightenment work.

He has a very good recollection of the old, well-built and well-maintained manor-house not far from grandfather's farmstead. The barns were built of stone. When land improvement began to encroach, destroying everything in its way, together with illusions that later on something could be rectified, the manor-house, too, was destroyed, scattered to the winds.

He did manage to take a picture of it. That was some ten years ago.

Grandfather had fought in the First World War, been taken prisoner and eventually wound up in America. He was a huge, powerful, handsome Lithuanian Lett of extraordinary physical strength. In America he ruined his health in the mine, but he earned money to buy land. That was where the land came from, and that was what it cost. The cost of returning home was, it seems, as high. Grandfather died young of miner's consumption, shortly after adding some woodland to the original land purchase, this time paid for by his son's earnings.

The land, as everywhere in these parts, was not so good. Beneath the thin fertile layer lay rock and limestone. Grandfather wasted his health uprooting trees and hauling away rocks.

Ozolas was born into that landscape. The son of a phlegmatic, occasionally melancholic man and an imperious, forceful Lithuanian woman with a typically choleric temperament, a young lady from a proletarian family with eight children, who could not, after marrying a veterinary school graduate, get on with her mother-in-law, because she couldn't stand miserliness as a way of life for one reason: she suspected that miserliness implied a meek expectation of hunger.

She told all her four children about the hunger she had suffered as a girl. She fought against a child's clinging memory of stomach pangs.

Thus, he was born at a boundary of characters and worlds: just half way between his father's country and his mother's country, though in an area of Lithuania, and at a boundary of time: in January 1939.

He can still see the Germans entering their town. His mother never believed that an eighteen-month boy could remember the motorcyclists driving easily into the town; as is customary in Lithuania, the houses came up close to the street.

There was, of course, no fear. Later the children were looking at a Russian light tank toppled into a ditch.

And then there was shooting. Who was shooting? It was like make-believe.

The real thing was what had always been there and what suffused the town in a sheen of golden dust (to verify the quality of that light he once stopped, decades later, in the moonlight—moonlit and warm—so that the word "golden," like "dust," wasn't his); the real things were: meadows, the park and the church; meadows, the park and the graveyard behind the park; and farther out lay the meadows where they would skate in winter and a merry-go-round would be set up, sleds flew fanwise to girlish screams, while he, a rosy-cheeked envious tot, stood clutching his older brother's hand, still not allowed to enter the circle, which belonged to him as a birthright, but the real hurts, as well as fear, were yet to come. The girls' screams and the colors of the rink beneath the twilight sky would remain forever vivid.

The sky over the graveyard led upward and was a remarkable blue. The town was an exact small replica of the Lithuania of the time of independence, a curio of his own.

One summer a horse-drawn cart with a crate on top stopped at the house. A man lay down under the cart and remained motionless. He saw it and ran screaming into the house: there was a dead man out there. Two big neighbors laughed and looked under the cart. The horror he felt when he saw them push the man into a cage and then nail it shut with huge nails, then turn the horse loose

on the road, was the only and main horror of his childhood; it would recur later throughout his life, never turning into fear for his life or safety, or even honor. He rejected his mother's explanation that the man was dead drunk. It was, he now realizes, horror of the absurd. Horror of senselessness, which invariably tends to outrage as the supreme form of everything ugly.

Another time the house caught fire, and it was so incompatible with the warmth of a burning thing that he refused to accept the obvious.

Life collapsed in 1949. The light "from the other side" went out. And so they lived in the town until 1944, listening to the east, from where the front was approaching. They stored the furniture away from the house to save it when the houses started burning. Then they moved out and lived on grandfather's farm until the front passed. And, as it turned out, the house in the town did burn down.

His father had never owned a weapon, and in that sense he was a helpless creature. Even now, when he comes visiting and tidies the grounds, clearing out weeds, the old man spreads his arms: There, but it used to be so beautiful...

The front passed. Father found a job near Siauliai. They moved and settled in a landlord's house. It was a terrible year. They starved.

One day he passed through the landlord's kitchen and saw the family eating salted pork fat. Actually, since then he never could eat fat. He froze in the kitchen: ah, how wonderful it was. Mother would go down to the river, gather raspberry bushes and boil the twigs. Once father was given a live duck for work done, or what. Mother said the duck was thin and should be fed. They pried its bill open and shoved food in to fatten it faster. By morning the duck died.

The very first day, just as they drove the cart into the farmstead, the landlord's two sons immediately shot arrows at him from their bows. The seven-year-old boy heard the arrow whiz by his temple. It was a demonstration of mastery and power, but even that couldn't destroy the feeling that "it's nice here." Geese walked around the yard. The grass was green. Something was baking in an oven inside the house. An old Russian soldier lived in the fields. He was hired by someone to look after three mares, their manes eaten away by shingles, liquid oozing from their sores. The soldier brewed tea in the middle of the field and called the boys, enticing them with sugar. When they approached and took the sugar he was delighted.

Dances were held on a clearing surrounded by cut birch trees. They were stuck like poles in the ground around the edge of the clearing. The guys strutted around, hands in pockets, feeling important and handsome.

There Was a Military Unit Nearby

"There was a military unit nearby. Once we saw two soldiers come to our landlord and demand moonshine. He brewed hootch, but this time refused the soldiers. They raised a row. Those guys came. The soldiers ran away, but the guys caught one of them in the yard, beat him up with sticks, and he crawled away to his unit... Suddenly we saw some thirty soldiers coming, no, running towards us with rifles. We children were chased behind the stove. The landlord must have set out all his hootch while we opened the window and screamed at the top of our lungs to the other homesteads, so there was no bloodletting, no shooting. But perhaps that's how it all began."

Years later he was tortured by the desire to name the exact date and event when—he remembers the feeling very well—suddenly summer days were gone and the arrogant guys suddenly disappeared from life: now they huddled together smoking silently.

Then Everyone Suddenly Somehow Lowered Their Eyes

Those old horses which father had treated endlessly, smearing their mangy manes with ointment, were shot. I don't know who did it. They shot them in the forehead so that the bullet came out the throat.

The manager came to the landlord and enrolled everyone in the collective farm.

Deportations began, and mother took the children away, just in case. The landlord's brother's family also ran away, but left a sign that they wouldn't come back. Six months later they agreed to move to the vacant farmstead. For many years father tried not to change anything. Then he got tired. Now the owners have returned and the elder Ozolas's must go. Where?..

School. They were herded into a classroom for some meeting. A third-grader, he stood by a brick stove painted a prison green color. The director, a small, rotund, polite man, said: "We have gathered... you here..."

"Herded..." he prompted from the stove in the stillness of the pause.

"Ozolas, leave the room," the director said without looking at him.

He walked into the school yard and leaned against a tree, thinking that something incredible had happened which kept him from either going back or going home. That evening the director came to see his parents. The apologetic tones in which the gentle, polite director spoke with his father was remarkable: now he knows that the director was of the old-fashioned kind.

There were no textbooks and the old school books couldn't be used, so they memorized the teacher's words. Then all at once textbooks appeared in all subjects. He recalls that all the books were somehow alike. He was a

full A student up until the last grade, but in his senior year he rebelled against the teachers (it happened again with his son, but it bore little semblance to a child's rebellion), so at first they lowered his behavior grade, but then restored it so as not to lose the medal and instead lowered his grade for Lithuanian, so that he graduated with a silver medal and a secret complex with respect to Lithuanian, especially since the words *but you realize you are Latvian* had already been uttered, the only time in all his life, but it was useless to even try and forget it, he joined the Philology School's Lithuanian Linguistics Department and later began to dream of compiling a Lithuanian dictionary of his own.

The teacher drew a square on the blackboard, adorned it with florets like a dance clearing. They had to draw it in their copybooks. She dictated: "I, a Young Pioneer..."

When he later refused to join the Komsomol he couldn't explain why and wouldn't invent a suitable reason... it wasn't even that they lied in school, but that they lied so casually, boringly and unimaginatively. Meanwhile they had already read "Young Guard," and childhood was filled with a desire to discover one's ability to withstand torture. Thus, first he starved himself for three days. Then he snipped a wart off a finger with scissors.

After the third attempted invitation to join the Komsomol the teacher suddenly lost her temper and began to stamp her feet. There were three others in the class who were not Komsomol members, but it was all right for them, because they weren't model students.

In 1950 in the library he stumbled upon the three-volume "Birds," by celebrated ornithologist Ivanauskas, and the sea, which had always drawn him, was replaced by birds. He didn't want to think, only listen to birds. The teacher, who owned an old fiddle, began to teach him after classes and let him take the precious violin home, he took it home, forced himself to sit down and do his homework, then got up at seven in the morning, went out to the birds, placed the fiddle under his chin, played, then took the precious thing back to school... It was something that filled the void, something his own, though not yet authentic or authenticated by anyone, and he himself still wasn't authoritative enough in his own eyes to confirm the reality of it.

Mother came from church and said: there are three men lying by the church.

Shots, the forest, and those three more dead men in the square in front of the church had been forever, but it was somehow cut away by daily life.

In the daytime they buried the destroyers, while those, from the forest, disappeared into the night. For them, it seemed, the darkness of mystery was forever.

"I fully realized at the time that I was going it alone. But I wanted very much to go with someone... For a long time after entering the university I couldn't walk the streets at night, when the lights went on in the houses. I

lived with fifth-year students in a room in a large old dormitory. It was a strange time of discoveries."

That essential something existing outside his self was, firstly, a translation of the Armenian classical author Isaakyan about love.

He read it and almost fainted. Could he have known that such truth existed? Isaakyan was consumed by a need for love. Before, he had no certainty about what he had. Now the certainty was provided by the Isaakyan translation, it was confirmation from another person. An extended hand cannot be left without meeting another hand.

The second was the space that opened up before him. It happened in summer. It was a beautiful summer evening. He was sitting at the edge of a field of green peas. The leaves of the pea plants glistened like little mirrors and something strange glowed in the falling night outdoors.

Suddenly he had a sense of rising up in the glow.

The light that lifted him was the same as the moonlight glow over the graveyard that time. The world was physically permeated with glowing light, space opened up like opportunity, but he formulated it much later, when he began to write his metaphysical diary or, more correctly, when the diary he had been writing since 1954 acquired the traits of a strict metaphysical discourse.

He was here, but he was also there, transported by the glow, so that he, the field, and the world were transported and permeated with light. It was true. It had happened.

Stunned, he sat at the edge of the field.

The clink of, perhaps, a saucer—not cold, but a warm, domestic sound—chased away the memories. But what had been didn't go away and remained with him thereafter. Only now attempts began to fill the glowing void with something material. When he wrote poetry he felt that space was calming down within him.

One spring he was sitting in a clearing. The snow was melting. Surrounded by the melting snow, he wrote five poems! Every time he completed something really valuable he would experience the joy of what he had done.

At times he was overwhelmed by depression and didn't want to live. He had been sick a lot as a young man, so perhaps he was only now regaining his health.

In his diary he wrote down his objectives in life. They included: Don't disgrace father and mother, glorify Lithuania.

He began smoking in the tenth grade. He always feared not for his mind, but for his freedom. The coercion and torture of work accompanied him. When they got drunk after their first exam and walked shouting down the

street, the Russian teacher came out of her house to admonish them. Next morning father read the Bible.

Brutality

The village was overwhelmed by daily bouts of brutality. The terrible drinking was already beginning. The war was over. The fifties marked the beginning of mass drinking. Stealing from the collective farm. Swilling moonshine or government issue. Half the villagers drank themselves to death, hanged themselves, cut themselves up in drunken knife fights. The village was called Bazilenai, from the name of a monastic order; there was an abbey nearby, religious life dated back to olden times.

At the university drinking had become not just a matter of honor, but a way of life.

Drinking as a way of life began later, when he started working as a journalist. By then drinking had become a public obligation, part of the job. They would get together every Friday at the end of the working week, drink themselves to a stupor, to total blackout, then parted and each one finished himself off at home, alone. One of the reasons for leaving the job was the realization that if it went on for another year it would become a constant necessity, and besides, it was no way to solve problems.

And there were problems: Who am I? What is the world? Why is it as it is?

The Constancy of Reason

By then he had travelled all over Lithuania and knew that it couldn't provide an answer. Even though a simple answer was always lying in wait, always ready, but always rejected, each time for a different reason.

For instance, he could have become an agronomist, and it should have happened: In the tenth grade he overhauled his father's garden, starting by making it square. Striving for the very best on a plot of land, he began writing to newspapers, and in the tenth grade he was already known (he wrote stories, and his sister cried when he was forced, in expectation of a search, to burn all he had written). He realized that the neighbors, too, had to be taught to cultivate the land rationally... but farther out lay the kolkhoz fields, and beyond them boundless fields... It was then, incidentally, that he was first confronted with public resistance in the persons of his father and mother, who preferred a triangular garden.

Later, during his travels, he realized that Lithuania in general shunned the rational. Thus, the garden was an experiment in rejecting a simple solution, but he remembered that the garden experiment itself had failed.

At the university, reconciled with the prospect of becoming a teacher of Lithuanian, he joined a folk instruments ensemble. It became an entire era in his life. As a member of a sextet in which everyone played everything he visited Moscow, where in a contest they

beat several accordionists: It was a great little band, the best, and it was called the Vilnius Students Folk Instrument Sextet.

And in Vienna he met Robeson. In Hungary they saw broken windows. He lugged his double-bass in Vienna. He saw that the statues of Vienna were unlike ours, with their raised arms, all downcast, humble, like people among more successful people... There was something in visiting abroad, the world opened up a bit.

"In the ensemble we sort of agreed among ourselves that there were some things we wouldn't say aloud, but would look, observe, and understand. Our entire ensemble was like that, and even more. For the first time, we began to play the song, 'My Beautiful Lithuania,' which was banned at the time. Now it is second only to the Anthem, but then it was never performed, and singing it wasn't welcome. Because it had Lithuania in it! My beautiful!"

During his last year at school he wrote a poem dedicated to Lenin.

We, he said, addressing Lenin, have shut you up in a tomb.

And we have shut up your truth. We have appropriated the right to speak the truth. And so on, and so forth.

By then it had already been openly stated that Stalin had distorted Lenin. In Vilnius he began to study Lenin.

Especially the nationalities question. He still has the notes he made at the time, which are worth going back to today.

There is a view that as a politician he came out of music. No. He emerged as a politician, of course, out of philosophy. But philosophy appeared when music seemed too sensual. "I was troubled by the need to linger over a single note."

Flight

The light went out and darkness fell in young 1949, but the world of kindness confined to evening windows continued for a long time. He received parcels from home almost every week. Sometimes everything would be smashed. To this day father can't resist the satisfaction of sending the children something.

According to some indications, receiving a job placement at a school in a remote little town should be viewed as a form of deportation.

He lay with his wife in the back of a truck, clouds raced overhead, and they laughed: We've been deported! They were happy. The truck stopped. He saw a replica of the town of his childhood, as though carefully reconstructed. A lake. Cultivated meadows.

He begins to digest it, attempting very seriously to invoke the feelings of the pink-cheeked little boy who had sat at the edge of the pea field, and the little boy who had lain back in the forest glen beneath a dome of blue.

He swims in the river. He keeps records grades and conducts methodological studies. But he sees that the landlord in whose house they are living keeps adding and adding to the house, finding his purpose in life in the madness of an endless process.

Thus nakedness can be seen through window-dressing.

Had he been able to join the ranks he might well have found salvation! The children loved him! There was something heartfelt in him, and besides, he could interpret the text so well. His wife, a teacher by the grace of God, loved him passionately, not allowing him to look, even glance in another direction. That was a guarantee of stability.

"So that's your life."

"And that's all?" he asked the disembodied voice. "A forest, a lake, a river?"

"Yes, this is your world. This is your lake."

So he rushed away, taking leave of everyone without the slightest hesitation, while his wife remained, she couldn't get away yet, and for some time he had to fly to her in a little AN-2 airplane.

This concluded the awakening. I tumbled into a world of pure reality in which there was no answer. So he said to himself.

He bummed it, you could say, in Vilnius, lived in a wartime barrack where a Russian woman lived with her boxer-son who was gradually becoming an alcoholic; she let him have a cot in the kitchen; he slept on a table in the local lore and history museum where he had found a job "until things settle down", sleeping on the table, waking up, living through another day, and thus day in and day out in expectation, in quests, knowing that he would have to find the answer himself... but I can't simply join those who are happy with life and be happy together with them.

A phone call from an amateur activities magazine yanked him to the surface. He went there immediately and received an offer—"Since you criticize everyone"—to give the magazine a new image, a new look. He got down to work that day, finished by morning, stood up, went out to the river, washed, and the melting of the snow that spring when the five poems were written resumed everywhere. Soon the magazine was renamed VEKHI KULTURY ("Landmarks of Culture"), the name it is still known by. He began to live at minimal peace with the world. He felt a constant urge: "I must go to Lithuania!" So he went, sometimes with no specific purpose, stopping over at village inns, where once a drunk who called himself a *chekist* almost shot him in a fit of daring... a blessed target—an aimless journey!

(Subsequent travels prompted him to take up sociological studies of the functioning of culture, and that work became the basis for a graduate course. As the magazine

became a research center it encountered serious problems. Thus, VEKHI "discovered" the Poles of Lithuania, after which it had to seek justifications, because Poland complained to Moscow that the Lithuanians were planning to close down Polish schools.)

The story with the garden was destined to repeat itself on an ever greater scale; thus, after criss-crossing Lithuania in every direction he felt the need to see everything, so he boarded an airplane, flew to Vladivostok, came to the Sea of Japan and mentally rushed to see Japan... or at least swim in the Sea of Japan; he lived in Khabarovsk, Chita and Irkutsk, from where he took a boat to Bratsk, then headed for Ust-Ilimsk; on the road he met Genka from Moscow, who cursed the Soviet Union (it was 1966, or was it 67?), and Natasha—typical Muscovites; the following year he wound up in Arkhangelsk and Petrozavodsk, hiked up the coast to Besov Nos, where he saw the pictographs, which led him to the remarkable guess that it wasn't fear that had guided the artist's hand, but only adoration, it was adoration, not fear, that ordered the world to be immortalized; a beautiful, lofty life, not wild, mad fear, oversaw the performance of pictographic hymns. (The guess was prompted by a simple observation: all the pictographs were in the light.)

Brezhnev was warming to his part. It was already known that this person liked gold, women and vodka. "I already knew that it was only a matter of when he would be replaced." (Public life was going downhill.)

He ran out of the house, hurrying to work. He found himself in the square. A Russian passer-by asked him something. He rushed up, almost struck him, came to his senses, let him go.

There was no one at work.

He rushed out into the city. Walked about. With almost a feeling of relief he sensed and imbibed the general tension. But on the whole life went on.

He came to himself in a train. He was going... being taken to the country.

He lived there for a week, walked, listened to the radio with no interest at all. Then calmly, feelinglessly returned to Vilnius, hardly noticing the road.

For five years he confined himself to the library. "That blow was the source of everything."

He died then! I try to say it, but I can't.

He was born then.

Ozolas

He buried himself in the library for five years, a period which he later smilingly called "consulting the countryside."

His wife was finally expecting a child, she needed air and warmth, warm air and quiet evenings, which couldn't be had where the modest garret sat atop someone else's

house in Vilnius, so he took his wife to where it was clean and bright, where buckwheat grew. After working five days in the library he would go back to this family with cartons of Greek juice for his son. It was on the way with such a load that his revelation came (formerly, reading whatever came his way, he noticed in the reading, which seemed to have no system to it, that he was constantly pushed to what he had to accept at face value, and it angered him)... revelation:

...it happened, as in that pea field, springing from the authenticity of the partial—here I am endlessly philosophizing, but what is comprehension—not only as a word?

And he vividly and simply saw the answer, as though inscribed. Comprehension is ideality compressed by man. Words are reservoirs of ideality. Philosophy is a way of making those reservoirs transparent.

Speaking to me, he utters the last word syllable by syllable, and I inhale the atmosphere of lecterns.

The secret within him let go temporarily, allowing him to inhale and catch his breath. He returned to earth.

Was he born again? I can't insist, I remember the adult boy lying with a deadly attack of nausea in the damp forest glen where dead goblins lurked in every tree stump.

The Return

So he calmly returned to earth. He saw his son, then his daughter. He saw that his family was living in the country, and that it wasn't normal, but in Vilnius it would take fierce efforts to get housing for the family, but he would have to make those efforts. First he found a room where a mad woman lived with a retarded daughter... He completed the graduate course but, carried away by authentic metaphysics, no longer had any interest in defending his thesis. For two years he was managing editor of the magazine PROBLEMY, which at the time was clearly becoming a center of national spiritual quest. In 1974 PROBLEMY was reprimanded. He—by then already a teacher at Vilnius University—was politely offered a job as an assistant at the Council of Ministers. He took it in the hope of finding an answer to a very specific question: If socialism is possible in principle, is it possible in practice? No, he replied after five years on the job, with this potential and this order it was impossible. He resigned and went to work at a publishing house, to try on his own to create at least a local center of the desired socialist order.

Now he smiles when he recalls it.

"Correct thinking is nothing more than thinking according to rules." As he turned daily to his thoughts, his diary, notes and books, he realized ever more deeply that rules are but the ordering of the spirit, deep within which lie both the force that reveals them and the motive

force itself, which can only be defined as a mystery. Any rule and any system can quickly turn into prohibitive signs in a flawless desert.

In 1972 Kalanta immolated himself.

A Decade of Philosophy

Those days many were like "torches of tension." For himself he knew that had the lot fallen to him he would not have hesitated.

Also in 1972, he was confronted with the question of action, of the form of personal resistance.

There was an active underground, chronicles of political events appeared regularly. Emigration was on the rise. Trials were being held in Russia. Many people in Lithuania lived humdrum lives, not noticing or not finding ways of resisting the pressure of destructive measures. At the publishing house they drew up a many-year comprehensive plan of intellectual resistance. They began to implement it. One of the monuments of those years is the ten-volume "Reader in the History of Philosophy," of which six volumes have already appeared. Whereas the forties were the "obscure years" in Lithuanian culture, while the fifties were years of domination of ideology, the sixties were a decade of poetry, which was followed by a universal time of philosophy. "We translated all kinds of philosophers. Works by From were published, with the passages in which he criticizes communism excised." In addition, conferences and lectures began.

In 1987 the Znaniye Society's lecture circuit was headed by Professor Giandialis, and it became a nidus of Sajudis. At first people came but were afraid to either talk or listen. Then they got accustomed. Then the gatherings acquired the character of mass meetings.

"The Central Committee saw a threat, and after a visit by a person wearing a red tie they accused us of vilifying the foundations, tried to expel us from Znaniye, but we wouldn't listen: I stood in the door and directed all comers to the Artists Union, so that, while the Central Committee was fulminating, we held a highly successful meeting at which we already formulated conclusions, though the character of the meetings—philosophical readings—remained. After a presentation by Iozaitis, a young philosopher and future member of the Sajudis council, about the Lithuanian Communist Party and the revolution of 1918, it became a political reading. It caused an uproar, and they wanted to close down our enterprise altogether, but suddenly the Artists Union objected. The Academy of Sciences was sponsoring a meeting of ecologists, more of a scientific nature. We wondered how to get it all out into the open. It was then that the underground marked February 16 for the first time."

Thus Lithuania's decade of philosophy drew to an end. And whereas at the beginning of the decade the organizations that in various ways contributed to the self-determination and resurrection of the Lithuanian spirit were isolated, amorphous and operated like one-time clubs—with the exception, perhaps, of the Lithuanian Freedom League and several other groups whose members were frequently jailed; whereas in the middle of the decade many were gripped by a desire to "go out into the streets and shout," it was also a time of fascinating home gatherings and salons at which important things were said in rooms with no telephones, while the most important were discussed in the bathroom or toilet with the water running... it culminated in such impatience that Sajudis, which had emerged beyond the threshold of that culmination and impatience, was that reasonable outcome which did not require an explosion of the heart.

It was during those domestic talks and debates, in a fairly large living room where some extremely interesting people gathered, that he could say: The world exists here and now—and after writing articles since 1982 he was finally able to publish something "without any ifs or buts."

The article was praised, some called it a manifesto of the generation. Its premise was: I am responsible for all that is happening, because I know what is happening and what has to be done. The article was written in the language of political journalism, but it was the language of a metaphysician who had returned home. Did it serve the cause of unity? "Strictly speaking, no, because real unity was still some way off." A woman called up and asked who he was. "No one," he replied. "So who gave you the right to express such thoughts?" she asked indignantly. The thoughts were simple and could have belonged to anyone. Perhaps that was what made them so disconcerting.

Some time later he attended a meeting at which he heard one person say: Well, now we've been here and imbibed health.

To those people the spirit of the meeting was like new, rarified air. Later he noticed how that air uplifted, how it became naturally essential. But he was also terribly tired.

In those circumstances there existed one... as it were support or escape in the shape of the already solved problem of his own personality:

"I am nothing. I am a rung in a ladder up which those who come in our wake will walk. Therefore I can feel no pain."

He was surprised to hear that his premise was reminiscent of what Solzhenitsyn had written and what had helped him withstand.

Sajudis. The Beginning

"Well," he said after a brief pause. "I suppose it's not surprising. What sustained Solzhenitsyn was but an

extreme point. We, too, had to consider ourselves momentarily dead, so as not to succumb and cling to the edge of dignity. We had to tackle those same questions in as it were freedom. But so many of my generation have gone: so many have died, hanged themselves, become alcoholics... As for the tragedy of betrayal, each one of us carried it within ourselves. It is hard to acknowledge that your entire life was virtually an unending betrayal of smothered ideals of independence."

"Perhaps 'compromise' would be a better word?"

"No."

"No one went to jail or died because of you."

"That is just why we must be honest to the end. We can reassess our former life only in terms of the forms of betrayal."

On 2 July 1988, the hall in the suburban Scientists House was packed for a discussion of bureaucracy, when a group of young people openly demanded the organization of a Popular Front. It was decided to call a more representative meeting for the following day in the Academy's main hall.

That day saw the birth of what he, Romualdas Ozolas, one of the founding fathers of Sajudis, called something "indefinite like the entire indefinite and inarticulate, unreflected and unreflecting political life surging through the muscles, but not erupting into the mind in forms that could be expressed in words": Sajudis...

It is hard to describe the events of July 3rd. The Academy was a center of ideas, a center for the preparation of a new constitution. Young people from the Academy who "a week before that had been scouring the city looking for old people like myself, like Prunskene, Gianzialis and Vilkas, so we tackled it cautiously, reasonably. Everyone in the hall was shouting until finally the presidium declared the meeting closed, but the young people climbed onto the podium, saying that they would do what they had to and that the presidium had no authority."

Academician Vilkas said: You have finally achieved what you wanted.

Events quickened after that. Thirty-five people registered. One registered himself. The chief of the CC Science Department came the next meeting—by then of the initiative group—with the, as usual, modest request "just to attend." He was evicted as an unwelcome visitor. The third and fourth sessions were held as general meetings in large halls where people simply shouted their pain. The first rally was held in Gediminas Square on July 13. That was where the first national flags appeared. On July 9, a poster, "Brazauskas for First Secretary," appeared in Vingis. Numerous commissions arrived from Moscow. On August 23 the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was first mentioned in Vingis Park.

The name suggested itself at once. In Lithuanian it denotes very exactly what is happening and what must happen.

"Sajudis' means 'movement'. 'Front' implies one-time resistance. 'Sajudis' implies all-round confrontation. It must find a way to rise above parties and the structures of power, to remain a spiritual center, a movement of spirituality symbolizing as it were not reason, which condensates a party, but... how do you say it in Russian, that which is the highest point of reason... Oh, my God. Oh, all right, I'll remember later."

(He did: wisdom.)

Romualdas Ozolas: An Attempt at Wisdom

"What do you see as your purpose in Sajudis?"

"I see my purpose in taking events to a metaphysical level, in verifying our concepts against the authenticity of eternity."

"What is your assessment of the past eighteen months? What have they been for you? Are you tired?"

"We have worn ourselves out in these eighteen months. But it's immaterial."

"What worries you today about Sajudis? You could already have noted some mistakes in the movement's structure..."

"Yes, the relationship must be revised significantly. Right now, with the Council of the Sejm, and the latter's with its commissions. It's necessary to find forms of positively affecting the oppositional confrontation."

"Your attitude towards the future of the Lithuanian Communist Party remains unchanged?"

"Yes. The Lithuanian Communist Party must become a party among other Lithuanian parties and earn the right to be called a leader by honest political work. We are replacing the article of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and have great expectations. The Lithuanian Communist Party hasn't played its historical role yet. For that it must become independent. I have been elected a delegate to the 20th congress and will try to do what I should there as well."

"Sometimes your actions seem in the public eye to be coming from different people. In the party you act as a communist..."

"...while previously I was accused of radicalizing the Sajudis program by organizing a drive to collect signatures under a demand to annul the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Yes, I launched the signature drive because there was no other way I could act at the time, and remaining silent was worse than death. Later, at a session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, I managed to get a decision passed to set up a commission of deputies on the issue of the Pact. There were already a million signatures, then a million two hundred thousand, so the commission

worked like mad, scientists came to its help, it produced a truthful document and even Sajudis' document was not so radical. Only one point was more radical: that Lithuania wishes to be reconstituted outside the framework of the USSR. I prepared that wording together with the Sejm's political commission and it was submitted to the Sejm Council. One deputy said that, in general, such radicalization was incompatible with membership of Sajudis and expressed no confidence. The Sejm met August 23 and the wording was removed. The radical wing as it were pulled back..."

"You display caution, courage, recklessness..."

"Not recklessness. Simply, when history speaks, history must be spoken."

"Will the time ever come when you will be acting as you're expected to act and follow the image created by the public?"

"I have another goal: Lithuania."

"But even Lithuanians were discouraged by the excerpts from your writings printed in NEDELYA."

"That was one of those unfortunate incidents. I will have numerous opportunities to show my real—complete—conception of Russia."

"What communist idea do you view as being the most fruitful?"

"The idea of a rational common life. Unfortunately, people are so disgusted with the extent to which it has fallen behind that any discussion of it is simply useless. But it will reappear and torture people over and over again..."

"On the way to the light which you remember since childhood?"

"Yes, it is already appearing."

"What will happen?"

"Sajudis will win a majority at the February Supreme Soviet elections. It will be a pluralistic structure, with the overwhelming majority accepting the views of Sajudis. The new government, in collaboration with the Supreme Soviet, will immediately have to tackle one issue: changing Lithuania's current status by looking for new forms of cooperation with Russia."

"You are an editor of ATGIMIMAS, People's Deputy of the USSR and the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, deputy of the Sejm. Who are you in your own eyes?"

"I have always dreamed of writing three variants of a history of philosophy: For children, adolescents, and youth. I have written only one, I want to write 'Clarity'—a book about the possibility of acquiring understanding. I want to compile a small dictionary of the Lithuanian language which would include words and concepts essential for a modern person to reflect about life starting at

the age of four. I would hope to write a book about my parents, whose life I have been recording day by day since... since the time I began to notice that they were getting older. They strove to prepare their children for life as best as possible. What could they give their children? They only loved us... till death... But today I am a politician. Nothing more. Until we achieve independence."

"One last question. You said that you had always been preoccupied with 'I am a Lithuanian' self-determination..."

"Culture does not exist outside a specific person. If there is no self-determination to be a Lithuanian there will be no Lithuanian culture and, consequently, no nation. I, my father and grandfather lived all our lives in Lithuania. Without asking me, my son wrote himself down in his passport as a Lithuanian. I have always been a Lithuanian. I know that if I change my name I will be cursed and ridiculed. People will say: He's gone crazy, he wants to earn political capital, he's trying to adapt, and in general it's tasteless and shows a lack of culture! Well, it will be one more torment. I only know that it will be an authentic act. Of the order of my search for purity and eternity."

In the tenth grade his son rebelled against his teachers. The boy is such a huge phlegmatic... He sometimes asks, well, how are things with you?

Postscript

The referendum law was passed.

Second. Romualdas Ozolas has been elected to the Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet. Together with Deputy Kazimeras Moteka, an outstanding lawyer, and Justinas Marcinkivicius, People's Poet of Lithuania, his task is to enhance the Soviet's legislative activity.

For now that is all.

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Gumbaridze Conference on Reducing Tension

90US0487B Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
12 Jan 90 p 1

[Statement by the Press Center of the Georgian CP Central Committee: "Conference at the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee"]

[Text] On 11 January, Comrades G.G. Gumbaridze and N.A. Chitanava held a conference at the Georgian CP Central Committee with the participation of the ministers and chairmen of the state committees of the Georgian SSR. The socio-political situation which has emerged in the republic and its capital was analyzed. It was noted that at this time all ministries and departments and their services should display flexibility and dispatch, use unconventional methods and forms of

work aimed at the normal functioning of collectives and educational establishments and at the population experiencing no difficulties with retail and transportation services and the supply of foodstuffs in the tense situation. Severe electricity savings should be ensured in order to prevent the creation of artificial obstacles to the operation of vital sectors as a result of the negligence and irresponsibility of certain persons. We need maximum readiness for action, peace in multi-ethnic collectives, solidarity and a firm spirit, and manifestations of prudence in order to facilitate the immediate normalization of the situation.

Press Center of the Georgian CP Central Committee.

Conference of Georgian Parties Ends

*18130070A Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian
27 Jan 90 p 3*

[Article by Manana Kartozia: "The Dialog Needs To Be Continued. The Conference Has Ended, Positions Have Been Clarified"]

[Text] The First Conference of Georgian Parties, Social Associations, and Organizations has ended at the Ivane Dzhavakhishvili Tbilisi State University. It lasted four days. It was participated in by—or, more accurately, the Conference Secretariat registered—more than 34 organizations, associations, parties, leagues and groups. Many of them are not officially registered, but in order to give a complete idea of the character of the Conference, here is a list of all of them: The National-Democratic Party, Meotkhe Dasi [Third Group]; the Georgian Democratic Party; the Tianeti Patriots Group; the All-Georgian David the Builder Benevolent Society; the Republican-Federal Party, "National Concord," the Ilia Chavchavadze Society; the Democratic Elections in Georgia Group [Dasi]; the Christian-Democratic Youth Association; the Rustaveli Society; the Georgian People's Front; the Young Economists Association; the Telavi Social Association, "People's Chronicle"; the Ozurgeti "Progressive Union"; the Nation's Freedom Group; the Georgian Builders Union; the Georgian Metallurgists Union; the Georgian Greens Movement; the Constitutional-Democratic Party; the Georgian Helsinki Union; the National Independence Party; the St Ilia the Righteous Society; the Rustavi "Shavlego" Debate club; the "Georgian Evangelist"; the People's Front's National-Liberal Union; the Politologists Association; the Free Union of Georgian Metallurgists; the Tbilisi Political Club; the Academy Duma [Satatbiro]; the Aspindza People's Front; the Democratic Educators Union; the Poti Chapter of the Rustaveli Society; the Vere Union; and the League To Protect the Interests of the Moslem Meskhetians and Ingilos.

Four basic issues were included on the program: Georgia's internal political situation, state structure, foreign policy, and prospects for economic development. Papers on free topics were also provided for.

Akaki Bakradze, Nodar Natadze, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Irakli Tsereteli, Giorgi Mardzhanishvili, Irakli Shengelaia, Ramaz Sakvarelidze, Guram Koranashvili, and others spoke at the Conference.

One of the participants, Shalva Givishvili of the People's Chronicle, thought that the Conference had fulfilled its mission: an exchange of ideas, mutual understanding, clarification of positions. Many appeals were voiced, a major one being the need to work out a coordinated theory of the Georgian national movement. But the present discoordination of the national forces does not offer much hope of a unified platform in the near future, and even if some party or society should work out a broad and serious theory, it is not likely everyone would share it, because each one is too firm about its own position.

There were even more categorical assessments, namely that given the present raging passions and extremely tense political situation, now is not the time for theoretical discussion. What is needed is action and struggle. People did agree basically, however, that the political dialog needs to be continued.

Speakers at Conference of Georgian Parties Quoted

*18130071A Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI
in Georgian 30 Jan 90 pp 4-5*

[Report by Rusudan Lebanidze and Marine Donadze: "Under the Symbol of Consolidation: 'Rather Than Oneself in the Movement'"]

[Text] THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF GEORGIA'S POLITICAL PARTIES, SOCIAL ASSOCIATIONS, AND ORGANIZATIONS HAS ENDED AT THE IVANE DZHAVAKHISHVILI TBILISI STATE UNIVERSITY.

As we have reported, the aim of the Conference was to achieve mutual understanding among the political parties, social associations, and organizations in Georgia, and to compare their programs and platforms.

Four basic issues were discussed: Georgia's internal political situation, state structure, foreign policy, and prospects for economic development.

Many other important topics were also discussed; we will single out attitudes toward the elections. Two basic views emerged: First, total boycott of the elections; second, participation in them is essential. The two views were somewhat linked by the idea that under present conditions, parliamentary opposition must serve as the compass for non-parliamentary opposition and vice-versa.

More than 30 parties and social associations asked to take part. They did not include representatives of the Georgian Communist Party (we journalists were told at a press conference that they had not asked to take part).

On the first day there was a walk-out by representatives of the Christian-Democratic Association and the National-Democratic Party. They protested the presence of the "Georgian Evangelist," who they believe are bringing a new religion into Georgia. The next day, however, representatives of the "Georgian Evangelist" (they call themselves followers of the ecumenical movement) decided to leave the Conference, in order, as they said, to somewhat relieve the tension in the work of the gathering. There was also a disruption [ekstess] on the final day, when Zurab Mamaladze, a representative of the League To Protect the Interests of Moslem Meskhetians and Ingilos, provoked the wrath of the audience with his somewhat defiant statements, and he was prevented from continuing. However, after the break between sessions he did manage to take the floor.

The participants were supposed to acquaint one another with their views on ways to achieve Georgian sovereignty and the problems and prospects facing the effort—but only to acquaint one another, because first Andro Torotadze, the chairman of the Organizing Committee, and later the chairmen of the sessions, emphasized that the Conference was to be purely informative and omit all debate, argument, and balloting.

We AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI journalists also decided to follow the mood of the Conference to the maximum and to refrain from any commentary or controversial judgments—which is more than we can say for participants whose argumentative mood did not, nevertheless, abate. You can probably detect this in excerpts from participants' statements and interviews, which we present below.

ZVIAD GAMSAKHURDIA (Georgian Helsinki Union):

"I'm afraid our movement might become a theoretical movement, with all the theoretical conferences and meetings that have proliferated lately. I do not say this with annoyance, but we already went through this stage when the national movement started in Georgia. People have the notion that there were two personalities at the beginning of the movement—Merab Kostava and I. That's not so. There was a circle of dissidents then too, but when we decided to grasp the nettle in our bare hands, they were sitting at the table in tea salons making pretty theories. Those dissidents are still good theorists and patriots, but when the world is falling down around us, just one thing is necessary—practical action. What is needed is intensive, massive action all over Georgia, which is what the St Ilia the Righteous Society and the Helsinki Union are aiming for.

"The nation is in a catastrophic state, yet there are those in the national movement who say that the ethno-crisis has nothing to do with them, that they are politicians. I guess being a politician means forgetting your nation's fate and discussing theoretical issues. The politics of the 20th century rest on the defense of human rights. To

defend human rights is to defend humanity. The Helsinki Accords were drawn up because a number of countries denied human rights; they proclaimed that human rights were not their concern, that they were struggling for a strong state and for national ideals. But the defense of national rights and the defense of human rights are one.

"The Helsinki process is the one that will lead the enslaved nations to freedom.

"It seems to me that five such conferences will not equal one concrete act—for example, the publication of a Russian-language newspaper which, like the newspaper SAKARTVELO [Georgia], would provide an objective elucidation, in Russian, of what is happening in Georgia today. Because the Russian press is purveying all kinds of disinformation about us, while we console ourselves in the Georgian press, in Georgian.

"I do not, however, take a negative view of the Conference. I do say that pure theorizing can only harm our movement unless we look to concrete, practical actions."

LANA GOGOBERIDZE (Georgian People's Front):

"The time has come for analysis, for people to state their position in a calm atmosphere, on scientific principles, concerning present-day Georgia's main problems and development, where we should be going and what we should be doing. I think the groundwork for this has been laid at this Conference. I have listened to a lot of speeches, and not all of them, of course, managed to explain precisely (either politically or socially) just how to achieve independence. But there were draft projects—for example, those by the Georgian Republican-Federal Party and the Tbilisi Political Club—which merit serious attention and can yield substantial results. I have to say that I don't think so much of the rest of the Conference's results, because what I think is most important is that its organizers have offered a new model of thinking."

GURAM KORANASHVILI (Georgian People's Front):

"It's a good thing that critical thinking has taken root. We look at many things with a critical eye, but we need to look not only rightward (at the government) but also at ourselves; we need to look critically at the opposition. Then we'll see how disorganized the national forces are. We learned on TV recently that the number of parties and organizations in Georgia now stands at 107. In independent Georgia, incidentally, there were just 25 parties and organizations. So we have long since broken the record, and with plenty to spare. Many of those who spoke at the Conference said that this is natural and desirable, but I can't agree. Georgia today simply doesn't have the intellectual and moral forces to permit us to split up into 107 or more parties and organizations. There are many today who are infected with the desire to 'be first'—what is known as the Caesar Complex (Caesar used to say he preferred to be the first man in a little village than the second man in Rome). Yes, of course, the Communist Party has been discredited; but where is

the party that can get the masses to follow it? We have the illusion now that if we adopt a multi-party system, democracy will surge, but that's not so. First of all, democracy requires a high level of consciousness. Second, it requires a political elite that can govern society on democratic principles. We do not have such an elite. I have said, and I repeat, that even if several parties were to unite today in Georgia (let alone one party), they would not be able to get the masses of the people to follow. We might as well face the truth.

"It's fine that the Conference was convened. Except for a couple of incidents, it went all right. I recall the activities of the Georgian People's Front, including its Congress, where we seemed to have formed one association, but there were obvious signs of confrontation and even hatred toward one another. At this Conference, however, there was obvious good will, the ability and desire to hear and understand one another.

"I do have one criticism: The Conference was dominated by young people, and the question is, where are the middle and senior generations? Of them, only Solomon Khutsishvili attended all the sessions. What are our distinguished scientists and public figures doing while the nation's fate is being decided? Now I can understand young people's reproaches toward them."

IRAKLI SHENGELAIA (Georgian Republican-Federal Party):

"We need conferences like this in order to figure out what kind of Georgia we want, and when we have a clear idea of that we need to map out the ways to achieve independence and restore statehood. Most important, there is a discernible skepticism toward the national movement among the non-Georgians in Georgia. Hence, determining what we want will foster a certain amount of trust among those people toward the national movement. After all, we are fighting for freedom, not in order to restrict anyone or take their rights away. A nation, or a person, can only be free when it recognizes the freedom of others.

"Our party believes that Georgia should be divided into federal provinces—not Soviet-style autonomy but solely provincial self-government based on the international legal norms of the West. We are firmly convinced that the worsening of relations in Abkhazia and historical Samachablo has been caused by the existing political system. Those autonomies were first created on party principles and later decked out in national/ethnic trappings. Once these political foundations are broken up, what will remain is the right of cultural self-determination that any representative of any nation in any Western state enjoys. Hence, we consider it important to implement the multi-party principle in Georgia, even under restricted circumstances and in the presence of an occupying army. I believe gatherings like this can help to bring back people's leveled personal honor. After all, a man only has personal honor when he can see the other person's honor—for example, at this Conference,

which to a large extent accomplished its purpose. I still think, however, that it ought to be broader in the future and take in other nations living in Georgia. And later, it ought to go outside Georgia and concern itself with the interests of all the nations who live in the Caucasus and this huge totalitarian state, because like it or not, we live in the Caucasus and we can't leave it. Hence, if Georgia does manage to make some contribution toward stabilizing relations among the nations of the Caucasus, we can consider that we have thereby taken a big step toward our own independence and freedom."

Merab Kostava used to say, "The national liberation movement in Georgia will take a just position to the extent that it places unity above all other ideas, when each of us loves the movement itself rather than oneself in the movement." At a press conference for journalists after the Conference, Irakli Tsereteli, the leader of the Georgian National Independence Party, was asked whether the Conference showed that people loved the national movement or themselves in the movement more. The answer was almost unanimously in favor of the national movement.

God grant it may be so....

Georgian National-Democratic Party Congress Sketches Plans

18130045A Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO
in Georgian No 49, 8 Dec 89 p 3

[Interview with Giorgi Chanturia, chairman of the National-Democratic Party: "Seek and You Shall Find...."]

[Text] On 27-28 July, the National-Democratic Party held its Second Congress in the assembly hall of the Georgian Metrology Institute. National-Democratic Party Chairman Giorgi Chanturia explains its work and its history.

The National-Democratic Party [NDP] was formed early in this century. It published its own journals and newspapers in the teens. The NDP was formed as a political party between 4 and 20 June 1917. The NDP took a very active part in the uprising of 1924. After the uprising was crushed, the NDP in effect ceased to exist. A large percentage of the party's members were physically annihilated. Some of them, however, emigrated.

In 1981, we wearers of the vestments of Sioni, still underground, restored the National-Democratic Party. We held our constituent assembly in 1983 and adopted our first program principles and Charter. In September of 1988, the party came out from underground with its mass base organization, Meotkhe Dasi [Fourth Group]. After the November 1988 demonstration (which was organized by the NDP), the NDP held its First Congress on 30 November and 1 December in Tbilisi. I'm happy with the results of today's Second Congress, both in terms of form and content. Many changes have been made in the Program, mapping out the party's path and

plan of action for the near future. The Congress has attracted considerable attention both in the Western world and in the Soviet Empire. Numerous telegrams have been received from all parts of the world. The Congress was attended by leading political organization officials and representatives of the Ukraine, Lithuania, Russia, Estonia, and Armenia. It was stated at the Second Congress of the NDP that, despite a number of shortcomings, the work of the past year was considered satisfactory. The Main Committee was elected with the same membership; there have been no changes in the Main Committee. This indicates that the party trusts its members. As far as today's tasks are concerned, ways were mapped out to resolve ethnic conflicts: Five resolutions were passed having to do with ethnic conflicts, the Armenians and Azerbaijanis, pre-conscripts, the events of 9 April, and the Referendum. During a recess in the Congress there was a very important meeting between representatives of our party and Armenia's pre-parliament, which includes 14 organizations. One of the most important of the Congress's steps was the creation of the Christian Democratic Alliance in Georgia, which includes the National-Democratic Party and the Christian-Democratic Youth Association.

Old Document Cited to Prove 'Meskhetians' Are Really Turks

18130042A Tbilisi LITERATURLI SAKARTVELO
in Georgian 1 Dec 89 p 1

[Archival document with commentary: "A Decision by Delegates of the Moslem Population of Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki Uyezds"]

[Text] There is a great deal of talk today about the "Turkish Meskhetians." Unfortunately, even certain members of the Georgian intelligentsia are demanding that they be returned to Georgia. We present below a document which the "Turkish Meskhetians" sent to the Turkish government in 1919. We believe that an examination of this document will leave no doubt as to whom today's Turks are descended from, Turks who are attempting to return to Georgia by claiming they are Meskhetians.

On the 13th day of April 1918, we the undersigned, delegates of the Moslem population of Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki uyezds and members of national uyezd and district [uchastok] executive committees, in consideration of the anticipated end of the Turkish-Transcaucasian War and the possibility that the Turkish state borders will be restored to what they were before the 1877-1878 War, and that the territory of our two uyezds will again remain part of Transcaucasia, and in consideration of the following:

1. That the Russian Revolution gave all the peoples of the Empire the right to self-determination (including the right to create an independent state and unite with another state);

2. That the territory of Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki uyezds was taken from Turkey by force in 1828, whereas prior to that this territory had been under Turkish rule for three centuries;

3. That the Moslem population of the uyezds is basically of Turkish origin and has never cut its spiritual ties with Turkey;

4. That ethnic strife in the uyezd reached a climax during the War of 1914-1918, especially during the period of freedom, and moreover that a bloody war has been and is still going on among the nationalities, which threatens Moslems with total annihilation, and that this war is characterized by looting and arson: ten Moslem villages have been burned down in Akhaltsikhe Uyezd (Abi, Khaki, Ardzhapa, Orali, and others) and all of them in Akhalkalaki Uyezd. Only in four villages have the inhabitants heroically repelled the savage attacks of Armenians and Georgians. In Akhalkalaki Uyezd, thousands of Moslems are captives of the Armenians and Georgians. The Georgians and Armenians of Borzhomi and Akhaltsikhe have been continuously shelling and machine-gunning Moslem villages, despite the fact that military actions have ceased on the battle fronts;

5. That despite declarations of equality and brotherhood, the government of Transcaucasia, regardless of our loyalty, has made known its lack of trust in the Moslems and has failed to satisfy our most legitimate demands;

6. That the Moslems of Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki, surrounded on three sides by Adjarians and Georgians, face the real threat in the near future, if they remain part of Georgia, of not only losing their national ties with Turkey but also their language and religion, especially in light of present relations with the Georgians.

In consideration of all this, in order to save the Moslems of the aforesaid uyezds from complete annihilation, in particular in light of the impossibility of Moslems living peacefully as part of Transcaucasia and, especially, Georgia, we have unanimously decided to petition the Turkish government to annex all of Akhaltsikhe Uyezd and part of Akhalkalaki Uyezd.

This decision has been made with the full consent of the Moslem population of the uyezds, which is ready, in the event that the Turkish government refuses, to fight to the last man and bullet for its rights and freedoms. In accordance with the right of self-determination, Akhaltsikhe Uyezd and the part of Akhalkalaki Uyezd where the majority of the population is Moslem, from this day forward are to be considered a part of Turkey, and immediate steps are to be taken to implement this act, the government of Transcaucasia to be notified of same.

[signed] 1. Khadli Efendi Mehmed Efendi-Ogli; 2. Suleiman Efendi Mola-Ogli; 3. Riza Shevik-Ogli; 4. Mekhmed Efendi-Ogli Rashit Efendi; 5. Mevlud-Ogli Rashit; 6. Omer-Ogli Khurshut; 7. Eub-Ogli Dursun; 8.

Edem-Ogli Murtaz; 9. Eub-Ogli Rekun; 10. Sinzu-Ogli Shakir; 11. Mevlud-Ogli Khemid; 12. Ibragim-Suli-Ogli; 13. Feizali Nekhib-Ogli; 14. Vali-Ogli Kedib; 15. Ibragim-Ogli Kakhriman; 16. Fibrat-Ogli Akhmed; 17. Merid-Beg Fekhman Zade; 18. Mekhbis Sadik-Ogli; 19. Mola Akhmed Megafikov; 20. Abdul Efendi Nur; 21. Nur-Ogli Abdul Kefner; 22. Mevlud-Ogli Makhmud; 23. Sulemogli Khadzhan-Beg; 24. Dusun-Ogli Aripevan; 25. Suleiman-Ogli Ibragim; 26. Tefut Beg Zade Tursuk-Beg; 27. Sabit Beg Zade Nazim Beg; 28. Shekhim-Ogli Elpoz; 29. Iusuf-Ogli Shefid; 30. Khasani-Ogli Elfaz; 31. Ibragim-Ogli Matar; 32. Mevlud-Ogli Sezam; 33. Abdula Rakhman-Ogli Murad; 34. Abdula-Ogli Murad; 35. Ibragim-Ogli Kakharim; 36. Ersinadl-Ogli Sekib; 37. Sabik-Ogli Arenad; 38. Mustafa-Ogli Makhmud; 39. Haidar-Ogli Bairam; 40. Omar Ogli Fetlur.

26 May 1918.

AKTY ZAKAVKAVSKOGO SEYMA, No 160; 1918.

Authorities Accused of Inciting 'Adjarian Separatism'

18130046A Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI
in Georgian 9 Dec 89 p 2

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Mamuka Dzhidzhavadze and Tbilisi State University, Agricultural Institute, and Georgian Academy of Sciences graduate students Temur Avaliani, Otar Tsetskhladze, Merab Putkaradze, Merab Mgeladze, and Zurab Khalvashi: "Once More on the Subject of 'Adjarian Separatism'"]

[Text] There should be no doubt that one of the main causes of everything that has been happening in Abkhazia and Samachablo (so-called South Ossetia) is the existence of artificially, improperly created autonomous formations.

Another of the autonomous formations in Georgia is the Adjarian ASSR. When the events taking place in Abkhazia and South Ossetia began to look as if they followed the same script, it first generated doubt and then the fear that something might also happen in Adjaria, which is also an autonomous entity. Very soon, indeed, grounds for this doubt and fear did appear, and the public had no idea what was happening in this inseparable part of Georgia, when, at such a difficult time, Georgia heard about the so-called "Adjarian separatism" during a session of the Supreme Soviet—truly "like a bolt out of the blue." This event created a crack in public opinion, which was not all that solid before. There were more and more cases of incorrect, distorted interpretation of the events taking place in Adjaria. For example: On 16 November of this year, at a meeting in the assembly hall of TSU [Tbilisi State University], one of the speakers—a professor, incidentally (I purposefully refrain from naming him)—told those present that "apparently the Moslem population in Adjaria has clashed with the Christians," "apparently the Adjarians don't want to be resettled anywhere, and they are demanding that Georgians be kicked out of Batumi."

Again in the assembly hall on 30 November, during a meeting with Mr. Eldar Shengelaia, the public was told that since the opening of the Sarpi Highway, pro-Turkish sediments have supposedly taken root in Adjaria. In the entryway of the university on that same day we were greeted with a sign saying, "We are collecting textbooks for the Georgian schools of Khulo Rayon" (as if there were any non-Georgian schools in Khulo or any other of Adjaria's highland rayons). Moreover, at one rally the participants were told that "Pan-Islamic sentiments have become widespread in Adjaria...."

This is no longer confined to the framework of superficial discussion—it is a totally unfounded accusation, and it must come to a stop. Naturally, we by no means advocate hushing up even one manifestation of anti-Georgian or separatist sentiment, wherever it may happen, in particular Adjaria. We are also aware that such a troubling assessment with regard to that district has been given impetus not only by Mr. G. Chigogidze's speech at the session of the Supreme Soviet but also by other events, in particular the barbaric 10 December 1988 act, as well as the attempt to form the so-called "Group To Support Perestroyka" (if it can be called that), as well as other factors, no doubt, but before coming to such a superficial conclusion, some questions need to be answered: What provoked them? Where are their roots?

In our opinion, these questions were answered convincingly by Mr. M. Makharadze in his "Open letter to Adjarian ASSR Council of Ministers Chairman Mr. Guram Chigogidze" (see AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI 30 November 1989). The author rightly states that for everything that has happened from the barbaric 10 December 1988 act to the attempt to form the so-called "Group To Support Perestroyka," the blame goes not to the people but directly to the leadership of the autonomous republic. We will not repeat M. Makharadze's opinions here but will only add the following: Are some officials of the Adjarian ASSR thinking to trade the interests of the whole district and, from there, all of Georgia, for a comfortable chair? Could it be that someone among them (or perhaps higher up), out of fear that the autonomous formation might be abolished (and along with it their high posts), has found it necessary to put Adjaria in opposition to the other regions of Georgia—all of Georgia, in fact—and, to do so, represent the natives of Adjaria as "somehow not entirely Georgian," so that they need autonomous status? Otherwise how can we explain the fact that the barbaric act of 10 December 1988, despite the selfless efforts of Batumi's intelligentsia, has yet to be given the proper political assessment? Even more: the Commission headed by Docent P. Margvelashvili to study a similar rout of the rally at Georgian Polytechnic Institute on 18 February 1989 is coming to the conclusion that the act was totally inspired from above, because the two assaults, on 10 December and 18 February, are as alike as peas in a pod, and there is no doubt that the latter was also inspired by the authorities—not just the leadership

of the autonomous republic but also the leadership of the republic at that time. As we can see, the act was prepared by the authorities, while the consequences were blamed wholly on the people. Unfortunately, many have taken this bait and consider the act—inspired from above—a manifestation of the people's pro-Turkish sentiment.

Again, how can we explain the fact that at a meeting of the so-called "Group To Support Perestroyka" on 24 September, where they tried to disguise the Group by forming it in the name of the Adjarian People's Front, some of the guests from the rayons were rather high-placed officials, while others said in astonishment, "What's this? We didn't know anything about this; they warned us in the raykom [rayon party committee] that there was a conference in Batumi...." It should also be pointed out that the speeches of a couple of the "orators" of the Group were so inconsistent and absurd that none of the guests from the rayons supported them, and their sentiments were backed up by the staunch opposition of the intelligentsia and true patriots; as a result, the Group has not succeeded in becoming a legal entity from the time of the meeting to this day.

From the foregoing it ought to be perfectly clear where the trail of "separatism" leads. We totally agree with Mr. M. Makharadze's well-argued statement that if the ongoing events in Adjaria can be called separatist, it's not because of any "Adjarian separatism" but because of a few highly-placed autonomous republic officials' attempt to preserve the autonomous formation. Being natives of the region ourselves, and being well aware of what is going on, we will add that the so-called "Group To Support Perestroyka" is nothing more than a disguised weapon of the people mentioned above. Hence, it does not go beyond a narrow group that is isolated from the true intelligentsia and native population. Let us also note that to ascribe their "endeavors" to the whole region, especially in any context of "pan-Islamic," "pro-Turkish," or "separatist" sentiment, is about the same as "trying to catch a cat in a dark room that isn't there."

One thing is becoming quite clear: For years, the autonomous republic's administrative apparatus has been a power struggle arena, so that it has been and still is a base to put Adjaria up against other regions of Georgia. It seems to us, therefore, that the time has finally come to objectively review the advisability of the creation and further existence of this autonomous formation. Until now, for some reason, only a one-sided assessment of this issue has been widespread. Recently, however, an opposite and, in our opinion, more objective and well-argued point of view has emerged (we refer to O. Zoidze's article "Once More on the Subject of the Adjarian People," in *TSISKARI* No 8, 1989). It is essential to establish objectivity and historical justice so that the native population of this inseparable part of Georgia may know with certainty who gave autonomy to the Georgian in Georgia, and why, and whom and what they are "defending" him from.

FROM THE EDITORS: Docent Murad Chavleishvili's article "On Adjarian Autonomy," which was printed in *SABCHOTA ACHARA* and *SOVETSKAYA ADZHARIYA* and referred to in Mikheil Makharadze's "Open Letter" (see *AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI*, 30 November), has indeed "come to the aid" of the spreading anti-Georgian movement today under the banner of autonomization. In fact, here's another article that has come into our hands, in the 24 October edition of *SOVETSKAYA ADZHARIYA*, titled "The Will of the People," devoted to the adoption of the first Constitution of the Adjarian ASSR. This time, in contrast to the earlier articles, the motive is "valid" inasmuch as it coincides with an anniversary date. But in view of the complex ethnic crisis and the already-mentioned autonomization movement, why and for what purpose is someone trying to bring these tendencies to the forefront—and, indeed, the Adjarian ASSR that was created (for whatever purpose)? Whose interests are served by Murad Chavleishvili's articles? We don't believe it should be difficult to answer this question.

Czechoslovak Students Express Solidarity With Georgians

*18130047A Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI
in Georgian 9 Dec 89 p 5*

[*"Appeal to the Georgian People From the Striking Students of Czechoslovakia"*]

[Text] Dear Friends! It is with particular attention and sympathy that we have been following your people's struggle for freedom and national self-determination. We were deeply shocked by the savage rout of the demonstration in Tbilisi this year, during which your countrymen were killed. As a small nation which also must struggle for freedom and self-determination, we sympathize with your struggle. We are delighted with your bravery and we bow before the Georgian people's ancient and eternal culture, which you are struggling to defend. Like you, we Czechoslovakian students have also decided to come out against violence and injustice. We have raised our voices and our bare hands in a sign of protest against violence. We are happy that we have achieved our first victories without bloodshed. We are confident that you will obtain your rights and that your people's sacrifices will be redeemed. Be assured that we are keenly following your brave struggle, we sympathize with you and suffer with you. And we will rejoice with you when you achieve victory.

Czechoslovakia's Striking Students From All the Institutes of Higher Learning in Prague

Prague, 30 November 1989.

Turkmen 'Informals' Attacked By Ideologist

*90US0610A Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY
in Turkmen 28 Jan 90 pp 2*

[Article by B. Soyunov, Turkmen SSR peoples deputy and director of the Ideology Department of the Central

Committee of the Turkmenistan Communist Party: "We Must All Pull The Burden Equally"]

[Text] Old habits become settled in men's minds and feelings and one can be bewildered by them. These days the words "glasnost," "pluralism of ideas," and "variety of opinions" have entered our daily conversation. Now our ears have become used to these words. Thus, these words often trip off our tongues without any thought of their deeper meaning; it is like firing blank cartridges. The worst thing is that these popular terms are shields, they conceal empty words or limited vision.

The actions of a group which has been operating for a short time at the Turkmenistan SSR Academy of Sciences called the "informals" have caused the advancement of this sorrowful idea. It is clear that the group itself and its leadership do not deserve such attention because the inappropriateness, even the harm of the work methods they have selected strikes the eye. In the process of the democratization of life the expansion of the peoples mental horizons demands from the party committees and the true proponents of perestroika that they be at the vanguard of the republic's political life. This is why I hoped to draw attention to this question. The opposing of all situations directed at impeding the process of change demands ability, judgment and caution. Viewing this process too lightly or trying to rush it can lead our economy and ideology into a blind alley.

There is no need to cover up the fact that the "legacy", the shortcomings permitted by stagnation are still clinging to us. In the words of the poet G. Azizov, we cannot straighten out the mistakes and shortcomings only through good intentions. Constant labor, intelligence and definite work is required. Basic dissatisfaction about the situation which has emerged in the people's social-economic and spiritual life is being felt at all levels in the republic, including the highest level. Introducing changes in the forces in the republic's economic structure, raising the level of the social guarantee of the inviolability of the workers' interests, reducing child mortality and the solving of other problems are extremely complicated questions. And creating a change in men's hearts and minds is an even more complicated and responsible job.

It is a simple truth that perestroika is directed at the people's interests. Perestroika is being implemented through the people's own hands and power. It is not being implemented by force but by daily, hard work directed towards the distant future. But some people do not wish to learn this simple truth. This is hardly surprising because for decades man's belief in his own powers was not recognized. His direct participation in managing society's work was such that he even was excluded from this work in his own collective.

As for the "informals", they have exploited this situation. Inasmuch as their tactics are weak, the results they expect to gain are weak. Exploiting the fact that most people are not fully informed about the true situation

and that they are not fully aware of the work being conducted to overcome these difficulties, they cover themselves in revolutionary phrases and criticize everything and everyone mercilessly. As a consequence, they become the persons who are eradicating all the "woes" and gain prestige the easy way.

One can cite definite examples of this. The leaders of the "informals" blame the republic's current leadership for causing all the shortcomings. In letters they would have distributed prior to the election of peoples deputies to the republic and local Soviets they repeated that "the republic leadership is causing the physical and spiritual death of the Turkmen people." Can there be any slander greater than this? In this letter they stress that the elections are no other than eyewash and have been organized only to bring the "necessary" persons into the lawful government. The electors, the elected deputies and the unelected candidates know well that such an assertion does not correspond to the truth.

Every right-thinking person hastens to make the correct changes, to put things in order immediately. This is only natural. But life has its own laws, contradictions and truth. But if we do not take these into consideration, create some kind of "enemy" and destroy or cripple him, as the "informals" have done, and say that then everything will be put right, one can gain renown the easy way; it would be no more useful to the people than peeling off an outer layer and would undoubtedly put them back in the same rut.

As for this bad truth, if the "informals" have given it any thought, they have disregarded it. In my opinion, up till now I have not seen any personalities emerge from among them with any feeling for their own people.

The basis of the period of stagnation which lasted for several decades is that it is difficult to move quickly out of its unforeseen ruts. Competently pulling out of this rut depends not only on the leadership, but on every one of us. If everyone did his job at his own workplace, talked little and did a lot of work, there would be no untakeable fortress, and the pace of perestroika would quicken. Our sickness is obvious, and we must find its medicine as a great people.

And I would say, why would the party and government leaders of our republic and the Turkmen SSR peoples deputies not have made an effort to end the shortcomings in our republic's economic and social-cultural life at the first session of the Supreme Soviet?

Important questions in the republic's life were examined at the session. Among them were issues like gasification and improving the supply of energy to the villages, providing the population with pure water and accepting a program to broaden the scope of the development and use of the Turkmen language.

The arrogant proclamation of a struggle for the development and preservation of the riches of the Turkmen language is one of the basic lines of the "informals." The

leadership of the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences, working under the aegis of its presidium, made it possible to act officially in everyone's interest and work out the "Dil [Language]" program and the law on giving Turkmen state language status. Speaking in connection with this, none of the "informals" were involved in drawing up this program. A pity, because it would not have been useful to them, only harmful. While dozens of linguists, pedagogues and other specialists were making decisions about and coming up with this program, the "informals" at their meetings did nothing but whine about "the fact that the Turkmen language is being lost." After the scholars had worked out the program, they said "it's too late." The young writer A. Velsaparov who entered the squabble, one of the leaders of the "informals", issued a rough copy of this program from somewhere which he had "polished up" and read it to a crowd without embarrassment as a product of his own intellect. By putting the idea into the minds of people who were uninformed about the situation, the fraud, that they had to accept the fabrication he had prepared on language, he was trying to stimulate resentment against the republic's leadership. This is nothing other than instigating a conflict without a reason.

One cannot say that the law passed satisfied everyone in every way. It is not correct to think that the first draft of the language law was liked by everyone at its first reading at the session of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet. But, in debating the points one does not like, it is scandalous to make accusations against the people who created and accepted this draft, it is dragging them through the mud. To go crying out into the street in order to express an opinion, to gather uninformed people around you and confuse them about the resolution of issues is not the reasonable way to go.

Those looking out for their own interests in the extremely complicated questions in the life of our republic should answer before their own consciences. It is as if they want to help solve the problems without working up a sweat. It is like they say: "If you reap with your tongue, your back does not hurt." The "informals" are not expressing new ideas, but they are making a furore about problems and questions well known to the population as a whole; it seems as if they do not see the basic work being done in the republic to solve these problems and are making predictions about the future of the Turkmen people. They are not talking about finding ways and methods to overcome the difficulties in the republic's social and economic life but are looking at basic issues and subjecting steps taken to correct them to sweeping, hysterical criticism.

While they are masters at criticizing someone else and declaring the "pluralism of ideas," they see the speeches of anyone other than themselves as weak and are quick to answer their opponents with uncultured actions. They interpret the concept of glasnost for themselves alone. For them, the meaning of this word, if they do not like it, consists of falsifying the proofs they need and destroying their opponents' position. Among those pretending to

weep about the "sorrow of the Turkmen people" during the period of the democratization of our republic's public life there are not few who want to panic at the situation. Is there nothing positive amid the criticism which is raining down? Certainly there is. The fact that some shortcomings remain in our ideological work and in social questions is only natural. Shortcomings were not only permitted during the years of stagnation, but also now.

For example, if we were to say that the pre-election campaigns were conducted successfully everywhere, we would be far from the truth. Taken as a whole, however, the mistakes permitted in the elections which were held under democratic, equal and competitive circumstances still give no basis to throw up one's hands in despair as the "informals" would do.

There is another side to the question. If people only find themselves in the ranks of "informal" organizations in the struggle for cleaning up the environment and preserving historical and cultural monuments, then only passive people unable to attract the masses to this job would be sitting in the official organizations established to preserve the ecology and take care of the monuments. If people uninformed about the state of work in the republic can be deceived by the unproven assertions of the "informals," then it is clear that the work of our propagandists, agitators and mass media has been unsatisfactory in informing the people about issues being resolved.

When we allow a mistake and are doing imperfect work, it is here where the "informals" strive to spread their activity; if you talk to them it appears as if they are advocates of perestroika and express their concern about acquainting a great people with the truth. They divert the attention of those people trying to resolve important issues with their arrogant speeches and waste their time. In our country the situation is so complicated that taking people away from the work at hand and calling on them to go out in the street is not really appropriate to the Turkmen character, behavior and tradition.

Among those people on whom statements of the "informals" have left an impact there are those to whom wrong has been done. People who have come into contact with the arrogant bureaucratic approach in resolving their personal problems are, unfortunately, often found in our society. A youth who had fought in Afghanistan came to one of the "informals" meetings. He wanted to buy land on which to build a house on the basis of the privileges granted him, but he had been given empty promises for a year. Now the question has been correctly resolved. The carelessness of workers at the Ashkhabad Rayispolkom was a disgrace and incited people to action.

There are many other such examples within the bounds of the republic. If we do not end such incompetence and

carelessness, I would say that we will not be able to make any guarantees that there will be any support for perestroika.

I have occasionally taken part in meetings of the "informals" and been struck by the absence of cultured debate, the arrogant statements of the so-called leaders, the fact that no true, credible facts are brought up, and their trivial approach to the issues.

The leadership of the "informals" says that they are not allowed to speak out in the media, radio or television, but they are lying to the participants at the meetings. Many articles by one of them alone, A. Velsaparov, have appeared in the republic's mass media.

Are those who are making it impossible for them to publish their biased, demanding, slanderous articles in the press acting from spite? Whatever the case, we firmly support the position of the editors and editorial colleges who decided on the unacceptability of this type of material because if the process of perestroika is to be clean then there is no place in it for lies, arrogant words, false accusations and defamation.

It is not just five or six people who dream or think about the leadership of the Turkmen people and who are alarmed at the low level of diligence of some party committees; in the final analysis it is these who have taken on the heavy load of pulling the burden along the path of perestroika. At this time one must be among them to feel and win the support of the masses, and must be wise to advance to the front. At this time it is clear that there is no obstacle to creative examinations of public life. The road is open to men who intend to intelligently resolve basic issues. Certainly there are many questions to be answered, and the burden is heavy. We must all of us pull the burden equally.

Ivashko's Repression of Ukraine Described

90UN0654A Riga ATMODA in Russian 18 Dec 89 p 4

[Unattributed article: "A Person in His Place, Or the Ukraine and its New Vice-Regent"]

[Text] Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, quietly and peacefully went to a very deserved and, for many, long awaited, rest accompanied by thunderous applause and vociferous gratitude from the plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. This remarkable event did not occur without help from Ukrainian society. For almost a year the most popular slogan in the Ukraine was "Down with Shcherbitskiy." Since the election campaign (February 1989) hardly a meeting or gathering could get along without it.

One could not expect more—Gorbachev's authority had started to decline.

But it has happened! The Ukraine filled its lungs with air so as to breathe more easily. Then it got a new first

secretary, Vladimir Antonovich Ivashko. Comrade Ivashko went to a good party school, having been first secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk Obkom, the very one that has given humanity such brilliant lights as comrades Brezhnev, Shcherbitskiy and many others. Gorbachev himself travelled to Kiev to approve his protege for the new position. Then the worst dangers for sensibly thinking people began to be realized. The very first day the new vice-regent was in power was marked by massive assaults upon people in Lvov, Kiev and other cities in the Ukraine. On 18 October the newly appointed head of the Ukraine announced at a Ukrainian CP Central Committee plenum: "...we will continue to decisively unmask those who do not accept the socialist election, try to discredit the party and spread propaganda for separatism and national uniqueness." He further indicated that that organizations such as the UKhS [Ukrainian-Helsinki Union] and the Ukrainian People's Democratic League are "not on the same path with us", and called for a ban on national symbols. Then, stressing the need to "swiftly work out means of counteracting political antagonism and nationalistic phenomena," V. Ivashko said that the regions requiring special attention were: Lvov, Ternopol, Donetsk and Ivano-Frankov oblasts and the city of Kiev. Inhabitants of these regions have already experienced some of these "means of counteracting" on their ribs and heads. The pogrom in Lvov was especially harsh. Afterwards several people were hospitalized. According to eyewitnesses, the blood had to be washed away by street cleaning machines.

The conclusion of a public commission investigating the events of 1 October in Lvov, with which the deputies commission generally agrees, states that the assault was planned in advance. Outraged inhabitants of Lvov held a protest meeting the next day, 2 October. On 3 October there was a 2 hour warning strike at most enterprises in the city. Now a joint committee has been set up in the city. It is headed by Viktor Furmanov, a worker, and incidentally a Russian and a member of the UKhS. More and more enterprises are joining the movement and a parallel power structure is arising in the region.

There are calls from above to introduce martial law in some places in the Ukraine, thereby probably ensuring quieter and more democratic elections for the republic Supreme Soviet in March.

In the other end of the Ukraine the situation is somewhat different. In spite of the close contact several miners' strike committees in the Donbass have with Rukh and their discussions with representatives of the Polish Solidarity, in general the strike movement here has more of an economic character. Also, the strike committees are heavily infiltrated by party and chauvinist circles. There has been a serious threat of an interfront arising. Incidentally, very busy young people from the Estonian interfront are working in such organizations in Kiev. So far all unsuccessfully, but, judging from all evidence, something will happen. Some facts permit one to hope that the eastern and western Ukraine will find a common language, in spite of the more than 200 year old practice

of pitting the two parts of this people against one another, a practice which to this day continues in perfectly disgusting fashion.

The fracture lines in all directions have long been traced. However, V. Ivashko has somewhat updated them, announcing that he is ready to conduct a dialogue with healthy forces. It is not yet known how this dialogue will take place; the Ukraine has already experienced a monologue in the language of police clubs.

Attempts to break up Rukh have also not been without success. Obviously, in light of decisions of the past Ukrainian Communist Party plenum the "healthy forces" in Rukh are attempting here and there to cut off the radical wing. In meetings at some regional divisions representatives of Rukh have not given their word to radicals, at others they obediently pose the question about eliminating UKhS activists from the leadership. Incidentally, however, it seems that repression is used indiscriminately against everybody. Here are a few reports. Quite recently in Dnepropetrovsk, G. Sakharov, a Rukh leader, was convicted on several counts of organizing and conducting meetings and was sentenced to 2 months of forced labor. Criminal charges have been filed against another Rukh activist, I. Shulyak. On 29 October, after an ecological meeting in Kiev sanctioned by authorities, V. Yablonskiy and I. Kucherov, two Rukh members and distributors of the free press, were grabbed. They were beaten in the vehicle on the way to the militia station. Yablonskiy suffered a broken left arm. On 7 November in Kherson, representative of the local UKhS organization S. Gur and his comrade, a UKhS activist, were detained. Both were beaten and turned over to the militia, who seized a megaphone and 600 copies of GOLOS VOZROZHDENIYA, the UKhS newspaper. After this, Gur, an honorary member of the international PEN club, was hauled out into the steppe and told, in no uncertain terms, "We have shot and will shoot you chickens." Then they staged a fake shooting.

According to data from UKhS, repression, which increased sharply in the first days of the new government, has now declined somewhat. However, it is maintained at a higher level than under Shcherbitskiy. Naturally, until Vladimir Ivashko specifies his attitude towards the activities of his colleagues, he will be personally responsible for everything that happens.

Finally, the incident at the session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, of "Chernenkoist" composition, protected by reinforced militia units, when, with the general approval of the hall, USSR People's Deputy M. Kutsenko was expelled for wearing the blue and yellow symbol, once again convincingly shows that the Ukraine does not have its own government. Our sick interest in the personality of the first secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee is evidence of this. As long as we are so interested in such questions and as long as we are led by leaders of the territorial units of a supranational monopoly called the CPSU there can be no talk of a "sovereign Ukraine."

Ivashko Views on Party, Economy

90UN0974A Moscow POISK in Russian No 6,
8-14 Feb 90 p 3

[Interview with V. Ivashko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, by special correspondent Arkadiy Sosnov in Kiev: "Let Us Investigate Together"; date not given]

[Text] Intellect, culture, responsibility—the three pillars on which perestroika can alone stand its ground. This is what Vladimir Ivashko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, believes. Arkadiy Sosnov, special correspondent of POISK, interviewed him at the all-union seminar of secretaries of party committees of technical VUZ's [higher educational institutions] in Kiev.

[Correspondent] Vladimir Antonovich, it was Mayakovskiy who observed that words become frayed, like clothing. What is meant today by the "party work" concept, even in the VUZ, where any truth is questioned, particularly?

[Ivashko] "Has come to be questioned," I would say.... I once taught in a VUZ for many years and was secretary of the party committee. At that time the following cliché had evolved: What was uttered from a platform by a party leader was not to be criticized—this was "instructionism". We have such a colorful word in the Ukraine. We are now parting company with this style of communication. We are attempting through argument to find what unites even polar opinions. Account has to be taken of the immense spread of opinions, sentiments, and currents.

Society's attention today should be concentrated on three key components—intellect, culture, and responsibility. Until this triad finds a voice, it will be difficult to expect real positive changes in life, in the higher school included. And, you know, its increased independence is by no means contrary to party work in the VUZ. Let us at least agree on the meaning with which we invest this concept. For me it is unequivocal what party work means—it means the fostering of convictions. And, consequently, it is more pertinent in the VUZ than ever.

[Correspondent] But not the least part, probably, in the shaping of convictions is played by the level of teaching of the social sciences?

[Ivashko] Undoubtedly, social science in the VUZ's should now have a new look: it should avoid the dogmatic approach, which was professed for decades. I would least of all like to accuse the scholars and teachers—it is their tragedy, not their fault, that scholarship and teaching proceeded from the indisputability of this view of social development or the other. Or simply served political decisions. Moved not from scientific analysis toward a political decision but the other way

about. Some congress or plenum or the other would take place, and practice subsequently would be "illuminated" by its decisions. Both lectures and dissertations would be read in this "light". Important scholarly achievements could be expected essentially only in the spheres of social science far removed from contemporaneity, in study of the culture of the Etruscans, for example.

In addition, one generation of lecturers was cultivated by another and became a product of the system. And whenever changes in society thundered forth, people studying the latter were faced with most difficult problems. In the student auditorium the lecturer would pass, lacking truthful information and opportunities to compare, explain, and prove. The recollections of participants in and witnesses of far-off events and of their relatives, which streamed forth, and archive publications are very important, but not the equivalent of serious scientific works.... So what is needed is in-depth research—it is lacking as yet. Acute questions are being asked—the answers are not at all obvious. But, most likely, even in such a situation an answer is possible, an honest answer: I do not know, let us investigate together.

Sociologists inquired of Kiev's students: "What would you do were you today the dean?" Eighty percent of those polled responded: "Step up exactingness toward the students and change the style of their communication with the lecturers." There is vox populi for you.

After all, if we avoid dogmatic assertions and disclose the true content of science, much falls into place. Study of the history of social thought objectively leads to the understanding that mankind has formulated nothing better and fairer than the socialist idea based on humanism and profound democracy. And it is no accident that this idea in this form or the other, with the observance of this balance of class interests or the other, is making a way for itself in many countries which can by no means be classified as socialist. If there is such understanding, we can speak about the shaping of convictions, about the creative assimilation of the social sciences.

[Correspondent] Nonetheless, it is difficult to believe in the soundness of the idea when one compares the result of its realization with the practice of development of Western countries.

[Ivashko] Looking at these countries and admiring the abundance of commodities or the living standard of the local workers, we constantly forget one thing. It was the October Revolution and the results of World War II also which forced the West to reconsider to a large extent the relations of employer and worker and questions of social security and introduce planning and market regulation mechanisms.... We, however, still have in mind the pattern: there, capitalism, here, socialism. It needs to be acknowledged that we have viewed the world in a bichromatic, black and white image and have failed to notice the shades and half-tints. Therefore now, when we

have made a close scrutiny, we need to get down to business and realize what is embedded in the nature of socialism!

It is the party organizations which are called on to act in the spirit of the "intellect, culture, responsibility" triad. In debate and argument to make the cornerstone the constructive, not destructive, principle and in-depth knowledge, not a race for a fashionable theory or, even worse, a fashionable slogan. The discipline of uniformity is alien to science. To reveal the subject of social science in a new way, to reveal it in one's own way; let different departments and lecturers be dissimilar in their interpretations—this is not only permissible, it is essential. This is science, quest!

[Correspondent] But supposing I am a VUZ party committee secretary who, checking with the program, strictly adheres to movement in accordance with the general line and brooks no deviations....

[Ivashko] In that case you would be making a fundamental mistake. You would once again be allowing that some "great and wise" man had uttered the truth in the last instance. But we are renewing the party to ensure that it be an alliance of like-minded in which all are equal and each is a non-standard personality. And if it is allowed that a party committee secretary arranges everyone in order of size in a single line, this would not be a renewal of the party and not an alliance of like-minded but something else.

[Correspondent] Vladimir Antonovich, as an ordinary communist, I agree with you absolutely.... I recall your speech at the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies in defense of science and about the need to have priorities in the sphere of S&T progress. But it would seem that these ideas are having difficulty becoming established in a society suffering from numerous shortages. Where does the solution lie—for science and for society?

[Ivashko] One solution is learning to earn money. We in the Ukraine have ideas for the enhanced independence and a certain autonomization of science within the framework of the national economic complex. They will be discussed, specifically, at the coming general assembly of the republic Academy of Sciences.

Nonetheless, science, if this is real science, cannot exist under conditions of service of the economy and the strict programming of "necessary" results. To what this leads is too well known....

The siting of the Chernobyl AES [Nuclear Electric Power Station] at the confluence of the Dnepr, Pripyat, and Desna, rivers supplying fresh water to approximately 40 million people, was also "scientifically" substantiated. What was the basis of the substantiation? The principles of location of productive forces associated with the least outlays. That is, we were counting rubles. Indeed, what is required for an AES? Primarily water. Here it is in abundance. What else? The shortest distance to the

energy consumers. This condition also is met in so powerful an industrial-agrarian region. And if it is further considered that we proceeded from the concept of the complete safety of RBMK [high-power channel-type] reactors, which has proven to be unfounded, all the prerequisites for what occurred were present. It was not just the scientists who were to blame here. They carried out or were forced to carry out a commission of the departments, but science should have carried out the "commission of truth" and in this sense been autonomous and independent.

[Correspondent] Since we have touched on this painful topic, I have to elicit your opinion on the future destiny of the Chernobyl station.

[Ivashko] Billions of rubles have already been invested in the "Chernobyl problem" and will be invested still for many years to come. Our viewpoint is clear: This station cannot have development prospects, even given reconstruction; it should be decommissioned gradually. The region is so "overloaded" with misfortune that even when we have emerged from it we cannot add to the load. Otherwise we would have to go on and on moving the population out of the surrounding areas. And by no means on account of the radiation danger but because, as has been ascertained, radiophobia, which some people initially derided, is in fact a serious illness also. Can this not be taken into account?

But I would like to return to VUZ problems in another context. As of next year the Ukraine will switch to republic cost accounting, and we will have to maintain our own higher school. Ourselves. No golden shower of appropriations, foreign currency included, for its reequipment is foreseen. We are therefore pondering what to do. The simplest way would be to temporarily reduce the numbers of students with regard for our possibilities and requirements. But...would we not hereby be undermining engineering potential for a longer period?

There is another way and it is connected with the transfer of the higher school to a new level of relations with industry and with the reorganization of scientific research in order to earn money, for the training of engineers of the new socioeconomic system included.

We, let's face it, we once fought in the VUZ against "earningism" and work done "on the side". There was once in an institute in Kharkov a small group, one for the whole city, which checked out equipment for grounding, gauged electrical parameters, and so forth. For secrecy purposes it was registered as scientific research. And the plants were forced to conclude fictitious contracts. Following which two laboratory assistants would show up, make measurements and draw up a table, and a further 100 pages of ready wording would be sewn into the report inasmuch as the theory for a tractor plant and for a tobacco factory was one and the same. The work was given a respectable pseudo-scientific title like "Influence...of Sunlight on Grounding," and the plant people

would take from it the table and throw the rest into the waste basket. And everyone was content.

It is now obvious that the struggle against pettiness of subject matter was contrived. It is necessary to encourage in every possible way work which might be performed by students and laboratory assistants for replenishing the VUZ coffers. And, as a whole, wholly insufficient use is made of the VUZ's scientific potential.

The idea of republic cost accounting presupposes the concentration of efforts on the manufacture of this competitive product or the other. And this will necessarily require applied research efforts. And this is what a respected scientist told me in this connection. Within the framework of conversion they had been given the commission of designing and manufacturing machinery for the production of liquid margarine. The formula of this margarine, a high calorie product, contained 10-percent animal oil content. It was a good thing that the developers thought before designing to study the world market. They ascertained that in the West liquid margarines are manufactured without animal oil. In this form they are cheaper and do not promote the development of sclerosis. That is, had these machines been designed and begun to be manufactured per the proposed formula, none, obviously, would have been sold. A trifling matter, seemingly, but it could have made the works uncompetitive. But whatever the case, science cannot cope without state investments. Incidentally, the program for the recovery of our economy put forward by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov provides for benefits for enterprises and research institutions for the introduction of S&T novelties.... To be honest, wherever one turns, the field of work—productive, artistic—is immense. The most important thing, in my view, is shaking off the rigidity, overcoming the "endless woes" from missed opportunities syndrome, and getting moving as quickly as possible, having summoned as allies INTELLECT, CULTURE and RESPONSIBILITY. For where there's a will, there's a way. Step by step.

Ivashko Tours Collectives, Discusses Economic Changes

90UN1012A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
27 Jan 90 p 1

[RATAU Report: "Meetings in Labor Collectives"]

[Text] On 24-25 January, V.A. Ivashko, Ukrainian CP Central Committee first secretary, visited a number of labor collectives of Kiev's Darnitskiy Rayon.

At the Darnitskiy plant for road equipment repair, at which specialized construction equipment is not only repaired but also produced, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee first secretary familiarized himself with the organization of production, the work of the cooperative formed at the enterprise, and the collective's experience of cooperation with foreign partners. One of the machine assemblies produced with the cooperation of the West

German "Bauer" firm will soon be delivered to the Kiev metrorail construction workers.

During a visit to automotive transportation enterprise No. 13064, V.A. Ivashko took an interest in the first results and the further development prospects of the leasing relations introduced here over a year ago. He visited a sports and treatment complex, a branch of the automotive transportation workers' hospital, and the cafeteria constructed with funds earned by the collective.

A broad range of problems was touched upon during conversations with machine builders and workers of the automotive enterprise; these problems are associated with the state of affairs in the economy, and the implementation of economic reform. It was emphasized that neither a return to rigid centralization of management, nor an immediate transition to a market economy will lead out of the crisis, but will only complicate the situation. Only a gradual, flexible transition to a market with the utilization of planned regulators is acceptable.

In touching upon the upcoming transition to regional economic accountability in 1991, V.A. Ivashko noted: Today, each collective must live in accordance with how it works, how it fulfills its obligations to the state. People must be directly concerned with achieving the highest results of management. There cannot be any sort of economic independence in the republic until every enterprise makes the transition to economic accountability, until economically grounded, fair wholesale prices for raw materials and production are established. The

republic's leadership is of the position that these must be considered by the central organs no later than in the first half of this year.

In the discussions, a great deal of attention was directed toward issues concerning the cultivation of producing mass consumption goods, improving the organization of trading in them, and expanding housing construction. The situation which has come into being in the cooperative movement was discussed. V.A. Ivashko also described the measures taken to halt construction in the Ukraine of a number of nuclear electric power stations and energy blocks, and the measures taken by the republic's leadership for the withdrawal removal from operation of the Chernobyl AES.

A meeting took place with the rayon's party aktiv, during which the Ukrainian CP Central Committee first secretary gave information concerning, in particular, perestroika in the republic party organization, the expansion of glasnost in its work, the tightened demands upon communist leaders. He spoke in favor of holding the 28th CPSU Congress already in May or June, the renewal of the principles of party building, and the need to grant significantly more independence to the Communist Parties of the union republics within the framework of a unified CPSU.

Together with V.A. Ivashko were A.I. Korniyenko, Kiev gorkom party first secretary, V.A. Kiryan, Darnitskiy raykom party first secretary, and I.I. Gaznyuk, rayispolkom chairman.

**Internal Affairs Press Center Crime Report,
1988-1989**

90UN0835A Moscow CHELOVEK I ZAKON
in Russian No 1, Jan 90 (signed to press 24 Nov 89)
pp 17-19

[Report prepared by MVD Colonel and Candidate of Juridical Sciences B. Mikhaylov: "The USSR MVD Press Center Comments"]

[Text] During the first nine months of 1989 the internal affairs organs and the procuracy registered 1,750,794 crimes, which is 437,321 (33.3 percent) more than during the same period last year. At the same time, in September of this year, as compared with August, there was a decrease of 10.5 percent in rates of growth for intentional murders and attempted murder, of 7.5 percent for intentional serious bodily injuries, of 1.8 percent for rape and attempted rape, of 0.3 percent for thefts of the personal property of citizens (including 0.5 percent for thefts from apartments and 8.8 percent for motor vehicle thefts), and also of 0.9 percent for violations of the rules of highway safety and motor vehicle use that did not involve fatalities. The number of unsolved crimes against the lives and health of citizens was reduced.

Serious crimes. Their rates of growth are almost 1.3-fold higher than the growth rates of crime as a whole and in absolute terms come to 75,570 crimes.

This type of crime is most widespread in the Azerbaijan and Georgian SSRs, the Tuva and Tatar ASSRs, and the Perm, Kemerovo, and Chelyabinsk oblasts.

Serious crimes that remain unsolved come to 69,309, or 11.8 percent of the total number of unsolved crimes.

During August of this year, 97 persons were called to account for illegal manufacture, acquisition, possession, and transport of narcotic substances. A seasonal migration of law violators to places where agricultural crops containing narcotic substances are cultivated was recorded. Within the southern oblasts of the Ukraine alone, 75 persons were arrested for transporting raw narcotic substances, from whom 730 kilograms of poppy heads were confiscated.

The number of crimes connected with intentional destruction of state, public, or private property by arson increased by 65.4 percent. Selective studies have shown that, in 90 percent of the cases, arson involved individual homes or other economic structures of citizens. About half of the arson cases occurred during the day-time and in 15 percent of the cases the persons suffering losses were related to the criminals.

Thefts of firearms and ammunition grew by 46.5 percent.

Property Crimes. The growth rates of property crimes (up 54.1 percent) were more than 1.5-fold higher than the overall growth of crime within the country. This category of crime comprises 57.4 percent of all registered

crimes. The number of thefts from the apartments of citizens grew by 50.4 percent. Apartment thefts were most widespread in the Armenian and Georgian SSRs, the North Osetian and Dagestan ASSRs, and the Kemerovo, Orenburg, and Kuybyshev oblasts.

According to data from the USSR MVD duty unit (for eight months), 342 reports were received concerning thefts from foreigners, of which 71 percent were a result of robbery. Most frequently, thieves stole the property of foreign tourists from their hotel rooms and other places of temporary residence (44 percent), from personal motor vehicles (14.8 percent), and during travel using on various modes of transportation and in terminal buildings (15.2 percent).

Street crime. As formerly, a considerable number of illegal acts take place in streets, squares, parks and public gardens. A total of 215,431 crimes were committed here, or 16.5 percent of the total number of those registered within the country. Street crime is growing at the highest rates in the Estonian and Lithuanian SSRs, the Mari and Tatar ASSRs, Kamchatka Oblast, and the cities of Leningrad and Moscow. At the same time, during the July-August-September period, a tendency was noted toward reduced growth rates of reported crimes (respectively 82.4, 78.3, and 77.1 percent), including intentional murders, serious bodily injuries, and theft and robbery of the personal property of citizens. Most common among street crimes were thefts of personal property (38.2 percent), robberies and hold-ups (17.4 percent), and driving off motor vehicles without the goal of stealing them (11.3 percent). Crimes against persons comprise 6.1 percent.

The number of thefts of state and personal means of transportation grew two-fold and accounted for, respectively, 183 and 19,284 crimes.

The battle against street hooliganism is intensifying. In June of this year, 8751 more crimes were exposed than during the same period last year, in August—9918 more, and in September—11,587 more.

Crimes on Transportation. The relative share of these within total crimes registered for the country came to 3.9 percent (against 4.6 percent during the corresponding period of 1988).

The number of detected cases of theft of state or public property (not counting petty theft) grew by 34.4 percent, of large-scale theft—by 44.4 percent, and of especially large-scale theft—by 130 percent.

Thefts of property from passengers accounted for 81.7 percent of the total number of thefts of personal property at transportation facilities.

About 40 percent of thefts of baggage were accomplished with the participation of rail transport workers. During the current year, workers of the transportation militia have

uncovered criminal groups among railroad workers at stations on the Western Siberian, Northern Caucasian, Azerbaijan, Transbaykal and Transcaucasian rail lines.

Crimes in the economic sphere. A Total of 294,995 crimes were detected, or 2.6 percent fewer than during the analogous period of last year. The number of detected violations of regulations regarding foreign currency operations increased by 7 percent and cases of large-scale and especially large-scale theft increased by 2.3 percent.

Organs of the BKhSS [Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation] of the Moldavian SSR and in Kamchatka, Tomsk, Amur, and Yaroslavl oblasts have intensified their struggle against speculation. More than 7000 incidents of large-scale speculation have been uncovered and goods and valuables valued at 13 million rubles have been confiscated.

About 65,000 shop workers have been called to criminal and administrative account for violation of the rules of trade.

Studies conducted in Moscow and in Moscow and Ryazan oblasts have shown that, basically, the most prevalent

crime in the economic sphere is theft of state or public property, carried out by means of misappropriation or embezzlement or misuse of official position (30.1 percent), deception of customers (26.2 percent), criminally punishable speculation (10.1 percent) and misappropriation of state or public property through theft (8.1 percent), official forgery (3.9 percent), and negligence (3.5 percent).

In September of this year, workers of the Yakutsk ASSR MVD OBKhSS [Department for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation] arrested two residents of Magadan Oblast from whom 5 kilograms of gold were confiscated.

The social and criminological characteristics of crime. Adolescents committed (and participated in the commission) of 148,166 crimes (up 22.6 percent), persons under the influence of alcohol—292,608 crimes (up 14.6 percent), and previously convicted persons—233,427 crimes (up 11.0 percent).

With an increase in the number of crimes while intoxicated, a reduction of 6.1 percent was noted (based on data for 8 months) in the number of person against whom administrative measures of administrative were taken for public sharing of alcoholic beverages and for appearing drunkenness in public places.

Regions Having Highest Crime Growth Rates

Regions	Rates of Growth for 1988 (in percentages)				
	Total	Serious Crimes	Crimes Committed		
			By Adolescents and with their participation	By Previously Convicted Persons	In Streets, Squares, Parks, Public Gardens
Lithuanian SSR	52.2	36.3	47.0	4.0	132.4
Armenian SSR	38.6	51.6	36.0	10.2	5.1
Belorussian SSR	37.0	53.8	36.0	29.9	97.5
Turkmen SSR	35.8	25.3	16.9	29.3	88.7
Gorkiy Oblast	72.7	78.3	43.9	7.0	113.2
Rostov Oblast	70.1	75.4	21.2	47.5	162.3
Kemerov Oblast	68.4	65.9	54.2	5.8	121.3
Sakhalin Oblast	60.7	44.7	37.2	43.3	122.0
Murmansk Oblast	55.0	74.4	62.7	36.5	87.3
Kaliningrad Oblast	53.8	49.3	49.4	15.3	115.8
Astrakhan Oblast	53.2	63.5	57.6	70.3	63.9
Volgograd Oblast	50.9	73.6	31.4	11.1	74.5
Pskov Oblast	50.8	70.5	5.7	30.9	125.6

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Board Chairman on Purpose of Lawyers' Union

90UN0799A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with G. Voskresenskiy, board chairman of the USSR Lawyers' Union, by L. Zaverin: "Human Rights in a Law-Based State: Do Lawyers Need Protection?"]

[Text] As is well-known, the USSR Lawyers' Union was formed on February 26, 1989.

The Basic Law states: every accused has the right to defend himself. But it is not always possible to defend oneself against groundless charges skilfully and competently, using all rules of legal combat, without professional skills. This is when people turn to the advocate, the person belonging to the profession whose name is derived from Latin for "calling for help". The purpose of the union is to unite defenders and to create conditions for them to practice freely.

This is why the IZVESTIYA correspondent asked G. Voskresenskiy, board chairman of the USSR Lawyers' Union, to answer a few questions.

[Correspondent] Georgiy Alekseyevich, in a few words, why was the Lawyers' Union established?

[Voskresenskiy] The idea to form the union emerged in 1985, when life itself suggested the need to broaden the rights of lawyers and thus provide a guarantee that rights and liberties of citizens are upheld.

Strange though it may sound, the RSFSR Procurator's Office chose that moment to discredit the profession and to show that it lacked moral fiber to serve perestroika. As though on request, criminal proceedings were begun against several Moscow lawyers, without any reason whatsoever.

We appealed everywhere, but received nothing but commiseration. With great difficulty we managed to get an appointment at the Central Committee Secretariat. They asked the Procurator's Office to investigate more. And, would you believe it, the case collapsed. By then, one lawyer had been behind bars for over 10 months.

It was then that we realized that our defenders themselves were poorly defended. This was how the need arose to set up an organization that would be independent of the Ministry of Justice and of local authorities, one that could bring lawyers together and make sure that they have the conditions needed to practice their profession.

The lawyer should be at the center of the profession. The union, being a strong organization, must make sure that the lawyer is independent, and is protected. Currently we have over 20,000 members, i.e., a majority of lawyers.

[Correspondent] Perestroika is currently under way. Are you happy with the constitutional norms as far as lawyers are concerned?

[Voskresenskiy] The profession was established 125 years ago to make sure that the right to defend oneself and to be represented in court is carried out with professional skill. This is the main purpose of lawyers' activities.

The Constitution defines the activities themselves. It states that the law board exists to provide legal assistance. I think that it should address itself not to organizational structures, such as the law board, but to the fact that it is the lawyer who safeguards rights and legal interests of citizens.

[Correspondent] Article 47 of the Law on the USSR Procurator's Office states that to start and conduct criminal proceedings against procurators and investigators of the procurator's office is the exclusive prerogative of the procurator's office itself and may be carried out only with the consent of the body that appoints them to their positions. No consent means no case. Do lawyers have similar protection? They too are a party in a trial.

[Voskresenskiy] Unfortunately, we have no such protection. If such a regulation were passed, we could talk of the lawyer being legally protected and able to act uncompromisingly and without fear. Without it, I do not think a law-based state is at all possible.

In our opinion, the lawyer should not be charged or arrested or be subject to a criminal investigation without the consent of the board of our union.

[Correspondent] Although the Lawyers' Union has been established, there are still law boards. What are your relations with them? Are lawyers now free of the supervision by the Ministry of Justice?

[Voskresenskiy] One must be a dreamer to hope that law boards would become independent any time soon. Even independent from local entities. They get their work space, their material and technical supplies, etc. from those authorities. This is an unavoidable but I hope temporary situation.

Whether we want it or not, law boards must eventually become primary organizations of the union. Everything points to it.

[Correspondent] In other words, your main goal is to save the profession from supervision by state entities, is it not so?

[Voskresenskiy] If the profession reports to them, it can never be independent. This is why we stated that a necessary condition of a law-based state is the existence of a strong, independent and uncompromising advocacy.

[Correspondent] You have now started to develop outside contacts. Your information sources have expanded, of course. Are there similar organizations abroad? What are the similarities and what are the differences? Do lawyers practice privately there?

[Voskresenskiy] Everywhere there are organizations similar to our Lawyers' Union. Most civilized countries have either unions or associations of lawyers, but they do not have so strong an administrative structure as is typical of our law boards. And law is practiced privately there.

To become a lawyer one must have at least five years of experience in court or other legal work. Those who want to practice law must pass a very complicated test lasting several days. In some countries, the legal board is the one that administers the test.

The GDR, for instance, has law boards, just as we do. But there, the minister of justice has the right to allow some lawyers to practice law privately. Those lawyers are not regulated by the board but are under the control of the justice ministry.

[Correspondent] What is your attitude to legal cooperatives which have become so widespread here?

[Voskresenskiy] Let me note that no other country has legal cooperatives. Legal assistance must be provided at a highly professional level. In this country, however, it is often done by persons without legal education. This is like setting up a motor transport cooperative with people who do not have drivers' licenses. And yet, a man's life may depend on a legal advice and on a document that is drafted with the help of a lawyer.

Let me also note that in no other country the work of the lawyer on a criminal or civil case is considered a consumer service. This is why the Lawyer's Union has taken a negative position with regard to legal cooperatives in their current form.

[Correspondent] Georgiy Alekseyevich, let me ask you this. It's a sensitive question. Later on, a USSR Jurists' Union was established and many organizations joined it as collective members. Why did you union choose not to join? Do you have disagreements with them?

[Voskresenskiy] We do not think that we should join them as a collective member. Lawyers, if they want to, may do so individually. Many did.

The point is that the Jurist's Union is mainly comprised of employees of state organizations. Who are the management of the Jurists' Union? The procurator, the minister of justice, the chairman of the supreme court and other representatives of government authorities.

Why did they decide to come together? To supervise all jurists in the country. What will happen if MVD employees, who are in a majority in that union, began to manage the legal profession? Incidentally, when we tried to establish friendly contacts with them, we quickly detected a strong anti-lawyer bias. Not all have understood yet that the lawyer does not throw a monkey wrench into the machinery of prosecution but makes sure that no violations of the law occur in the case. Naturally, this irritates some people very much. Unfortunately, some law enforcement employees still think that since the lawyer defends the criminal he himself must be of the same mold.

If today the law is violated with respect to a racketeer, tomorrow it will be violated against a common criminal, a hooligan or an apartment burglar. And the next day it will be violated against those who have nothing to do with the crime. This is all too familiar.

Let us take an example from the history of a different nation. Let us take a lawyer by the name of Robespierre. He began the Terror against counterrevolutionaries. During the trial of Louis XIV and Marie Antoinette they were represented by three lawyers, Robespierre's own colleagues. It seemed democratic. But what came next? Robespierre decided that those lawyers were themselves politically dangerous. One was executed, and the other two were able to flee. As to Robespierre, having established a lawless regime, he perished in it himself.

[Correspondent] In September, the fund of the Lawyers' Union was set up. What is its purpose?

[Voskresenskiy] We want to create a self-financing entity whose purpose would be to provide material and technical support to law boards and the Lawyers' Union. We think that our fund should have the right to set up affiliates jointly with foreign firms. There is little money yet, but I think that the fund would be able to expand its activities.

[Correspondent] And the final question. Recently, lawyers were given the right to participate in preliminary investigations of criminal cases. What do they themselves think of this novelty?

[Voskresenskiy] We welcome this change but it will be truly meaningful only when the defender is given access to the documents of the case and is able to meet with his defendant in private.

Advantages of Law Cooperatives Stated

Formation, Function

90UN0866A Moscow SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA in Russian No 13, Jul 89 (signed to press 23 Jun 89) pp 7-9

[Article by V. Skitovich, candidate of juridical sciences (city of Grodno): "What Should a Law Cooperative Be?"]

[Text] Along with transportation and touring, scientific research, planning, designing, introducing and implementing, sports and recreation, as well as other services, the Law on Cooperatives provides for cooperatives to render legal services.

Thus, a fundamentally new organization—the law cooperative—has been legalized. What should it be? The press and other mass media have reflected the far-from-unanimous attitude of persons practicing in this field and scholars to such a form of cooperative activity. Certain persons even regard law cooperatives as virtually superfluous competitors to the traditional collegia of lawyers. However, society's growing needs to be provided with effective protection of civil and organizational rights cannot be satisfied exclusively by means of the existing bar, and competition for the lawyers in the form of cooperatives is not only possible, but urgently necessary. According to the Law on Cooperatives, it is essentially a matter of competition in the marketplace of legal services. This will lead to an improvement in the quality of legal aid, as well as to a reduction in the corresponding fees and rates; this will be of paramount benefit to the consumers.

It should be noted that the bar's monopolism in the sphere of rendering legal services has not only failed to serve as a reinforcement of its authority but, on the contrary, has brought about an entire range of negative phenomena in the activity of this important link in the

legal system; this refers, in particular, to the unique conversion of the bar to a state institution.

Though, with regard to all their formal criteria, collegia of lawyers are self-governing collectives, in point of fact, they have lost their independence and have become transformed into semi-state organizations under the strict supervision of the justice ministries and the local organs of authority. It is precisely these organs which have planned the work of the lawyers' collegia, specified their composition and staffs, established the procedure and amount of the fees to be paid for their legal services to be rendered, published instructions regarding questions of their activities, etc. In the final analysis, all this has led to an artificial limitation placed on the number of lawyers admitted to the bar. According to data published in the press, there are now approximately 25,000 lawyers in this country, i.e., about the same as Russia possessed in 1913.

Law cooperatives are free from such interference. According to Art. 11 of the Law on Cooperatives, they may be set up at the wish of citizens on an exclusively voluntary basis. Moreover, this can be done without any sort of special permission from soviet, economic, or other organs. The procedure to be followed in forming such collectives as persons in the eyes of the law is a normative one without any necessary preliminaries. The legislation specifies only the lower limit of a cooperative's numerical composition, i.e., the number of persons rendering legal aid will be regulated not by administrative-command methods, not from above but from below, that is, by the socially necessary requirements for legal services. As a form of labor organization, a cooperative will provide for the direct participation by its members on the basis of a broad democracy, opening up scope for creative initiative and self-government. As an economically and legally independent provider of services, it can independently determine the directions of its own work and carry out its planning. The Law prohibits interference in a cooperative's affairs by state or other organs (Art. 10).

What requirements should be mandated for persons joining a law cooperative? There is no doubt that, inasmuch as the rendering of legal services requires special knowledge and skills, the primary, obligatory condition for membership in such a cooperative must be the appropriate legal education. Certain additional restrictions must also be borne in mind. Art. 12 of the Law on Cooperatives provides that persons whom a court has forbidden to engage in a specific activity or to be employed in a specific position cannot be members of a cooperative of that specific type involving a labor contract with such an activity or position. Nor can persons convicted of embezzlement, bribery, and other mercenary crimes be employed in certain positions within a law cooperative.

The monopolistic position which the bar occupied in the service sphere also led to the split between its departmental interests and people's needs; it likewise brought

about the lamentably well-known dictatorship of the producer over the consumer. This was expressed, above all, in the situation whereby various sectors of state activity and public life were provided with legal services in a far-from equal manner. Best off are the highest levels of state power and the administrative apparatus, as well as the major enterprises and associations in the national economy; they have their own legal-service units. Matters are different at the other levels. Thus, in the RSFSR only 9 percent of the ispolkoms of local soviets have staffs of legal advisers. Moreover, there are no professional lawyers at all in the rayisplokoms and gorisplokoms of more than 20 krais and oblasts in this republic. Out of 270,000 enterprises and organizations having independent balance-sheets in the RSFSR, only 30 percent obtain regular legal services in various forms. In the agro-industrial complex 50,000 kolkhozes and sovkhozes account for less than 10,000 legal advisers, i.e., only about 20 percent of the total number of farms were covered by legal services (SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA; No 5, 1988, pp 4, 7; No 19, 1988, p 12).

Development of cooperatives will facilitate the elimination of such a shortage. It is precisely among these entities of executive-distributive, socio-cultural, and economic activities, which have been deprived of good-quality legal aid that cooperatives can find an effective demand for their own services. Law cooperatives are allowed to specialize in any one field, aimed at a relatively narrow group of clients, for example, in the sphere of copyrights and patents. Great possibilities are opening up for organizing them at VUZ's, whose faculty members have high levels of scholarly qualifications and can render legal aid on the most diverse matters.

Particular mention should be made of such traditional forms of rendering legal aid as defense in criminal trials and representing the parties involved in civil cases. State prosecution in a criminal case objectively requires for itself the well-known public alternative in the form of a defense; the procedural functions of the latter are performed by a lawyer who is a member of a public organization. And he can also function as the representative of a party to a civil suit, defending the interests of his client therein. Inasmuch as a law cooperative, with all its own distinctive features, is a non-state organization, its members have the right to render similar services. As everybody knows, civil procedural law, directly provides for the in-court representation of empowered organizations, which have been granted by law, charter, or statute the right to defend the rights and interests of other persons (RSFSR GPK [State Procedural Code], Art. 44, p 5). The criminal-procedural legislation lacks such a norm, but there are no substantive obstacles to the participation of law cooperatives as counsels for the defense in criminal cases.

Practical experience has shown that the range of social relations requiring appropriate legal services by skilled specialists is constantly expanding. This is occurring both because of the appearance of new types of legal services and due to the improvement of those which are

already known. For example, simultaneously with the codification of legislation concerning violations of administrative law, the need has arisen to represent the interests of the parties involved in cases belonging to this category. It is also completely obvious that nowadays, when the Law on the procedure for court appeals regarding the incorrect actions of officials infringing civil rights have gone into effect, the need has arisen for a defense of civil rights which have been violated in the course of executive-dispositional activity by state administrative organs. Next in line for solution is the long-overdue problem of expanding the rights of a defense counsel in a criminal case, permitting him to take part in the juridical process at the stage of the preliminary investigation in all or most criminal cases. We can achieve the appropriate legal guarantee of this objective process only by creating new organizational forms, free of outmoded stereotypes and capable of responding with the necessary flexibility to the varied requirements of any potential user of legal services. For example, lawyers receive people through a network of legal consultations, which, as everybody knows, have a specific operating schedule that is far from always convenient for citizens; moreover, a lawyer is ordinarily turned to from instance to instance for the purpose of obtaining a certain piece of advice, drawing up a certain document, etc. Law cooperatives will allow the activation of the format whereby a lawyer works together with his client on a one-to-one basis, a *modus operandi* which has remained almost unused by the bar up to now. The person concerned will be able to make a particular, personal agreement with the lawyer for ongoing legal services, and the person will have, so to speak, his own personal, family lawyer, one who will be ready to render appropriate aid at any time or place which is convenient for this purpose. The special, legal capacities of a law collective which has been set up, for example, at a VUZ, will not be in conflict with their organization of general legal education in the form of various courses, lectures on law, and individual study in various legal disciplines. Such functions flow organically from the nature of the fundamental—teaching—activity of such a cooperative.

Legalization of law cooperatives allows us to take a new look at the principles of satisfying society's needs for providing legal services. As everybody knows, the economic reform being carried out in our country is aimed at eliminating the dominance of the administrative-decree type of economy which has evolved over a period of many long years, as well as the gap between the interests of the consumer and those of the producer, overcoming the latter's bureaucratic dictates and creating a cost-effective economic mechanism, capable of efficiently filling the market with foodstuffs, along with various types of consumer goods and services. Implementation of rendering legal aid on a cost-accounting basis—and the setting up of law cooperatives will mean precisely that—constitutes, in essence, a genuine switching of such activity from administrative to economic rails. Relations of this kind, conditioned by the existence under socialism of the law of value and the

commodity-monetary form appropriate to it, are regulated by the norms of civil law. Within this system of norms, a service functions as a particular object of obligatory-legal relations, amounting to the performance by one of its subjects of a specific act which has its own commodity equivalent in the form of a monetary reward. The property-type nature of all these ties was always obvious. However, under the command-bureaucratic methods of directing the economy it was not deemed at all necessary to speak about their effective development. The reason was always the same: the absence of a market for legal services with its inherent competition, and the monopolistic position of the bar, with all the negative consequences stemming from this.

The juridical format which allows us to put into effect the entire mechanism of cost accounting is a contract agreement regarding legal services concluded between the cooperative and the corresponding enterprise, organization, institution, or citizen. It is the sole legal and economic document regulating the reciprocal relations between the producer of legal services and their "consumer" (Art. 17). The civil codes do not provide directly for such contract agreements, but, proceeding from the general principles and intent of the civil legislation, they do engender mutual rights and obligations in the parties who have concluded them. The relations of the parties involved in them must be specified, proceeding from the Law on Cooperatives and the general norms on civil-legal obligations. As to its legal nature, such a contract will be a property-type, mutual obligation; its contents will consist of the cooperative's obligation, in accordance with its charter legal capacity, to perform certain acts for remuneration, thus providing satisfaction of the citizens' or organizations' needs for legal aid. The substantive conditions of such a contract agreement must be specified by the parties concluding it themselves. They undoubtedly should include conditions regarding the nature and scope of the legal services to be rendered, the amount of the fees to be paid for them, as well as the time periods to be covered by the contract. Without achieving agreement on all the points cited above, one could hardly speak of the validity of such a contract.

Rendering legal aid in the new forms will allow us to reveal the advantages of organizing our work along cost-accounting lines, in particular, to bring into line the socially necessary expenditures for rendering such services and the fees paid for them, to eliminate leveling in wages—that constant scourge of all kinds of bureaucratically centralized economies. Thus, the amount of the fees paid for all types of aid to be rendered now by lawyers to citizens and organizations are specified in a directive-type procedure. Although the recently adopted norms regarding fees to be paid for their work have somewhat expanded the rights of legal advisers in this matter, the basic principles regulating this payment have remained unchanged. Lawyers' services are paid for at standardized rates established in a centralized procedure. Only in certain, specific instances, when a complex assignment has been carried out, taking into account the

lawyer's skills, and also if a request has been made for a specific lawyer, the fee to be paid can be set upon agreement between the chief of the legal advisory unit (with the lawyer himself participating) and the party which has sought aid; such a fee can be in an amount exceeding the established rates.

As to a law cooperative, since it is, by its very socio-economic nature, an independent collective run on the principles of cost accounting, it can independently set in its own charter or statutes the fees to be paid for the services which it offers. The consumers' demand and the quality of such services must be reflected in these fees to be charged. How will this be determined? A law cooperative may link its fee directly to the experience and skills of its own members, as well as with the nature of the assignment to be undertaken. Here we can also take into consideration such factors as the period of time spent by a specialist in legal-type or other organs, whether he has an academic degree or rank, etc. None of this, however, precludes the possibility, in case certain extremely complex assignments are carried out, or assignments not provided for by the contract agreement, of establishing appropriate fees upon agreement with the client.

The basic criterion for evaluating the quality and effectiveness of a law cooperative's work and, at the same time, the most important requirement for its activity, must be the complete taking into account of the clients' interests and the observance of the contractual obligations. If such factors are violated, the cooperative shall bear a property-type responsibility and shall reimburse the damages suffered by the client (Law on Cooperatives, Art. 17).

This provisions of the Law allow us to put into the practice of legal services specific civil-law measures of responsibility for the non-performance or improper performance of obligations. The traditional consequence of something like this, as provided for, in particular, by the legislation regulating the bar's activity, boils down to a cancellation of the agreement with the client and the return to him, in full or in part, of the monetary sums paid by him. A similar measure is suitable in the practice of rendering legal services on one-time, ad hoc assignments. With regard to reciprocal relations of the parties involved concerning contracts between a law cooperative and enterprises, organizations, or institutions which are designed to remain in effect for a lengthy period of time, such contracts may contain property-type sanctions in the form of the cooperative's obligation to reimburse any losses caused or to pay a forfeit (penalty or fine). The conditions of the contract may also contain measures to provide incentives for the law cooperative in the form of monetary contributions to its account for successful work done by the organization in question which is a direct result of the legal aid rendered to it.

Law cooperatives are now making their first steps. At the present time it is, of course, impossible to determine, even approximately, the list of problems which may arise in the process of their practical activity. However, it is

already fully evident that, in the sphere of legal services, the cooperative forms of labor organization must occupy their own worthy place. All we have to do is to fully implement the advantages inherent in them. This will allow us to raise legal service to a qualitatively new level, which will undoubtedly draw us closer to solving the principal problem of the present day—creating a socialist state based on the rule of law.

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Legal Opinions Expressed

90UN0866B Moscow SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA
in Russian No 1, Jan 90 (signed to press 27 Dec 89)
pp 16-18

[Commentary by various authors: "Continued Discussion on Law Cooperatives"]

[Text] Issue No 13, 1989 of the journal SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA published an article by V. Skitovich, candidate of juridical sciences, entitled "What Should A Law Cooperative Be?" It examines and, in its own way, solves the problems of organizing the activities of law cooperatives. The author's opinions cannot remain a matter of indifference for others.

M. Melnikovskiy, member, Moscow Oblast Collegium of Lawyers, and chairman of its Board of Experts

Basing his arguments from a scholarly point of view for the necessity of granting law cooperatives the freedom to charge their clients what are, in essence, completely unrestricted monetary fees for rendering "legal services," the author writes as follows: "Within this system of norms, the service functions as a particular object of mandatory-legal relations which boil down to the performance by one of the subjects of a specific action; the latter has its commercial equivalent in the form of a monetary remuneration."

This is far from being the last opinion by the article's author concerning the essence and contents of legal aid to be rendered to citizens and institutions. To me many of them seem disputable and erroneous. The cause of these errors lies in the incorrect definition of the principle and the concept of "legal aid" as the most important institution of the law, something guaranteed to citizens and institutions by Art. 161 of the USSR Constitution, and in replacing it by the new concept of "legal services."

Proceeding on this basis, the article's author equates law cooperatives with other kinds of cooperatives. In particular, he asserts that legal aid constitutes the legal services which a cooperative's members render to a "consumer" at prices which have evolved in the so-called "market for legal services." The higher the demand for a legal service, the higher the price [i.e., the fee] for rendering it. We cannot agree with these assertions.

With regard to its assigned tasks and sphere of activity, a law cooperative is a particular kind of cooperative; the

commercial-trade approaches recommended by the author cannot be extended to it. Such approaches are applied to those cooperatives which produce things of material value and which trade in them.

What is a "legal service"? In my opinion, the concept and the term "service" are not applicable to relations of a legal nature.

The bar, which functions on the basis of the USSR Constitution, renders multi-faceted legal aid to citizens and organizations; moreover, this is done with quite a high level of standards. And it does not conduct trade in any kinds of services, including legal services. Nor should a law cooperative be able to or have the right to "trade" in legal services, certainly not in services involving justice and, in particular, regarding criminal cases.

The court is not a bazaar. The court is a temple of justice, where only the law reigns, and no law cooperatives which, in the opinion of the article's author, trade in legal services, has the right to cast a shadow on this particularly important state activity.

Of all the issues examined in the published article, I deem it necessary to treat only one—the matter of permitting law-collective members to defend citizens at the stage of preliminary investigation and in court trials of criminal cases.

I not only do not share the author's viewpoint, i.e., that members of law cooperatives must be allowed to defend clients, but am violently opposed to this recommendation. Based on existing laws and 50 years of experience in the bar, I am deeply convinced that law-cooperative members cannot and should not be permitted to defend a person in a criminal case, not only because there is no need for this at present but also for a whole series of other reasons, among which the following are particularly important.

Persons wishing to serve professionally as defense counsels at all stages of a criminal case, including use of the witness stand in court, must be, above all, competent, experienced, and have a good knowledge of the laws.

The favorable outcome of a defense depends not only on the defender's skilful presentation of the legal and factual aspects of the case, his well-organized and structurally sound defense, but also on his attitude toward performing his duties, his conscientiousness, sense of obligation, and discipline. All these qualities, skills, principles, and approaches are absolutely necessary for the defense in a criminal case. The presidium of our Moscow Oblast Collegium of Lawyers develops and forms these qualities in all the young specialists accepted into our collegium as probationers after graduation from a VUZ. And not until they have successfully completed their probationary period are they taken into the collective and directed to perform independent work, where, over the course of the next two years, they work under the supervision of experienced mentors.

Our collegium's personnel is recruited not only from the probationary specialists trained by us, but also by accepting, on a competitive basis, quite well-educated, lawyers from among former court, procuracy, investigative officials who have done well in their previous work. Taking into account the fact that not all of them have the skills and experience for a defense counsel's work, the collegium presidium organized a special workshop where they acquire, over a month's time, the necessary theoretical and practical skills in the principal matters of their future activity as defense counsels.

In connection with this, the following questions must be raised: On what principle are the law cooperatives to be formed? Who will work in them, and will the staffs of these cooperatives include persons who measure up to the requirements indicated above? Will they be capable of carrying out defense work at a sufficiently high level? Will the members of law cooperatives know enough from the incomplete list cited above in the field of defending citizens? Who will monitor the quality of their work? To whom and how will they be responsible for a non-conscientious attitude toward their work? The article's author writes that the sole requirement that needs to be met by a candidate for defense work as a member of a law cooperative is an "appropriate legal education."

May we ask how V. Skitovich imagines the work of a cooperative member in preparing a defense of an accused, indicted, or convicted person who is in an investigative isolation unit, prison, or camp? Or is an interview with his client not obligatory for a law-cooperative member as a defense counsel in a criminal case?

The article cites the following grounds for permitting law-cooperative members to handle a defense. "...Procedural functions of this kind (the functions of defense in criminal cases being tried in court—M.M.) are performed by a lawyer who is a member of a public organization.... Inasmuch as a law cooperative—with regard to all its distinctive characteristics—is a non-state organization, its members are entitled to render such services." The article subsequently asserts that the RSFSR GPK [Civil Procedural Code] provides for the possibility of representation in civil cases, whereas "the criminal procedural legislation lacks such a norm. However, there are no substantive obstacles to the participation of law cooperatives as defense counsel in criminal cases."

First of all, I would like to note the free-wheeling treatment of the law and its incorrect citation. Lawyers do not have a monopoly on defending persons in criminal cases. The law provides, and court practice allows, others besides lawyers to act as defense counsels. Art. 47 of the RSFSR UPK [Criminal Procedural Code] stipulates directly that, in addition to lawyers, representatives of trade unions and other public organizations may serve as defense counsels, and "as determined by the court or

decreed by a judge, close relatives, or the legitimate representatives of the accused, and other persons" can also serve in this capacity.

Why then assert that in the existing law only lawyers are permitted to serve as defense counsels in criminal cases, and, therefore, we must also admit law-cooperative members to this work?

In conclusion, let me say that neither citizens, nor law-enforcement organs, nor lawyers need such activities to be done by law cooperatives. Nor does anybody need a "legal market," where "legal services," especially defense "services," are bought and sold. This idea could lead to a discrediting of the activities of law-enforcement organs and to a distortion of the constitutional right to an effective defense of citizens' rights and legitimate interests.

* * *

Z. Golovchenko, legal adviser, city of Pevek, Magadan Oblast

There are many questions connected with the activity of law cooperatives. And one of them is this: What is the real reason why lawyers are displeased with cooperative members?

In my opinion, A. Galoganov has stated the generally shared opinion of the lawyers as follows: "...for some reason cooperative members are striving very hard to penetrate the sphere of aiding citizens in criminal cases. And they are often successful in doing this" (SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA, No 12, 1989, pp 6-9).

Here A. Galoganov's concern is directly linked with the matter of membership in the cooperatives because, in his opinion, quite frequently it is only former officials of law-enforcement organs who have either been previously convicted or who have compromised themselves who are employed in cooperatives.

If there are such cooperatives, I would, naturally, also be opposed to them.

This opponent of cooperatives goes on to remind us that "party and soviet organs, as well as judicial organs are constantly demanding that collegia of lawyers (non-state organizations) not accept persons who have compromised themselves while working in law-enforcement organs." Oh, here we already have a tribute to the cliches of the "stagnation period": "the organs demand." But the law...does not cite any such restrictions.

M. Burdin is correct in stating that if a person has not been deprived, in the procedure established by law, of the right to engage in juridical activity, based on principles provided for in the law, he cannot be deprived of the right to choose his own place of employment. (SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA, No 12, 1989, pp 6-9).

Art. 5 of the Law on the Bar in the USSR provides for a mandatory two-year period of probationary work for a

future member of a lawyers' collegium, i.e., two years of work in the national economy in a position as a lawyer or a legal adviser. Here this term is fully adequate for a civil specialization. But for a future member of a lawyers' collegium (member of a cooperative) specializing in defense rather than representation, the most sensible criterion as to probation is at least five years of work in law-enforcement organs.

Where can a citizen provide himself with a skilled defense in criminal cases? He can do this fully in a cooperative, and partially in a collegium of practicing lawyers, while in the past he could do so with skilled officials in law-enforcement organs—in a legal-consultation office.

An indicator of the "need" for law cooperatives will be the percentage of citizens who turn to them for help. This can be determined within two or three years, when the quality report of the cooperatives' activities has been made available.

* * *

V. Smirnov, chairman, Presidium of Sverdlovsk Oblast Collegium of Lawyers, and secretary, USSR Union of Lawyers

Let me state right away that I am not opposed to law cooperatives. The question is one of restricting the lawyers' activities from cooperatives and their "sphere of influence."

I cannot agree with M. Burdin, who includes under lawyers' activities all kinds of work concerned with rendering legal aid. Thus, one could term as lawyers even judges, notaries, procurators, and investigators, who in the "broad sense of the term" (M. Burdin's expression) engage in legal services.

We are reproached for being monopolistic, for fearing competition, and...cooperatives are spreading. Have you seen the comments on this problem by G. Cheremnykh, RSFSR deputy minister of justice? They contain faint notes of approval directed at those divisions of the justice establishment which are "actively facilitating the development of law cooperatives" and censure aimed at those who are "waiting, delaying, or opposing" this development. There are said to be "only a few isolated instances" of shortcomings in the cooperative movement, whereas with regard to the bar—"many examples and names could be cited" giving cause for complaints. (SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA, No 12, 1989, pp 6-9).

G. Cheremnykh considers that the principal monitoring controls on the work of cooperatives involves the demand of the consumers; "no other controls are required." But why not extend such a view to the bar? A collegium of lawyers is a sovereign subject of self-government. The need to harmonize its work with the organs of authority stems from the USSR Constitution and the Law on the Bar. Instituting special controls for monitoring the bar puts it in a unique position as

compared to other organizations. Cooperative members are free from departmental interference, from having to render free legal aid and other obligations inherent to lawyers in the bar. The cooperative members themselves determine the procedures and conditions of their remuneration. But the bar is strictly regulated.

We must eliminate the inequality between the bar and the law cooperatives and delimit the spheres of their influence, specifically as follows: reserve for cooperatives the giving of advice, information on legislation, drawing up legal documents, and providing services for organizations. But court proceedings should be participated in solely by members of the lawyers' collegia of whose professionalism there can be no doubt.

But if the practice of a one-sided encouragement of law cooperatives continues, it will lead to an erosion of the institution of the bar. Collegia of lawyers will begin declaring themselves to be cooperatives and thus will free themselves from bureaucratic supervision, as well as from the obligation to provide a defense by assignment (Art. 49 of the RSFSR UPK). The state will have to finance it itself.

In my opinion, the thrust toward law cooperatives is a kind of fad-like campaign which, in the final analysis, will burn itself out.

One of the rayons in our oblast has a functioning cooperative entitled "Argument." It consists of three persons: two of them are former investigators, one of whom was fired from the organs for a service irregularity, whereas the other is a relative of the procurator. This cooperative also includes the wife of a people's judge; and she has no education in the field of law. It is not hard to guess that a most favorable system has been set up for "Argument."

In one case the cooperative member who was serving as the defense counsel (the investigator had designated him as the lawyer) wrote as follows in the record concerning the materials of the preliminary investigation: "I read aloud the materials of this criminal case to the accused N, and I have no petitions to make. N refused to sign this record in my presence." The investigator, in turn, stated that the accused had no grounds for refusing to sign. It turns out that the defense counsel did not help the accused, whose viewpoint he did not explain, but rather the investigator so that "the case could be closed."

This same cooperative member, while taking part in the preliminary investigation of another case, did not react to the viewpoint of the accused person, who denied his guilt in accordance with Section 3, Article 89 of the RSFSR UK [Criminal Code]. When participating in the court session and speaking in the pleadings, this "counsel for the defense," after listing all the aggravating circumstances as well as the mitigating ones for the offence with which the accused was charged, acknowledged him to be guilty on all points, and he requested that the accused be sentenced to a punishment in accordance with the law.

How are we able to evaluate such "assistance" to the cause of justice? What kind of legality is being developed here—cooperative, or would it be more exact to say, corporative? Such things are incommensurate with the genuine goals of defense and justice.

Therefore, we ought not to be in such a hurry to mix our accents and recarve the evolving system of rendering legal aid under the banner of an unsatisfied demand for legal defense, even though it may be our fault.

* * *

Yu. Redko, chairman "Yurist" Law Cooperative, city of Druzhkovka, Donetsk Oblast

It is with a certain portion of irony that I have observed the animated discussion which has been unleashed in the pages of the law publications over the issue of the law cooperatives. It is particularly depressing and evokes a feeling of concern to see the viewpoint being stated in the press by absolutely all the officials of the bar. And the latter, pardon the sarcasm, is not marked by a multi-level quality, but rather, in all possible variations, boils down to one point: "Don't allow it!"

I do not want to focus attention on the lack of rights and the legal defenselessness of this kind of cooperative members. This is a problem for our entire cooperative movement. I am depressed by something else.

From the time when the discussion began on the Draft Law on Cooperatives, when the bar lawyers, suffering from the disease of corporateness, were categorical: "Law cooperatives do not have the right to exist," to the present time the tactics of opposition have not undergone any substantial changes, although they have assumed somewhat different forms.

The newly discovered "obstacles," thought up by the above-mentioned officials and stated in the mass media, have the design of making themselves safe from serious competition on the part of the cooperatives and, to put it very succinctly, boil down to the following.

In the first place, not to allow in any shape or manner the creation of law cooperatives within the USSR Union of Jurists. In my opinion, it is not difficult to guess the motives for this. Because, of course, such a solid "roof" as the USSR Union of Jurists would not stand for its own "daughter" enterprises—the law cooperatives—to be hurt or insulted. And there is no doubt that it would be much more complicated to carry out attacks on the cooperatives if they belonged to such a representative public organization.

In the second place, the USSR Union of Bar Lawyers at its constituent congress approved an appeal to the USSR Council of Ministers regarding the introduction of additions to the list of services which cannot be performed by the law cooperatives, and thus the latter's members would be deprived of the opportunity to represent defendants in criminal cases being tried in the courts.

That is not fair play, Comrade Lawyers!

Let's be materialists, and let's not try to deceive each other. It's not the poor quality of defense being performed by cooperative members that is bothering you, but rather the infringement on your material interests, an actual "reduction" of the fees to be charged—that's what is depressing you most of all.

The law of demand and supply is dotting all the "i's", but so far you have not stooped to the tactics of "arm twisting," knowing full well that the cooperatives would not be able to riposte in a worthwhile manner.

Furthermore, from what ideas and in accordance with what right have you already determined the place to be occupied by the cooperatives within the structure of the legal institutions?

I suppose that I will not be understood in lawyers' circles; nevertheless, let me be bold enough to make a suggestion. Let's not put spokes in each other's wheels, but instead let's compete honorably. The monopoly on legal services has outlived itself. The public wishes to be well-educated in the law, to feel support when its lawful interests and rights are violated. And as to who will defend the citizen—a collegium of lawyers or a law cooperative—that is a matter of indifference to him, just so long as this defense is carried out with a high degree of quality.

* * *

L. Kolosov, chairman, Zhelezodorozhnyi Municipal People's Court, Moscow Oblast

I am disturbed, most of all, by the participation of law cooperative members in court proceedings. As soon as this problem is solved positively, it will be necessary to take the following step and to let cooperative members take part in the preliminary investigations in all criminal cases. If, for example, the accused is a minor, and his parents insist that this juvenile be defended at the preliminary investigation by a law cooperative member, then, by refusing them in this matter and imposing a bar lawyer on them, would we not be violating his right to have a defense counsel? Moreover, practical experience has shown that subsequently in court the accused again request cooperative members as defense counsels, the same ones who were rejected at the preliminary investigation.

Participation by cooperative members at the preliminary investigation and in court in all cases would create competition among the lawyers and compel them to prepare for cases more carefully. It's no secret that an insufficient number of lawyers makes the work of the courts more difficult as well. At times, when scheduling a case to be tried with the participation of an experienced

lawyer, it is impossible to find a free day which would be suitable and convenient for both the judge and the counsel for the defense.

If lawyers are opposed to law cooperatives, they will have to solve this problem by increasing the number of collegia.

Furthermore, the members of law cooperatives offer citizens the right to turn for legal aid to legal consultation offices as well as to cooperatives. And this eliminates the possibility of raising the fee charged for legal aid to the highest possible rates.

Many well-educated specialists, for example, staff members of the procuracies and courts, not being capable of standing their semi-beggarly existence, the extremely heavy workloads, and the colossal responsibility, are dismissed from their jobs. By making it possible for these experienced specialists to join law cooperatives and by allowing them to serve as counsels for the defense in all cases, we would enhance the prestige of the judicial system and offer a freedom of choice to those jurists who, for whatever reasons, cannot become lawyers. And I, as a former lawyer, know very well those difficulties which a jurist encounters when he wishes to become a lawyer.

Yes, we do need law cooperatives, at least for the present. But quite a few problems have arisen in connection with their activities. I have already encountered some of them in my own work.

One cooperative member defends two accused minors at a preliminary investigation, whereas another such member never meets with his minor clients at the preliminary investigations. And when the juvenile is brought into the courtroom and asked who his defense counsel is, he is surprised and replies that he has not seen any defense counsel.

In this case, the question arises as to what measures can be taken toward such wretched defense counsels. If they had been bar lawyers, the appropriate information would have been sent to the presidium of their lawyers' collegium. Such information could be sent to the chairman of the law cooperative. But what if he himself did this shoddy piece of hack-work? Then there remains the appropriate ispolkom. But, according to the Law on Cooperatives, in such cases the ispolkom does not have the right to dissolve this cooperative. And no other measures can be applied.

In connection with this, I think that A. Galoganov's viewpoint to the effect that the issues of exercising monitoring controls of the quality of the cooperatives' activities must be relegated to the competence of the justice divisions and those of the republic-level ministries deserves all manner of support.

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Growth of Samizdat Publications in USSR Examined

Leading Publications Noted

90US0464A Moscow YUNOST in Russian No 11,
Nov 89 p 75

[Article by Konstantin Yelgeshin: "Room 20: What Do You Know About Samizdat?"]

[Text] The volume of information has grown sharply in our country with the arrival of glasnost. Today, people read in newspapers about things which they could only have guessed at or spoken about in whispers in their kitchens... Such a conclusion may be drawn upon following the development of alternative sources of information, the so-called independent publications, or, in other words, Samizdat.

Today, Soviet Samizdat is 323 periodical publications. Of those, there are 149 liberal-democratic publications; 54 Marxist; 33 youth; 36 Christian; 39 nationality; 4 pacifist; 2 Hari-Krishna; 2 ecumenical, and 1 Tolstoyan. (The terminology is provided by the publishers themselves, thus for comparison, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA is a liberal-democratic publication; MOLODOY KOMMUNIST is a Marxist publication, etc.). If we look at Samizdat in a different perspective, then this entire flood may be reduced to: bulletins of organizations, 98; sociopolitical publications, 132; musical (primarily rock), 33; artistic-philosophical, 54; ecological, 8; humor, 5, and there exist as well 2 magazines of translations, and 2 children's publications. Over 200 publications are put out by this or that informal public organization, and the rest by independent publishers, that is, simply by people who, like Tolstoy, "cannot be silent."

I have taken the figures cited above from the information bulletin published monthly by the SMOT [Free Inter-Professional Association of Workers] Information Agency (abbreviated IAS), which was formed after the first informational meeting-dialogue of the editors of independent publications in late October 1987.

In addition to IAS, there exist in the Soviet Union several unofficial informational centers, having their own informants literally throughout the country, such as "Glasnost," "Ekspress-Khronika" or the economic accountability information center under the cultural scientific research institute.

Along with such central or regional independent information centers there have also appeared Samizdat libraries; Moscow already has three of them. One of them was created under the Moscow State Historical Archive Institute by an action group of instructors and students. They feel that the material of "Pamyat," "Karabakh," "Glasnost," the petitions of "Memorial," the documentation of the Federation of Socialist Public

Clubs (FSOK), and other informal organizations will be of equal scientific interest to future historians and bibliographers.

So what is a Samizdat magazine? Take the Leningrad "Merkuriy," which from the moment of its formation (fall of 1987) has been considered, according to IAS data, one of the most widely read magazines in Samizdat. So, the independent sociopolitical magazine "Merkuriy," the organ of the informal association "Epitsentr," includes such well-known Leningrad groups as "Delta," "Klub-81," and the "Perestroyka" club. Yelena Zelin-skaya, a professional journalist by training, edits the magazine. By summer, 1989, 18 issues of "Merkuriy" had appeared, no fewer than 70 small-typewritten pages each. Some issues were on an integrated topic. Thus, one of them was devoted to the ecological forum "Baltika-88," which the "Delta" ecological group held in the spring of 1988; another, to material related to the Nobel laureate Joseph Brodsky.

In principle, "Merkuriy" is moving with the most advanced official publications toward the same goal, on the same path. Someone compared OGONEK with the locomotive of perestroyka. Those who put together "Merkuriy" joke about this: "We, in turn, lay the rails for this locomotive." The magazine opens and develops topics and trends which later appear in official publications. It was thus, let us say, with "Memorial," whose first materials were published in back in 1987, when no one had yet dreamed of a "Week of Conscience," held a year later...

There are in Leningrad only a few such as "Merkuriy" of the 45 Samizdat publications put out at the moment of this writing, and those are primarily literary journals, such as "Obvodnyy Kanal," "Predlog," or "Mitin Zhurnal." Here, for example, is how "Predlog" editor Sergey Khrenov characterizes his magazine:

"Predlog" is a unique publication in its own way, since it is the first Samizdat magazine in the USSR completely dedicated to translations. It was founded 5 years ago, and is put out 3-4 times a year at a volume of about 100-130 pages. It publishes primarily authors little known in our country. I feel like presenting as many trends in modern belletristic literature of the West as possible. We also translate from the languages of the union republics: Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Ukrainian, and Georgian."

Let us turn to the Samizdat of Moscow. Here we can note the magazine "Levy Povorot," the organ of the MNF (Moscow People's Front), edited by professional journalist Aleksandr Grishin and sociologist Boris Kagarlitskiy. In some ways, the magazine is similar to "Merkuriy," but the Muscovites pay more attention to social movements. It has a great deal of current information from various locations in the country, uses photo illustrations, caricatures, and various inserts. More than 20 issues have come out.

The situation in the Baltic republics must be described separately: There, Samizdat has in fact ceased to exist, since there is the opportunity for uncensored publication by printing press, with a large number of copies. For example, "Vozrozhdeniye," the information bulletin of "Sajudis," the Lithuanian movement for perestroika, is published in issues of several hundred (!) thousand copies...

As we know, a decision was made on prohibiting the publication activities of the cooperatives. The issue of Samizdat has become even more acute. It is time to stop pretending that there is no Samizdat and that it is not necessary: Life itself shows us that the appearance of these or those political, religious, or cultural Samizdat publications is natural. Their existence enriches the Soviet information marketplace, creating certain guarantees for the development of democratic relations in the country. Now, as never before, it is clear that the time has come to think seriously about the future versions of development of our information marketplace, and of the rights of the official and independent publications operating within it.

Below, "Room 20" publishes, with small abbreviations, certain material from Samizdat. We thank the magazines' editorial boards for granting us the articles!

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Likhachev, Stugatskiy, Others View Samizdat

90US0464B Moscow YUNOST in Russian No 11, Nov 89 p 76-77

[Responses to question by Dmitriy Sergeyevich Likhachev, Boris Natanovich Strugatskiy, writer, others, collected by "Merkuriy correspondent: "Pillars of Society"; Leningrad]

[Text] Samizdat's role in your life. A "Merkuriy" correspondent posed that question to Leningraders whose talent and public activity have merited the grateful recognition of their compatriots.

Likhachev, Dmitriy Sergeyevich:

Samizdat has great meaning in public life, especially in times of improper stricture, of censoring, of editing—Samizdat has always existed. For as long as I have been able to read, I remember there being samizdat. Take, for example, before the revolution—things directed against Rasputin, they could not be put out officially; they circulated in manuscripts.

The twenties. Many of the verses of that self-same Esenin were disseminated by unofficial means.

Yet there has always been variety in samizdat. Both the progressive, and the pointed. And reactionary, anti-Semitic pieces, coarse anarchistic things. Everyone is

free to choose what he likes. So my attitude toward samizdat is also not simple. Something is very good, and something is awful.

The less pressure there is on the official press, the less samizdat there will be. It is necessary that the authors which every family must have be on the store shelves.

Strugatskiy, Boris Natanovich, writer:

Samizdat is the public organism's necessary reaction to the lack of high-quality spiritual nourishment. If the state cannot or does not wish to fully provide for the spiritual needs of its citizens, the citizens will make the transition to providing for themselves. In this sense, samizdat is neither good nor bad, neither progressive, nor reactionary—it is simply inevitable.

The samizdat of the sixties and seventies is a remarkable phenomenon of our public life, still awaiting its researcher. It is impossible to overestimate the role of this source, the only one of its time, of genuinely righteous, moral, and altogether alternative information. This is an entire layer of spiritual life. This is the forbidden Bulgakov, the forbidden Platonov, Grossman, Solzhenitsyn, Keshtler, Orwell... This is the publicistic work of Lidiya Chukovskaya, Ernst Genri, Academician Sakharov, whom we have now raised on our shield, and who is apparently close to a new twist in the recognition of Solzhenitsyn, and the completely unrecognized and forgotten Amalrik. And the remarkable historical research of Zhores and Roy Medvedev. And the entirety of Galich, and to a significant extent, Vysotskiy, and Yuliy Kim. An entire culture!

It is the bearers of this culture who are now in the ranks of the most active fighters for perestroika, because spiritual and cultural perestroika began back then, in the early sixties, at the time when this entire circle of the ideas, concepts, and slogans which have now become the property of millions was being formed.

Shagin, Dmitriy, artist:

I am obliged to samizdat for everything that is the best in life. It has made me so famous that I don't even have to wait in a beer line now. The power of samizdat is astounding. The writer Shinkarev does not even have to deal with editorial boards, yet his books ("Maksim i Fedor," "Mitki") are spreading worldwide.

I have read many of our Leningrad poets in samizdat. I have read of exhibitions which the official press either did not highlight, or labelled us the dregs of society, and so on. In the seventies, this gave us support, helped us to endure. Now it seems that the official press has changed. But what will be tomorrow is unknown, if they are ordered to do something else. For example, at the last congress of the Artists Union, it was proclaimed that Malevich, Filonov, and Kandinsky were agents of bourgeois culture.

Samizdat is honest, because it is independent. It does not have to account for itself to anyone. Just to its own conscience.

Popov, Valeriy Georgiyevich, writer:

I have a very poor attitude toward samizdat. It is difficult to find, often difficult to read because of the print quality. It is desirable that all of this come out by normal means.

It is a pity that samizdat is still necessary in our day as well. The official organs still do not have room for all the necessary information, although they have room for a great deal of unnecessary information.

By and large, we have read the very best in samizdat. But it means less to me now, since interests and all of life have narrowed substantially; it seems that you already know it, there is nothing new to be found in the press. It is not a matter of the publication's capabilities, but of people having ideas and spirit.

Kurekhin, Sergey, composer:

I often read the magazine "Chasy"—it was the intellectual safety valve. I am grateful to it that it was oriented toward lively philosophical and cultural thought. Everything printed in the magazine and its supplements was more topical than the official publications, more pointed. Moreover, the official publications, especially the academic ones, were very slow in coming.

For today, samizdat must become an attempt to create an independent periodical literature. There is sense in the existence of an enormous quantity of small magazines, as there is in the publication of regular ones. There is the possibility of some sort of struggle among them with their readership, their lines, a struggle of opinions, ideas. After all, freedom of thought is an index of the progression of society's democratization.

Krivulin, Viktor Borisovich, poet:

I have a dual attitude toward samizdat. Of course, it played a significant role. It formulated a conception of literature. Thanks to samizdat, it was understood that the lively word was possible, in counterbalance to what was being published in the official press, on which the basic mass of readers was indoctrinated. After all, samizdat did not and does not have any sort of technological base. The means of its dissemination, for understandable reasons, were fairly specific, since it was accessible to far from everybody. And thus there emerged a special, fairly narrow milieu of more informed people. All the same, samizdat did its job, a big and important one.

And now, it seems to me, this role of samizdat has come to an end. It must either die out, or switch over to another activity. The time is coming when independent journalism and publication work must emerge. In this regard, samizdat has accumulated vast experience; that

is what could become the foundation. But of course, the appropriate technological base is needed for this, and other favorable conditions.

German, Aleksey Yuriyevich, film director:

I was never acquainted with political samizdat. Of literary samizdat, I was acquainted with Solzhenitsyn, Grossman, Voinovich, and Pasternak's "Doctor Zhivago." My father had a copy of Akhmatova's "Requiem."

Once we were shooting a film in a provincial city. "Andrey Rublev" at that time was categorically prohibited even for specialists. And somehow, at exactly 7 in the morning, in the city's biggest movie theater, people, the intelligentsia, had gathered. And they watched that film. And the copy was immediately taken away. This is probably not samizdat in the direct sense, but it is a phenomenon of the same order.

I never could understand why, since the 20th Party Congress, they do not print or show things. I had thought that this was the stupidity of the literary bureaucrats. After all, they published "Ivan Denisovich," but not "Cancer Ward," even though their acuity cannot be compared. I began to understand this later, in light of glasnost. And I feared for "Lapshin" to the very end. Had I understood then that this was NOT a misunderstanding, I would not have shot a single picture.

Katerli, Nina Semenovna, writer:

I am grateful to samizdat. For many years, it was the only safety valve in our public and cultural life. During the years without glasnost, it filled the gigantic "blank spots" formed by the mass information media; it alone spoke with the reader in a human, unofficial voice. It alone gave us the opportunity to read what had lain on desks for decades, or had been written without any hope for publication.

It seems to me that the significance of samizdat today has not diminished, although it has become different. Now it stimulates the development of glasnost, underscoring the distance between the permissible boldness of the official publications and the truly free press. In principle, the existence of samizdat is testimony to the trouble in society. Under a theoretically successful course of events, it must ultimately disappear. But it seems to me that such a prospect is hardly realistic for the time being.

Samizdat has played a very great role in my own life. There were years when it was almost my only reading and main interest. We would read, casting aside all else, sometimes nights on end, sometimes at work. At that time, I worked in a scientific research institute. Somehow I recall sitting an entire day in the 1st department, reading Solzhenitsyn.

As a writer, samizdat has also helped me—the best things that I have written came to the readers via samizdat.

And as far as political indoctrination is concerned, I was born and raised under Stalin, and had more than one thing put over on me. Had there not been samizdat in my life, I still do not know whether we would have managed "straighten out."

Tishchenko, Boris Ivanovich, composer:

I regard samizdat with respect and gratitude. It was samizdat that gave me the opportunity to read in time an enormous quantity of genuine literature. "Chevengur," "Cancer Ward," more than you can name... And poetry, of course. Brodsky's poetry has played a great role in my life. And we were also bound by years of friendship...

Musical samizdat occupies a special place. Pieces such as, for example, "Chronicle of my Life," "Dialogue with Kraft," and "Musical Poetry" by Stravinsky, and many, many other works the majority of which are still not published in their entirety. So for me, the role of samizdat is colossal, in life and in work. A substantial portion of my music is written in samizdat texts. True, a great deal has now been published. For example, Symphony No. 2. It was composed to Tsvetaeva's verses 25 years. It is called "Marina." It was performed once. And just 5 years ago, when these verses were published in a two-volume edition, the score also came out.

"Requiem" to Akhmatova's verses was composed from 1965-1966. I still have the samizdat copy of the text with Anna Andreyevna's corrections.

I am now working on Symphony No. 6, dedicated to the memory of Ye.A. Mravinskiy. It is also a choral symphony, consisting of 5 parts. The basis of the first is Anatoliy Nayman's poem, "Sentimental March"; the second, Akhmatova's "Echo"; the third I have called, "I dream of you," after Tsvetaeva's verse; the fourth, "Driven by the Century," Mandelstam's verses "On the Death of Andrei Bely," and the fifth, Vladimir Levinzon's "Like-thinker."

So, for the time being, the texts of the first and fifth parts exist only in samizdat versions. And it seems, in spite of perestroika in the policy of the official press, that samizdat is not losing its meaning. A great deal is being published today. But far from everything, and all the same, not enough to go around for everyone.

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Komsomol Paper Initiates Column on Party Role in Society

90UN0748A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 90 p 1

[Article by CPSU member Aleksey Izyumov: "Ideas Should Compete"]

[Text] A paradoxical situation has arisen in our political life: The party, having acted as initiator of the society's revolutionary perestroika, admittedly is beginning to

fall behind the pace of the reforms it started. Rank and file communists and the country's highest leaders are speaking with one voice, and with alarm, about perestroika's proceeding more slowly in the party of late than in the society at large, slowing progress and delaying inevitable reforms. This is dangerous: The allotted time for getting out of the crisis is becoming ever shorter. How can the situation be corrected, and how can the party be helped to reestablish its role as perestroika's driving force without delay?

Today it will no longer be a great revelation to say that the problem of the party's loss of internal vigor and dynamism has been caused in large part, if not mainly, by its monopolistic status in the country's political system. The lack of a need to fight for voters, enter into debate, and convince the masses has gradually led to loss of the spirit of innovation, the intellectual cogency, and the proletarian combativeness, which distinguished the party before 1917 and in the first years thereafter. Let us recall Lenin and his coworkers' brilliant polemical articles and the Bolshevik orators' lucid speeches.

Where are the shining party orators today? Where are the compelling pens of party political writers?

Alas, confidence in their own infallibility and rectitude long ago left some party members without a taste for political struggle, and took them out of the public squares and into offices. Is this reasonable? I think so. Seventy years of a monopoly on power could not have led to any other result.

It is known from economic theory that competition is the fastest and most efficient means of overcoming the stagnation tendencies brought on by monopoly. Bureaucracy, pointless capital investment, low technical progress rates, and high inflation rates—these departmental monopolization vices are known to everybody. It is also known that monopolization's vices can be broken only by eliminating the monopolies, developing the market, and stimulating competition.

However, certainly not everybody realizes that the concepts "market" and "competition" are applicable, not just to economics, but to politics as well. Nevertheless, modern civilization's development unequivocally shows that a market of ideas is just as essential to a society's progress as a market of goods and services to an economy's progress.

It so turned out historically that our country did away with the free market of political ideas even before the free market in the economy had been eliminated. At one time, this may have been justified—by the government's weakness, the threat of anarchy, the hostile surroundings, etc. Subsequently, however, the costs of abolishing organized differences of opinion within and without the party began to grow rapidly.

Ponder this: Could Stalin and his secret police henchmen [oprichniki] have carried out the brutal collectivization

so easily if a numerous faction of Socialist Revolutionaries [esery] had been participating in the country's Supreme Soviet session in 1929? Would the Menshevik Party have permitted the general massacre of native, including party-member, intellectuals, had it retained its power in the 1930's? Finally, had we had, within the party, proper, legally sanctioned factions with the right of free and public criticism of the party leadership, is it not possible that we might have avoided later tragic mistakes such as Afghanistan?

Alas, despite the more than obvious lessons of our own and world history, and despite the present CPSU leadership's repeated official acknowledgments of pluralism's importance and value, the thought of a need for organizational registration of the various positions on socialism that exist in our society is still considered heretical. Let us recall the kinds of attacks to which the idea about the advisability of instituting groups of deputies "for interests" within the Supreme Soviet was subjected during the Congress of People's Deputies. By the end of the Congress, such groups were instituted nonetheless; however, their members still are trying with all their might to deny the accusation of opposition, and avoid the disfavored term "faction." Another great heresy is the multiparty-system question: There is assertion from high and low forums, as before, about the needlessness and detriment of other parties' coming into existence, and everything that is at all seriously reminiscent of them is subjected to criticism.

However, the pretenses at retaining the party's absolute political monopoly, as well as the nostalgia for membership purity and the former unanimity, do not hold water. The one-party system was not presented to us as a gift from heaven, and it certainly has not become a guarantee of democracy and progress. Did not the party itself recognize the need for perestroika and initiate it, but then—and the party has spoken straightforwardly and openly about this—were there not a good many mistakes on its part, which brought the country to the brink of crisis? So, for the time being, the CPSU is the only force capable of leading the society out of the crisis, but is it really good that it is the only one?

Perestroika's past years have proved that the old medicine of cautious internal party reforms is incapable of curing the body politic of bureaucratic machinery methods. A high-level CPSU Central Committee official, a prominent specialist on party building, has written frankly in PRAVDA: "During all the years of Soviet power, the social and self-reliance principles in the party have never been in so impoverished a condition as at the present time.... The 27th Congress, the first truly great congress of the truly great perestroika, took a step backward in this regard by comparison with the stagnation years."

The rebirth of faction and platform freedom in the CPSU, de facto having already begun to take shape, would make it possible for the party to throw off the heavy burden of bureaucratism and dogmatism at one

fell swoop, and take a step toward reestablishing real internal party democracy. At the same time, it would stimulate the party's intellectual life, and might draw into the party the holders of the most brilliant and radical ideas, many of whom now, alas, shun active work in their party organizations.

There should be no fear that the introduction of factionalism and a multiparty system will plunge the country into the abyss of anarchy. On the contrary, it is precisely the absence of channels for legal and civilized statement of their needs that is capable, to a considerable extent, of driving the masses to uncontrolled, violent actions, as, alas, has happened more than once lately. When such channels appear, our reborn body politic's risk of "vein obstructions" will be much diminished and, hopefully, will disappear entirely in the future.

We may argue as much as we like today about the pluses and minuses of a multiparty system and opposition, but life does not stand still. The number of political movements and national and religious associations is growing here, not daily, but hourly. Many of these have a membership, regulations, a platform, printed periodicals, and other characteristics of political parties.

And, at last, the final argument. Some people think that introducing a multiparty system will lead to the CPSU's elimination from the political arena. I am convinced that they are wrong. The CPSU, with its experience and influence, will play a decisive role in any turn of events, and will remain the renovated political system's center. Today, only those party members who, themselves, do not believe in its political power can fear the communist party's loss of its leading role.

By relinquishing its ideological and political monopoly, the party will take a step forward, not backward. Probably it will, indeed, be diminished quantitatively (thousands are leaving its rank and file even now), but, as a result, it will be immeasurably improved qualitatively. Having dived into the fire of open political struggle, the party will come out of the fire even purer and stronger, will renew its fighting qualities, and will regain its lost authority. In general, it will become the sort of party, I am sure, that its founders would have liked to see it be today.

FROM THE EDITORIAL OFFICE: So, here is a viewpoint with which everyone will not agree. In initiating this discussion, the editorial office is willing to give the right of public expression to all who are pondering the party's role in the society and thinking about ways for its renovation.

Police Harassment Of Journalist At Uzbek Demonstrations Cited

90US0463 Moscow UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 5, Jan 90 p 5

[Letter from V. Chelyshev, USSR people's deputy and vice-chairman of the Working Group of the Committee For the Defense of Freedom of Speech and Journalists'

Rights: "Not A Private Matter: An Open Letter To USSR General Procurator Comrade A. Ya. Sukharev"]

[Text] Esteemed Aleksandr Yakovlevich!

I am writing you with regard to an incident involving the flouting of legality and the rights of a citizen and journalist. I consider it necessary to do this publicly, in order to lend public importance to instances of harassment of a journalist on the part of law-enforcement agencies and an unobjective trial.

The essence of the incident is this: On October 19, 1989, Anvar Usmanov, an UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA staff correspondent, on returning from an assignment (which is confirmed by a business trip authorization and plane ticket), saw a rally taking place near the Hotel Uzbekistan. Interested, by virtue of his work, in the unofficial movement in the republic, Usmanov began trying to find out who had called the rally and for what purpose, and what demands its participants were making. At that moment, the demonstrators were surrounded by militia officers who demanded that they disperse. Those assembled did not obey them. Then the militia officers began detaining the rally participants, among them Usmanov, despite the fact that he presented an official identification card and tried to explain why he was present at the rally and protested the militia officers' actions.

No one listened to him. He was put him on a bus and taken to Tashkent's Sergeliiskoye Rayon Internal Affairs Department. Comrades O. Bicherov and I. Beketov, investigators for the Main Internal Affairs Directorate, drew up a deposition, charging Usmanov with participation in an unauthorized rally and agitation. Usmanov refused to sign the deposition and asked to have a lawyer present. His request was refused. By decision of the Sergeliiskiy Rayon People's Court (Judge Comrade T. P. Savyalova), he was issued an administrative warning.

On October 21, 1989, Usmanov, having learned that young people were staging pickets in several parts of Tashkent, began driving around to them, in order to find out, as in the first instance, the aims and demands of the picketers. He went to Pushkin Square, where militia units dispersed the picketers. He drove to Khadr Square. People had gathered there to march on the building in which a session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet was under way. And when they set off, Usmanov began showing a film crew cameraman the best angle from which to shoot the column and questioned the picketers about their demands.

He was again detained by the same Main Internal Affairs Directorate investigators, Comrades O. Bicherov and I. Beketov, and driven to the Kuybyshevskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department. Court Chairman Comrade R. N. Kim refused to listen to Usmanov's explanations. She also denied his request that he be allowed to summon a lawyer and witnesses, and sentenced him to 10 days' administrative arrest. In a special detention facility, Usmanov staged a hunger strike to protest the lawlessness and arbitrary court action. The case was

demanding and received by the city court and reviewed for oversight purposes. The Chairman of the Tashkent City Court, Comrade K. N. Nasyrov, issued a ruling rescinding as unjustified the decisions of the Sergeliyskiy and Kuybyshevskiy Rayon People's Courts with regard to the administrative cases involving Usmanov. He combined the cases into a single proceeding and forwarded them to the Kuybyshevskiy Rayon People's Court for hearing.

It seemed as though justice would triumph. Unfortunately, however, that was not to be. The case was heard once again with the most flagrant violations of the law. Usmanov was not properly informed about his trial, which was heard in the absence of Usmanov and a lawyer. Nevertheless, the court upheld the decisions of the earlier trials. Ignoring an inquiry from USSR People's Deputy V. P. Zolotukhin that Usmanov's case be reviewed for oversight purposes, the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court had assigned this task to the city court, which this time, despite the fact that its own instructions had not been carried out, upheld the decision of the Kuybyshevskiy Rayon People's Court.

On behalf of the Committee In Defense of Freedom of Speech and Journalists' Rights, journalist Comrade Yu. N. Shakutin, a member of the committee's working group, while in Tashkent on business, looked into Usmanov's case. At Shakutin's request, the case was studied by Comrade M. Adylov, a legal specialist and member of the Board of the USSR Lawyers' Union. He said that officials of the internal affairs agencies and the court, in detaining Usmanov on October 10 and October 21, 1989, had violated Usmanov's rights under Article No. 278 of the Uzbek SSR Administrative Code [AK], in accordance with which they were obliged to explain Usmanov's rights and responsibilities to him, as noted in the deposition. This was not done. Contrary to Article No. 278, Usmanov had no opportunity to study the documents relating to the case, to present evidence, to file a petition, or to avail himself of the legal assistance of a lawyer. Article No. 278 of the Uzbek SSR Administrative Code [AK] was also violated in the hearing of Usmanov's case by the Kuybyshevskiy Rayon People's Court on November 2, 1989. The court heard the administrative case without Usmanov's participation. The case documents lacked summonses informing Usmanov of the date and time of the trial. The existing records attest only to Usmanov's absence at the time the summonses were served. But they contain no information to the effect that he had been repeatedly notified of the trial in advance and that he had deliberately failed to appear at the trial, as suggested in the decision of the Kuybyshevskiy Rayon Court, which combined the two administrative cases involving Usmanov into a single proceeding, in compliance with the city court's ruling of October 30, 1989.

Article No. 262 of the Uzbek SSR Administrative Code [AK], which presents a list of evidence in a case, and Article No. 282, which stipulates who can be a witness in a case, were also violated. The following situation

obtained: The militia officers who detained Usmanov also served as the witnesses in the drawing up of the deposition and at the trial. Not a single witness who participated in the events of October 19 and October 10, 1989, was admitted.

As noted above, the case was heard without the participation of Usmanov and his lawyer and with a clear accusatory bias. This constitutes a flagrant violation of Article No. 255 of the Uzbek SSR Code "On Administrative Violations." By law, the hearing of cases involving administrative offence must entail a prompt, comprehensive, full and objective exposition of the circumstances of the case and its resolution in precise accordance with legislation. Not one of the law's requirements in this regard was met, as indicated by the volume itself of the administrative case and the documents it contains.

One other circumstance is surprising. In accordance with a inquiry from USSR People's Deputy V. P. Zolotukhin, Usmanov's case was reheard, for oversight purposes, in the city court by M. K. Mirzalimov, a member of the city court. After discerning a whole series of flagrant violations of the law and the rights of the accused, he drafted a ruling that rescinded the decision taken by Comrade Judge A. M. Abdullayev. But the chairman of the city court, Comrade K. N. Nasyrov, disagreed with that

conclusion and instructed another member of the city court to draft a diametrically opposite ruling that upheld the Kuybyshevskiy Rayon Court's decision. And this despite the fact that for all practical purposes, not one of the requirements of the city court's ruling of October 30, 1989, had been met by the rayon court.

Of course, the city court chairman has the right to agree or disagree with the opinion of city court member. But how is one to explain the fact that he went against his own opinion, as set forth in the preceding city court ruling? Why, in this specific instance, was Comrade K. N. Nasyrov guided not by the letter and spirit of the law but by some other considerations?

Aleksandr Yakovlevich! Attaching exceptional importance to the private matter that the "case involving journalist Usmanov" would seem to be, I ask you to consider this letter an official Deputy inquiry, to demand and obtain the administrative case involving Usmanov, and to review it for purposes of procurator oversight.

From the Editors. We would like to see this protracted affair resolved as quickly as possible. In taking a decision, the Law and Truth should prevail, not arrogance or someone's attitude.

1957 Nuclear Accident Cleanup Lessons for Chernobyl

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12 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[Article by R. Fedorov, PRAVDA special correspondent, Chelyabinsk Oblast: "An Atomic Reservation"]

[Text] Altogether Secret

"Eyewitnesses" have related details that defy description. For example, of two-headed fish which they have supposedly caught in the contaminated radioactive lakes. The accounts—more accurately, yarns—of this kind evoke a smile. First, because of the human psychology: being party to a secret engenders in some people an ability for irrepressible fantasizing. In others....

Fish breeders following the early fish development from roe to fry sometimes observe deformities of various kinds, including two-headed creatures in the larval stage. They soon die. Their occurrence has nothing to do with the atomic era at all. Peter I collected deformed creatures of this kind in his display of curiosities. "Siamese twins" have been known since still more ancient times. It is well-known that they can survive only in human society thanks to the charity of those around them. Nature is not always charitable. A.S. Pushkin found a very accurate descriptive name for it: "indifferent nature."

The 30-year-old secret is no longer a secret. Indeed, the radioactive "traces" of the accident to a container containing radioactive waste that occurred on 29 September 1957 was not a secret because its results were especially disastrous, but only because they "exposed" the industrial reactor where plutonium was being manufactured for atomic bombs. That reactor has recently been disassembled, in fact in the presence of American specialist-observers.

There were no casualties from the discharge. It fortunately affected uninhabited places. The one-time doses of irradiation were not hazardous for the health of the inhabitants of those villages that were in the zone of the discharge. But the soil and bodies of water and the forest and grass growing there became "dirty." That is why several villages with a total population of about 10,000 persons had to be moved to new sites.

In the mixture of radioactive isotopes that fell, short-lived isotopes with a half-life of about 2-3 years comprised 90 percent. There has, of course, been no danger from them for a long time. By 1978, economic activity had been resumed over 80 percent of what had been the radioactive "track." A reservation was created on the remainder.

This past September it was visited by a delegation of Japanese journalists reporting on the problems of atomic energy in their newspapers, who had come to our country on invitation of the Soviet Committee for Protection of

the Peace. When the guests entered the reservation, they unfailingly wanted to photograph the guardhouse and barrier across the road.

"We expected to see a warning sign: Caution—radiation. What we did see was a sign that was altogether unexpected: Caution—ticks!"

The ixodid tick—the carrier of encephalitis—has reproduced here in large numbers. Yet one must not think that radiation has anything to do with this. It is simply that the elk feel at home on the reservation. And where there are many elk, you will also find ticks.

But the main thing is not that there are a great many elk. It is important that they are healthy, they feel normal, and they bear young. Not only elk, but also other inhabitants of the reservation are typical of these parts. Its landscape, flora, and fauna, do not in general differ from those around in any respect. With the sole exception that rare species are preserved more easily on the reservation.

Yet.... It is well-known that radioactive irradiation causes mutations—slight and stable disruptions of the structure of the inherited substance resulting in distinguishing new characteristics in the organism. This, incidentally, is taken advantage of by selectionists. And, if we go back to the question of the "two-headed fish," it has been speculatively assumed from a distance that in an atomic reservation one might quite possibly encounter some sort of wondrous mutant forms of grasses, insects, or some other representatives of the living world.

Scientists organized work here almost immediately after the radioactive discharge. In 1958, an experimental research station was created. It was set two tasks from the very outset. First, a practical task: to find ways of sharply reducing the radioactive contamination of the locality and methods of returning the land to economic use. Second.... An accident involving radioactive discharge is an event that is more than regrettable. But in the realm of abstract argument, if one renounces emotions, it is possible to examine what happens as though it were a broad-scale experiment in nature.

G.N. Romanov, the present director of the ONIS [Experimental Research Station], has been working here from the very beginning. He came here to take the position of a regular engineer. In 1957, he graduated from the Uralsk Polytechnical Institute, received his diploma as a process engineer for nonferrous metals, and was assigned to an enterprise here which is today called the "Mayak" Chemical Combine. The accident occurred, and after it many things had to be studied all over again. The institute did not, of course, have the disciplines to cover the extremely broad range of concerns that fell upon the land of the Urals with that ill-fated discharge. Today, Gennadiy Nikolayevich calls himself a radioecologist. He has an academic degree of candidate of engineering sciences. From others, I have heard him referred to in flattering terms as an encyclopedist.

One circumstance that favored the latter is that major scientific manpower was recruited to study and solve the problems related to the discharge. V.M. Klechkovskiy, member of VASKhNIL, an agricultural chemist who was himself a student of D.N. Pryanishnikov, member of the academy, and a biophysicist who even earlier had studied the effect of ionizing radiation on plants, played an immense role in defining the research program. His contribution to the evolution of science at the station has consisted not only of his specific perceptions indispensable at the moment, but also his extremely broad scientific outlook and indeed his very human charm, which was typical of Russian intellectuals of the old school.

But let us go back to biology. The Chelyabinsk accident occurred in the autumn, at the end of September. The trees were losing their leaves. The insects were concealing themselves for the winter. The birds had already raised their young, and a sizable portion of them had flown off to warm regions. This circumstance, says G.N. Romanov, essentially mitigated the radiation blow that came down on nature.

That blow was very powerful in some places. The needles turned yellow on the pines, and they died. Among all the tree species, the conifers are the most sensitive to radioactive irradiation. Today, there is not even a trace of those pines that died. Young trees have grown up. Nature and forest are generic terms. The death of dozens or even hundreds of individuals—whether they be trees or wild animals—is not perceived tragically. On the whole, nature's resistance to radiation, its ability to rapidly heal wounds of this kind, G.N. Romanov notes, is proving to be very high.

As for the genetic consequences.... Apparently, the intensive irradiation affected the buds of the trees, which set in the fall. The following summer some of them showed unusually large leaves in the zone of the "track," the shoots were more vigorous than usual. On the other hand, "witch's brooms"—short and numerous twigs—grew out on others. Sometimes the color of the foliage changed.

The year 1958 passed. Genetics was still kept down. It was not possible to recruit specialists who would have been able at that time to conduct research into changes at the chromosome level and to analyze the enzyme composition. In subsequent years, the color and size of the foliage returned to the usual pattern. No departures whatsoever were observed from the norm in the animal kingdom either.

Gennadiy Nikolayevich cited only one example which is perhaps related to the effect of high radiation. Lake Uruskul is located within the "track." Today, the water in it is for all practical purposes clean. But rather high radioactivity has been preserved in the silt on the bottom. Carp live in the lake. It is categorically not recommended to catch it and use it for food: it is precisely a bottom feeder, feeding on insect larvae that crawl about in the silt, mollusks, and water plants. So it

has turned out that the carp of Lake Uruskul differs perceptibly from members of the same species from other lakes in the oblast in its high resistance, first, to freezing, and second, to radiation, as has been verified in specific experiments involving the irradiation of the fish.

Dmitriy Alekseyevich Spirin, candidate of biological sciences, who is G.N. Romanov's deputy, has specifically studied the frequency of mutations of genes occurring in pines growing in the reservation. The radiation background is high here and is effective day after day.

Mutations also occur randomly and spontaneously, although quite rarely. They occur several times more frequently in the pines of the reservation, which have been constantly exposed to irradiation. This is determined by means of biochemical methods. No one has observed any visible differences noticeable to the eye in trees grown from irradiated and unirradiated seed. But most mutations, after all, are recessive, latent. They may not appear earlier than the second generation.

Anyway.... Various grasses are growing under the pines, a multitude of species of insects are crawling in them and over them. Both have passed through more than one generation in 30 years. Biologists have not found among them any unusual forms that differ in some respect from other members of the same species from "nonatomic" places.

And also in Japan.... The Japanese journalists we have mentioned were asked: Did their impression from what they saw in the "atomic reservation" differ from what they had expected to see? Simizu Ionchi, who heads the scientific department of the newspaper MAYNITI SIMBUN, replied that they were very familiar with Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which in 1945 were subjected to atomic bombing. Over this half a century, the cities have been rebuilt, nature itself has healed its wounds. Which is why they did not expect to see any sort of effects in nature in the area of the radiation discharge that had occurred long ago.

But perhaps we have overlooked something? That is in fact why the atomic reservation exists: in order to continue the observations, to study, and to experiment.

You cannot hide a fire. The oily film on a wave in a dirty port or water as thick as jelly during the "flowering" of reservoirs along the Dnieper or Lower Volga are obvious. Radioactive "filth" is invisible, it has neither color nor smell and is therefore particularly frightening. I have heard that the Japanese are "armed" with individual dosimeters practically to a man, and they especially take them along when they visit places where the radioactivity could be higher than normal.

The delegation of Japanese journalists first drove across the area of the "track." From the borders of the reservation, where the power of the ionizing radiation is near or a bit higher than 20 microroentgens per hour (the natural radiation background in various localities of the planet ranges from 4 up to the same figure of 20), to the axis of

the former discharge, where it is still five times greater than the norm. All six members of the Japanese delegation seemed to have a dosimeter. The interest in its indications was dictated not by a fear of irradiation, but rather by curiosity. It is possible from the data today to estimate the radioactivity levels that were observed here in 1957.

The Japanese journalists met their local counterparts at Chelyabinsk. One of the Chelyabinsk journalists put to the guests a question which from my point of view was not altogether proper and was disrespectful of our specialists: Do you believe the assertions of representatives of Soviet medicine that the radioactive discharge in 1957 caused no harm to the health of the population?

"There are no grounds not to trust them," Nakamura Masao, head of the Japanese delegation, replied convincingly. This conviction was specifically based on the indications of that dosimeter.

...I suppose the Chelyabinsk journalist did not address the Japanese colleague on his own personal behalf. His question reflected the logic of any "penetrating" inhabitant who feels that if someone is keeping a secret from him, that means that they are deceiving him. But, as we have already said, everything that happened in nature in the area of the "track" had been studied, described, printed in scientific reports, and published in the pages of scientific journals. Now, the staff members of the experimental scientific research station are proposing collecting all the materials that have accumulated together, analyzing them from the positions of today's knowledge and experience, and publishing the results of the work over many years in the area of the radioactive "track" in the Eastern Urals in a single volume. The practical experience will also be summarized.

Experimental agricultural production is an integral part of the scientific research station. The farm has 4,000 hectares of plowland—it is all in an area that was originally "contaminated" by the discharge.

One of the resurrected fields stretched out on the other side of the road from the laboratory building of the research station, and its entire extent could be observed through the windows of G.N. Romanov's office. Here, Gennadiy Nikolayevich relates, there is a thick layer of chernozem. In a few years after the accident, upon cessation of the emission from the short-lived isotopes that made up the bulk of the discharge, they used a special plow to do deep plowing in the field. It turned over a layer of earth and buried its upper, "dirty" layer at the depth of half a meter. That was enough to make both the field and the harvest clean.

They pursued a different method in the 40-hectare garden plot. This is the area of the household plots of a village that was in the zone of the discharge and was evacuated. The soil here is well cared for, but the fertile layer is not very thick. In order to preserve it, they had to work with the care of a jeweler: they took several

centimeters from the surface with bulldozer blades, carried it away, and stored it in reliable disposal sites.

Simple enough, but not inexpensive. Yet the resettlement of the inhabitants of the village also involved immense expenditures, not to mention the dramatic shattering of people's destinies when they were forced to leave their native place. Would it not have been simpler to do this immediately after the discharge and at the same time decontaminate the houses and other structures?

But.... Right nearby, on the other side of what had been the village fence, is the area of the "atomic reservation" which still has high radioactivity. And Gennadiy Nikolayevich in fact tells about the curious results of a study done in several villages not affected by the discharge. Yet they are located within relative proximity of the "contaminated" area, whose borders are marked by appropriate markers and signs warning not to pasture livestock here, not to take the hay or firewood, not to gather mushrooms or berries. Most of the population heeds the warnings. But some are stubborn, and, which is interesting, a constant minority—about 5 percent in each of these villages—ignores them. They covertly take firewood from the "dirty" forest, they mow grass on the "dirty" meadows.

Readings of the radioactivity of the soil in their house gardens helped to discover the violators. It turned out to be higher than the background. After all, they were fertilizing their vegetable patches with manure from their own cow and with ashes from the stove, and they retained the initial radioactivity of the hay and the firewood. So that both the milk and the vegetables could be "contaminated" on these farms. Of course, the level of ionizing radiation is no longer very high along the accessible edges of the "track." But it should not be forgotten that the irradiation that is most dangerous to the organism is not what is external, but internal.... Better not to take the risk....

Everything we have said is an illustration of how closely rural life is related to a rather large space around it. If those connections are severed, its creative meaning is lost. The thread of Romanov's reflections stretches from his own Chelyabinsk reflections to Chernobyl. What in his opinion should be the strategy in organizing the life of the rural population in places with elevated radiation and for restoring the land to economic use?

The level of contamination of particular products with radioactive isotopes should first be taken into account. The latter accumulate mostly in natural grasses, and that means in the hay and silage. Their content in the grain is approximately two orders of magnitude less. It follows, then, that the meat and especially the milk of cows will also prove to be highly contaminated if they have been fed local feeds. But then swine and chickens whose feed is made up of grain will produce a clean product. Specialized sovkhozes here operating on the area of the "track" which has been returned to economic use turn

precisely to the production of pork and poultry meat. The source of their feed is grain grown on their own plowland.

But it is considerably simpler to reorient agricultural production than to change the rural folkways. How are they to give up vegetables and potatoes from their own garden and deprive themselves of milk from their own cow? Or even the milk mushrooms gathered in the neighboring forest and salted away for the winter? At this point, one can hardly hope that an abundance of produce will be brought into the rural store. But even if it were.... How else to fill leisure time in the village, the freedom "given" from the round of chores on the farm plot around the house? Would this leisure time be a blessing?

The questions G.N. Romanov is now thinking about are no longer associated with Chelyabinsk. Here, they have mainly been resolved. As one can judge from the context of a conversation with him, Gennadiy Nikolayevich feels that the experience of Chelyabinsk has not been sufficiently taken into account at Chernobyl. The high positions and titles of the members of the government commission guarantee the weightiness of the decisions and the reliability of their execution. But—that is the way human psychology is—the closest advisers and consultants of those making the decisions quite often prove to be not the most competent people, but those who know how to "get noticed." There is an evident need to increase personal accountability for proposals that were not justified or were not effective enough.

The experience of Chelyabinsk indicates that the consequences of radioactive "contamination" can be combated rather successfully. Of course, the discharge at Chernobyl was 25 times more intense than the one at Chelyabinsk in total intensity. The matter was, of course, compounded by the fact that it affected areas populated far more densely than this area in Chelyabinsk Oblast. Chernobyl was, of course, an immense tragedy. But does it make any sense to exaggerate?

Obninsk, where the world's first nuclear power plant was built, was christened the city of the peaceful atom. Chelyabinsk-40, where quite recently an industrial reactor was shut down in the presence of American specialists after making plutonium for nuclear warheads, might have been called the city of the military atom. It took the blacksmiths of the Urals relatively little time to learn to forge the atomic weapon.

As the saying goes, let us hope it is never needed. I recall a famous sculpture by Yevgeniy Vuchetich entitled "We Are Turning Swords Into Plowshares." It contains an expressive and powerful figure of a blacksmith: in his suspended motion, there is a triumph of victory and the joy of peaceful labor.

Are the "atomic blacksmiths" triumphant today?

I was driving down the highway with Mikhail Sergeyevich Tsvetkov, Romanov's second deputy. We passed a turn onto an asphalt road that went off to one side.

"The road to the suspended construction of the Yuzhno-Uralskaya AES," Tsvetkov explained. "A wave of radiophobia rose up after Chernobyl."

Tsvetkov learned his trade on that industrial reactor itself, where he worked as a shift operator. He has discussed the accident at Chernobyl in all details with fellow members of his profession. Their opinion was unanimous and absolutely confident: nothing of the kind could have happened at Chelyabinsk. Here, the work standards are high, the operators are drilled thoroughly, until everything becomes automatic, and above all they have a precise knowledge of the processes taking place in the reactor in every operating state, and responsibility is based on that knowledge. The 1957 accident, first, occurred at a time when there was not sufficient experience of working with radioactive waste. Second, the reactor was not involved.

The reactors of nuclear power plants are fundamentally the same kind of vessels as the industrial reactor. It has been shut down and disassembled. The specialists who attended it have been left with nothing to do. They hoped that they would become the backbone of the personnel that would run the Yuzhno-Uralskaya AES, that they would manage to work there themselves and pass on their knowledge, experience, and traditions already accumulated at Chelyabinsk-40 to the young people coming to replace them. The halting of construction of the nuclear power plant has dashed that hope.

But the main thing is not even the difficulties in their personal lives, but the waste of experienced people with high qualifications bringing no use to society. Sooner or later, in the opinion of M.S. Tsvetkov, the Yuzhno-Uralskaya AES will have to be built. And if it happens later, then specialists with less experience will attend its reactors.

In the meeting between Japanese and local journalists which we have mentioned, the topic of the nuclear power plant was the main one. The conversation also touched on radiophobia—exaggerated fear of the radioactive hazard. One of the people from Chelyabinsk remarked that in essence we are ready to agree with the professionals who talk about their ability to manage the force of the atom and to keep it within safe limits. Our failure to accept nuclear power, he said, does not arise from a lack of confidence in science at all. We are afraid of sloppiness, we are afraid of specialists who are not well enough qualified.

...The conversation with Tsvetkov was also mentioned on that occasion. We are afraid of clumsy people. And at the same time we are ready to bury the ability and abundant experience of a high class of specialists—the operators of the Chelyabinsk industrial reactor who are now without work....

But let us go back to the nuclear power plant. The guests were answering questions. The people from Chelyabinsk asked: What is it like in their case? Japan is a country that experienced the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Everything connected to the atom—even the peaceful atom—evokes a memory of them in the population. Are they building new nuclear power plants in Japan—specifically new ones, we know about those already in operation, and what is the attitude toward them?

Yes, nuclear power plants are operating and are being built! To be sure, the process of the growth of their capacity has now slowed down. But that is because those that exist today have completely met the demand, and there are few new consumers.

How far from settlements are the Japanese nuclear power plants being built?

They must meet two requirements: They must be located in relatively sparsely settled areas and at a distance of at least 400-500 meters from settlements (a distance which evokes a smile in our country), and also on the seashore (a look at the map convinces one that this is no complicated matter for the Japanese). The high price of land in the cities also helps in meeting the first requirement.

Japan's role in the contemporary world and the place of its industrial products on the world market are well-known. The Japanese cherish both their own prestige and, of course, their prosperity. Nuclear power is one of the foundations of that.

The road from the "atomic reservation" runs to Chelyabinsk through fields past birch copses, past lakes splashing onto the green meadow that is the shore. They have an unusually smooth transition from water to land—an almost imperceptible difference in the level of the lake and the steppe.

Lakes are an amazing phenomenon of nature. They have their own particular appearance in every region. The lakes of Karelia, bordered by stiff-standing firs or red-trunked pines, reflect the blue of the sky like a mirror. The Latgal lakes, in eastern Latvia, hide between green hills and absorb their color—from afar, the smooth surface of a lake looks like a meadow.... In all lake regions, they are suffering almost identically. From industrial pollution and agricultural runoff—from the fields to which manufactured fertilizers have been carelessly applied, and from livestock operations. And everywhere—from acid rain, which is pouring down without hindrance from the sky. The lakes are beginning to flower, to silt up, to become shallow. And this is irreversible....

The nuclear power plant threatens the hazard of an accident. But the discharges from thermal electric power plants and state regional power plants are also hazardous for people, and still more for nature. A choice has to be made not between "yes" and "no," because "no" signifies the road to poverty and exposure. The choice has to

be made on the basis of what is more economical and safer for us and for nature, without which we will not exist either, what will make the country richer faster, with smaller expenditures of effort and resources.

Bureaucracy Impedes Assistance to Chernobyl Veterans

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Second Edition p 8

[Article by B. Glotov: "Marathon In Ward No 95: An Echo of Chernobyl"]

[Text] *One local paper reported that Chernobyl veterans in the oblast hospital for occupational diseases planned to go on a hunger strike in order to attract the attention of the public and the authorities to their needs and problems.*

"Yes, there was such an attempt," confirmed the oblast council of trade unions and the mine construction territorial committee. "It is true that they succeeded in extinguishing this spark of dissatisfaction. However, it is not impossible that something of the sort may occur again, since the problems which the Chernobyl veterans posed have not been completely solved."

"You must visit ward 95 in the oblast hospital for occupational diseases," those I spoke to advised. "Among the patients there are those you might call Chernobyl veterans. The fate of each of them is an illustration of the position of a substantial number of people who, while the danger was still intense, helped in the attempts to eliminate the consequences of the disaster in the Chernobyl Atomic Energy Station.

Approximately 20 thousand people were sent there from Donetsk Oblast. A total of several hundred thousand people passed through the crucible of Chernobyl. To this number we have to add the inhabitants of the region itself.

"All is far from well here in ward 95," said the director of the third therapeutic division, M. Yurchenko. "Yesterday a policeman, Yuriy Sologub, lost consciousness and it took several hours to revive him from his comatose state. Now he feels more or less all right and you can talk to him."

But the interview with Yu. Sologub never took place. Literally minutes later I learned that before Chernobyl, this officer of the criminal investigation division, a master of the sport of Greco-Roman wrestling, was in perfect health. He worked in Pripyat as the senior member of a group preventing looting. He spent approximately 7 months in the danger zone and returned with a certificate attesting that the dose of radiation to which he had been exposed was 28.9 roentgens. This is practically an acceptable dose.

As the official physician of the Donetsk oblast council of trade unions, N. Anikeyeva, told me, the overwhelming majority of the people who participated in the clean-up

after the Chernobyl disaster, returned to the Donetsk oblast with documents attesting to radiation exposure of less than 25 reontgens. This indicates an exposure that is not dangerous to the health. However, the stories told by those who were there made it clear that individual dosimetric monitoring during the initial period after the disaster was very poor. How did they determine the dose for those who left the zone? Quite primitively—they took the overall background radiation and multiplied it by the number of hours worked in the zone. However, different people worked in different places and in some of them background radiation was vastly greater than the mean. It is no wonder that now several ailing Chernobyl veterans have requested the division of dosimetry and radiation hygiene of the All-Union Center of Radiation Medicine to recompute the dose to a higher level.

The conversation begun in Ward 95 was literally cut short after one word: Yu. Sologub's condition again worsened. The director of the division took care of the patient and I was asked to go to the doctor's lounge.

Here I was joined by Sologub's neighbors in the ward—V. Novak, a mine foreman from the "Donetskshakhtoprokhodka" trust, A. Bandurenko, fitter from the "Petrovskoye" mine board, I. Pominchuk, a medical assistant from the "Skoraya Pomoch" oblast hospital, and also S. Sidin and N. Yareva mine workers from the "Zaperevalnoye" and "Ninth Five-Year Plan" mines, as well as several other patients being treated in the division. It must be said that the hospital has become a second home to these patients. Many are spending 2 to 6 months a year here. V. Novak, who is 42 years old, for example, spend 163 days in the hospital on the sick list last year.

"We can certify you as disabled due to general illness," his physicians proposed. "But why general and not Chernobyl-related?" "The dose of radiation you received was within the bounds of the norm." It took almost a year to collect the documents needed to tie his illness to Chernobyl.

"Anyone who wants to have his disability certified not as general, but as Chernobyl-related, has to do a fair amount of running around among medical institutions in Donetsk, Kiev, Moscow," said A. Bandurenko, "and subject himself to humiliation and the painfully long waits."

It took Alexander more than 2 years to prove the obvious. He was a former athlete, a hammer thrower, a man bursting with health.

"Several of the doctors, looking into my case considered me scarcely better than a malingerer," said A. Bandurenko, "and yet I lost consciousness several times a day. My misadventures ended when I was able to get in to see the new republic minister of health, Yu. Spizhanko. He sent me to the division of dosimetry and radiation hygiene. There they recomputed the dose and

it turned out that on the basis of the type and location of work I did at the station I "caught" not 25, but more than 50 reontgens.

A. Bandurenko's "marathon" ended. But there are several thousand like him in the Donetsk oblast. This means that many of them will have to run the same painful gamut. What kind of situation is this and who thought it up?

The fact is that all who returned from Chernobyl should have undergone a medical certification process soon afterward. Considering themselves healthy (after all they were told that a dose of 25 reontgens did not entail any problems), many did not go to see a physician. And this was a mistake. Some, only a few it is true, had more foresight and went to see a doctor. Those who were found to have autonomic/vascular dystonia or another disease, received an N-1 document. In other words, their illness was linked to their stay in the zone of increased radiation, and they were given certain benefits established by the government.

What actions did the ministries of health of the republic and nation undertake? Initially it was possible to establish a link with Chernobyl in the Donetsk oblast, then, evidently, it was decided that the physicians from the special hospitals here, where the third division had established departments for treating radiation sickness during the first few months after the disaster, were "not competent enough" or were overly sympathetic. For this or some other reason they were deprived of this right and the function was transferred to the republic specialized health center for radiation protection of the population. Nor this institution get to decide the fate of the Chernobyl veterans for very long. On 14 August 1988, by edict of the government commission, a Central Interdepartmental Certification Council was established under the auspices of the All-Union Center of Radiation Medicine.

This organization became the sole agency in the country which was empowered to establish a causal connection between illness and disability and exposure to radiation and other harmful factors while performing work to clean up after the Chernobyl disaster.

It was this organization that demanded the pile of corroborating documents described above. But this was not the only problem. At the present time the council is accepting claims that will only be considered in 1991.

The certification council meets once a quarter. The patients are not invited to be present. Decisions are based only on papers. Most frequently those who make a request here are denied. Last year documents for 57 patients sent from the Donetsk oblast hospital for occupational diseases were considered here. A link with Chernobyl was established for only three.

"Concentration of certification authority to a single group of people in a single place," I. Pidgulko, official physician of the Central committee of the miners trade

union at the Donetsk mine construction territorial committee, is convinced, "is a wrong, bureaucratic decision. How can we speak of sympathy and charity for the victims if we make them spend months gathering papers and then years waiting for their turn to be considered. The central certification committee ought to create affiliates or divisions in Donetsk, and other places as well. I don't think that would be too difficult, we do have specialists here."

All the Chernobyl veterans with whom I met voiced their gratitude to the chief physician of the hospital for occupational diseases M. Taushan, his deputy S. Kanyuk, and the head of the third division, M. Yurchenko, and to other doctors who treat and care for them.

"Unfortunately, we cannot boast of great success," says M. Yurchenko. "The contingent of Chernobyl patients is increasing and we are poorly supplied with the medications needed for effective treatment. Also, we have been thrown on our own devices, as they say. We could use more help from the scientists, but they answer all our questions by saying that the effects of radiation on the body are still under study..."

Minsk Oblast Health Measures to Counteract Chernobyl

90UN0832A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 4 Jan 90 p 2

[Interview with A.P. Martysiuk, chairman of the Minsk Oblast Trade Union Council, by SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA correspondent V. Sadovskiy; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] **Chernobyl and the children. Nobody remains indifferent to this problem today. Our correspondent interviews Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy and oblast trade union council chairman A. P. Martysiuk.**

[Correspondent] Children as well have, of course, suffered as a result of the Chernobyl tragedy. Tell us, Aleksandr Petrovich, what kind of work is being carried on within the oblast with regard to the health care of these children?

[Martysiuk] More than three and a half years have passed since the accident. Within the republic, albeit with a certain delay, we have clarified the full seriousness of the Chernobyl calamity. Therefore, special significance is being attached to the health care of children who live in the unfavorably effected zone. In recent times, the Minsk community has received about 16,000 persons from Braginskiy, Khoynikskiy, Yelskiy, and Narovlyanskiy rayons and Gomel oblast. I will stipulate right off that the oblast trade union council does not have its own resort and sanatorium institutions or pioneer camps. We are turning to various enterprises and organizations in Minsk and the oblast. I will name only a few of them. These are the Integral production association, Construction Trust No. 15, the Borisov Avtogradouslil plant, the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences, the Agat

scientific production association, and others. Twenty-five sanatoria and more than 50 pioneer camps have been called into action. Passes are being issued free of charge. Thus, all costs for maintenance, including treatment, medicines, and provision of necessary clothing and other toilet articles—more than a million rubles worth—have been voluntarily assumed by the labor collectives.

The placement of children begins with a medical examination. We do not limit ourselves to the sanatorium-resort charts that are issued to them on the basis of place of residence. All of them are thoroughly examined by pediatric doctors over a three day period. In some cases, when something that is not clear shows up in making a precise diagnosis, the children are examined by specialists of higher rank.

[Correspondent] Aleksandr Petrovich, are there also population centers within Minsk Oblast that were unfavorably affected?

[Martysiuk] Unfortunately, there are.

[Correspondent] In a little bit more detail, if possible.

[Martysiuk] It is not only possible, but necessary to say, without keeping it a secret. As more complete scientific, medical, socioeconomic, ecological and other measures have increasingly been carried out within the territory of the republic, all centers of infection have been uncovered. These have also been determined to be within our oblast. According to data from the oblast department of health, the level of radiation contamination amounts to one curie and more per square kilometer in the villages of Gzdyatichi, Glivin, Novaya Mechta, and Chernyevichi in Borisovskiy Rayon; Kamenniy Borok and Oreshkovichi in Berezinskiy Rayon; Khotenchintsy, Borovtsy, Osipovich, in Vileyskiy; Rodki, Konyush-evshchina, Tikhonovshchina, Voyshtovich, Olshanka, Yanishki, Doby, Ivenets, Kamen, Dovgulevshchina, Pershay, Losokino, Klerimaty and Tyabuty in Volozhinskiy rayon; and Totsk, Gavrilchitsy, Tesna, Novina, Gruz-dovo, Chelonets, Khorostovo, Puzichi, and B. Birkorovich in Soligorskiy rayon. There are 5100 children of various ages living there, for whom conditions for restoration of their health must be created. Besides this, children have begun to come to us from Mogilev Oblast. Work is being increased and we are not forgetting about it for a minute. Last summer came to an end—children are cared for only during this time of year—and one more large group of school children and small children with their mothers left for home both physically and morally strengthened, in a good and eager mood. For these purposes alone, the people of Minsk Oblast spent 4.8 million rubles from the social insurance budget. At the present time, we are concentrating our attention on carrying out the program for eliminating within our republic the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station.

[Correspondent] A concrete program demands thoroughly considered concrete actions. Is this not so?

[Martysiuk] I understand your question. You are interested in what we are doing in this connection, what we plan to do in the very near future, and how we plan to do it? The program envisages yearly health care for children who live in areas where there contamination levels equal 5 curies per square kilometer and higher. I stress—yearly—because work in this direction will continue not for a year and not for two. This means that it is necessary to look far ahead.

In the present year we should treat 8750 children. The USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, in their resolution of 20 October 1989 concerning additional measures for eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl accident, obligated the ministries and departments and the central committees of the trade unions, jointly with the labor collectives of enterprises, organizations, institutions and kolkhozes, to allocate for these children, for parents with children, and for pregnant women not less than five percent of summertime passes to the resort and sanatorium institutions and rest homes that are subordinate to them. This will be a noticeable help to us.

What are we ourselves undertaking, on the basis of our less than modest possibilities? The Belkaliy production association is allocating 320 passes to the Dubrava pioneer camp. The Belmezkh kolkhoz sanatorium, with its Nalibokskaya pioneer camp, it associating itself with this. We will also continue in the future to seek out similar ways. But this is far from a solution. Recently, the working people, who are prepared to help those who have suffered a calamity, are asking a reasonable question: Why, during what have already been three troubled years, have basic measures not been taken to organize the health care for these people, and particularly for the children?

[Correspondent] How do you seen a way out of this situation?

[Martysiuk] I think that it is urgently necessary to reach a governmental decision and to direct the appropriate republic organs to prepare, during 1990, technical planning documentation and, next year, to build five or six sanatoria for children and for mothers with infants, each with a capacity of 500 places. A total of 20,000 - 25,000 persons could be treated in them annually. With such an approach, we in the republic would solve the problem of treating all our children, and also those who come for treatment from other places. It is realistic to pose the question in this way if we treat this problem as an extraordinary one and if republic resources are supplemented by funds from the all-union budget.

On our own part we, of course, will take all exhaustive measures to mobilize the workers of the oblast for practical fulfillment of the program and for more effective utilization the financial and material resources which we ourselves have and which are allotted to us, so as not to permit their diversion to other goals.

We do not have the right to be placid as long as even one child remains that needs our help.

Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chief on Chernobyl Cleanup

*90UN0714A Kiev SILSKI VISTI in Ukrainian
29 Dec 89 p 2*

[Interview with Deputy Chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers K.I. Masyk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers Permanent Special Commission for Disaster Recovery, by Vasyl Hruzyn: "Old Wounds, New Pains"]

[Text] We are interviewing Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman K.I. Masyk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers Permanent Special Commission for Disaster Recovery.

[Hruzyn] Kostyantyn Ivanovych, it has only been four months now that you have been heading the special commission for disaster recovery. But you have already managed to make several visits to radiation-stricken areas, you have studied the situation there, and have called it alarming. On the basis of what criteria did you make this statement?

[Masyk] Yes, I have visited the area on several occasions. The first visit was two days after I was appointed deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers and chairman of this commission. Why did I go there? I already knew about Chernobyl and how much misfortune it has brought. And now I decided to become acquainted with the situation in greater detail, not only on the basis of dry reports and figures which were placed on my desk but also in order to see with my own eyes and to listen to what the local residents had to say.

I must confess that my first encounters produced a stronger impression than I had imagined. When we gathered at the clubhouse in the village of Narodychi, I had this feeling that those present in the auditorium did not at all trust those who were seated before them. People believe all kinds of rumors, but they refuse to believe us officials. It was awful: Can one go on living like that? For this reason I returned to Kiev with heavy heart.

After thinking over what I had seen and heard, I reached a conclusion: if you want to help people, don't just sympathize with them. It is a big problem—not only a social and economic problem but also a political problem at the same time. We must restore people's faith and trust. This requires action. Action in turn requires enormous material outlays. This means that governmental, party, and economic agencies must revise their approach to evaluating the situation in the disaster zone.

I also realized that the disaster recovery commission at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station must operate in

contact not only with officials but also with unofficial ["informal"] organizations, especially with the leaders of the "Greens"—people whom society has brought forth to defend the public interest.

In addition, in the past whenever the Chernobyl tragedy was mentioned, one had in mind the area contiguous to the 30-kilometer zone. It has been determined, however, that the problem extends much further and that a great many more people need assistance than previously believed. I subsequently concluded, first of all, that the Chernobyl disaster (not the explosion proper but its consequences) is one of the greatest catastrophes in the history of mankind: it led to contamination of vast areas with radionuclides. In our republic alone radioactive contamination—of course to varying degrees—encompassed 32 rayons in Kiev, Zhitomir, Chernigov, Cherkassy, and Rovno oblasts. A total of 3.5 million hectares of agricultural land was affected, as well as 1.5 million hectares of forest. Hundreds of thousands of persons found themselves in the zone of effect of adverse factors.

Secondly, the measures which were taken immediately following the explosion at the nuclear power plant were in conformity with the scale of the disaster. The site was visited by N.I. Ryzhkov, and a government commission was operating, which included the deputy chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR. A very great deal was accomplished, if we evaluate all this on the basis of the knowledge of the disaster which we possessed at the time.

However, and this is my third point, if we are to be perfectly frank, we must state that in the following years, that is, in 1987 and 1988, as well as in 1989, less attention was paid to Chernobyl—at all levels and in all areas. Symptoms of our old habit were evident: when a disaster would happen somewhere, all of us would rush there to help, making some decisions and taking some action.... But subsequently, when the pain would become somewhat dulled, our enthusiasm would drop off sharply, particularly if a new disaster occurred somewhere else, and new problems were reaching a critical stage. Thus the Chernobyl disaster as well receded to the background. The national government and the republic government began paying less attention to it. But the problems did not disappear. On the contrary, they were piling up and becoming more acute. One is alarmed first and foremost by a worsening of the public's health.

[Hruzin] Can you illustrate that with facts?

[Masyk] According to figures from clinical examination of the public, conducted in 1987-1989, in areas contaminated by radionuclides one observes an increase in affections of the upper respiratory passages, gastrointestinal tract, iron-deficiency anemia, and various problems experienced by pregnant women. There has also been an increase in the number of cases of hyperplasia of the thyroid gland, and there has been an increase in the frequency of nonspecific deviations from the norm,

especially cytologic, biochemical, and immune system. This is apparently linked both to the effect of radiation and to degradation of the environment as a whole, as well as change in way of life and stress situations.

[Hruzin] Why have we not been told of this? Who should we "thank" for our lack of information?

[Masyk] A difficult but specific question, and therefore it requires a specific reply.

In my opinion the blame for lack of information rests with our command-bureaucratic system and the monopolistic status of the ministries and other agencies. They have considered it necessary to issue only that information which was advantageous to them, and only in those amounts and doses which are also to their benefit. We have lived with and become thoroughly accustomed to these procedures.

The following comment applies to 1986. At that time I was working in the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers and was directly involved with Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station recovery efforts. I can therefore state with full assurance that all information pertaining to Chernobyl was for the most part classified. Not even all members of the republic government possessed full knowledge of the situation. Moscow knew, and controlled doses of information came to us from Moscow.

Today one can hear a great many accusations leveled at then Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers B.Ye. Shcherbina. It is claimed that he was withholding information. Perhaps this is true. But he too was a victim of the system of rule by administrative fiat. This system drove him into a corner as well, demanding endless compliance with instructions, including those pertaining to the release of information.

26 April 1986 and the ensuing days are strongly etched in my memory. On the 26th I had just returned to Kiev from a trip on official business. At about 6 p.m. I was called by the then Chairman of the Council of Ministers O.P. Lyashko, who stated that it was necessary immediately to proceed with evacuating people from the town of Pripyat. You will remember that the disaster occurred during the night. It took this much time to reach a decision to evacuate.

At 1:30 a.m. I informed the government commission headed by Comrade Shcherbina that 1,236 buses, four trains, and two commuter-type light rail consists had been brought to the Chernobyl area and that the evacuation could commence. What actually happened? These buses and trains stood idle another 12 hours. Finally the decision to evacuate was made that afternoon. Who specifically should be blamed for this?

After this it took another week to reach the decision to evacuate the population within a 30-kilometer zone.

Many conflictive opinions can be heard about that year's May Day celebration: Was it really necessary? Today it is clear that it should not have been held. At the time the

majority of republic leaders were unaware of the actual situation. They were also afraid that they would be accused of alarmism and of fostering panic.

At a meeting held at the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers a decision was made to assist those who wished to evacuate from Kiev and nearby communities. Let them take the children and leave. Let pregnant women go. This idea was supported, in particular, by O.P. Lyashko. I was instructed to make appropriate arrangements. It was a very complicated business, but we began assembling trains and airplanes in Kiev. But the next morning I was accused of being a scaremonger and was threatened with being held liable for everything I was doing.... Orders were issued canceling the bringing of means of transportation to Kiev.

The matter of evacuation was becoming increasingly more acute, however: tens of thousands of people were storming railroad and Aeroflot ticket windows. It was necessary to call Moscow and ask for help. We talked to then CPSU Central Committee Secretary Dolgikh and First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Aliyev. Their response: stop panicking. They sent us neither trains nor airplanes.

But evacuation was a necessity, and we proceeded to see what capabilities were available in the Ukraine. And within a period of 10 days more than 200,000 children were evacuated from the city of Kiev, from Kiev and Zhitomir oblasts for the sake of their health.... I would like to take this opportunity, through your newspaper, to thank the railroad officials and railroad workers, who not only did everything possible but considerably more as well.

[Hruzin] What about the position taken at the time by the republic Ministry of Health. After all, it was doing everything it could to lull people's concern and to understate the scale of the danger involved....

[Masyk] What happened is fact. Therefore, as people are saying, more than one stone could be cast in the direction of the then minister A.Yu. Romanenko. However.... What he said on TV and radio were not his words, not his conclusions. The texts had been written and rewritten for him, with specific corrections and adjustments.... A result of the system of rule by administrative fiat.

[Hruzin] What measures are being taken right now, not in word but in deed, to neutralize the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster?

[Masyk] In order for such measures to be effective, precise knowledge of the true state of affairs in the localities is essential. Otherwise you simply will not know what to do. For this reason we altered our work style. While in the recent past, when touring contaminated localities, we would limit ourselves to visual observation and conversations, we have now shifted to setting up teams to perform comprehensive, thorough study of the state of affairs. Pursuant to government

decision, these teams include competent specialist personnel: from the Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Health, the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Radiation Medicine, from agricultural science, from Gosagroprom, Ukrgidromet, and from other agencies. Their job is to study and evaluate the radiation situation and its effect on people's health, and to designate specific measures which must be taken in these areas to protect people's lives and health. When all this has been done, we go directly to the localities and get together with rayon party, soviet, and economic management activists, as well as representatives of unofficial ["informal"] organizations and the general public. We objectively examine the situation, state our proposals, and listen to what the local residents have to say. That is, we do everything in order to ensure that people understand that their concerns are our concerns, that we want our view and their view of problems and prospects to coincide. In Korosten a group of ministers and I had to face a nine-hour "bombardment" from the audience until we were able to reach a consensus of views. I see no other way to overcome that alienation and distrust toward science, certain ministries and agencies, and the republic's political leaders which have become so deep-rooted. Only when we reach a mutual understanding and agreement that everybody must be involved in combating the disaster—both officials at all levels and the general public in the localities.

This has already been done in Polesskiy Rayon of Kiev Oblast and in Luginskiy, Narodichskiy, and Korosten-skiy rayons in Zhitomir Oblast. The investigation is in the concluding stages in Olevskiy Rayon. We are working in Rovno Oblast which, I must confess, up to the present time had not been included, totally without justification, in the focal area of attention by all agencies called upon to address the problems of Chernobyl.

[Hruzin] How has your view of the problem and your approach to it changed as a result of this?

[Masyk] I have been forced to reexamine and reevaluate a great deal. But before directly answering your question, I should like to note that following the Chernobyl disaster a great deal was done in this republic to reduce radiation effect on people and to improve people's health. Here are a few "bare" figures. A total of 93,600 persons were evacuated from the contamination zone, including 28,000 children. In order to examine these persons it was necessary to form 230 medical-radiation monitoring teams, to enlist the services of more than 3,000 doctors, more than 4,000 middle-level medical personnel, 1,500 medical institute upperclassmen, and a thousand people from various scientific research institutes. They performed 444,000 examinations of adults and one and a half million examinations of children. Preventive administration of iodine encompassed 4.5 million persons, and specifically 1.4 million children. Five specialized clinics were established, plus 1,680 beds in specialized departments at hospitals. This represents an extraordinarily large amount of work accomplished.

In addition, 77 villages with elevated radiation levels were identified. Persons remaining in those villages are provided with contamination-free food products, are provided with the means of paying for them, and are paid a 25 percent wage supplement.

This is all well and good. However.... People should have been evacuated from a number of other communities back then in 1986. The fact that this was not done is an unforgivable mistake.

[Hruzin] The Ukrainian CP Central Committee platform for the next elections states that there will be accelerated resettlement of persons from localities where safety from the standpoint of health cannot be guaranteed, particularly from 14 villages in Zhitomir and Kiev oblasts. Could you name these villages?

[Masyk] These include the following villages in Narodichskiy Rayon, Zhitomir Oblast: Polesskoye, Mali Minky, Shyshelivka, Rudnya-Ososhnya, Zvizdal, Velyki Klishchi, Mali Klishchi, Khryplya, Peremoha, Nozdryshche, Khrystynivka, and Stare Shorne. There will begin a phased resettlement from the town of Narodichi. Also on the list are the villages of Shevchenkove and Yasen in Polesskiy Rayon, Kiev Oblast. Phased resettlement from the towns of Polesskoye and Vilcha will also begin. 2,900 families are involved.

[Hruzin] Just these villages, or could others also be added?

[Masyk] That is a problem. There are still approximately 800 villages with radioactive contamination where people are "acquiring" cesium through the food chain. What is to be done with them? At the present time science has just one recommendation: provision of contamination-free food products, particularly milk and meat. There is the hitch: insufficient quantities of such foodstuffs are being allocated. Therefore this year we requested that the national government reduce republic contributions of milk and meat to national stocks, in order to channel them to the population of the radiation-affected areas. They reduced our annual procurement figures by 30,000 tons of meat and 450,000 tons of milk. But requirements total 70,000 tons of meat and 800,000 tons of milk. Therefore we are forced to seek additional reserves locally.

[Hruzin] Where are the people from the villages you mentioned going to be resettled, and when? What kind of preparations are being made for this?

[Masyk] According to a decision by the USSR Council of Ministers, resettlement is scheduled for 1993.

[Hruzin] Does this mean that people are going to have to live three more years in those frightful conditions?

[Masyk] The republic government has decided differently: 2,900 apartment units and single-family dwellings are to be built next year. I shall state at the outset that the scope of this project is enormous—construction will total 150 million rubles, for we are not talking just about

housing. We must also provide water, electricity, gas, roads, hospitals, schools, kindergartens, and stores.... Locations have already been designated. In Zhitomir Oblast: Radomyshefskiy, Korostyshevskiy, Popelnyanskiy, Novograd-Volynskiy, and Chervonoarmeyskiy rayons. Seven new villages will be built. In Kiev Oblast housing for resettled families will be built in existing rayon administrative seats and villages.

There is one matter of concern. Neither Zhitomir nor Kiev oblast can handle the planned scope of construction activities with their own manpower and resources. A contribution of effort must be made by the entire republic.

I would like to emphasize the following. Let us not forget that there is an acute need for housing in the Ukraine, with 2.4 million persons on the waiting list. Just consider how many housing units are needed. Resettlement from the closely-monitored zone means that it will be necessary to build even more housing. Thus a rather difficult picture emerges. For this reason I should like to take this opportunity and through your newspaper appeal to officials in all agencies and all oblast executive committees: lend a hand! It is our common misfortune, and we must work together to overcome it. It is our obligation as human beings, and let us fulfill this obligation with a sense of humanity.

Incidentally, Ternopol Oblast has already given a positive response to this.

[Hruzin] Kostyantyn Ivanovych, in connection with the subject of this interview, allow me to acquaint you with a letter recently received by our newspaper. One of our readers, Lidiya Matyukh, from the village of Lyubomirka in Polonskiy Rayon, Khmelnytskiy Oblast, writes: "I heard on the radio that people must be resettled from a number of localities which became radiation-unsafe after Chernobyl, but that this is being delayed due to a shortage of housing—that the housing has not yet been built. I had a thought: there are many untenanted cottages in our village and in other villages in the vicinity—some people have moved to the city, while others have died. And with a little repair, these cottages are perfectly livable. In addition, this is an attractive locality, by the Sluch River. We will soon be getting natural gas; work has already begun. We have nice pastures, if somebody wants to keep a cow. Could you pass on this information? Maybe some organization will make use of this opportunity to benefit our fellow man."

[Masyk] A wonderful letter. It confirms that the people in our republic represent a vast potential for charitable endeavor. We shall definitely study this aspect of the matter.

[Hruzin] A map was recently published, including in SILSKI VISTI, containing data on the overall environmental situation in this republic. What can you tell us in this regard?

[Masyk] It is good that this map was published: let people know the true situation, the true dimensions of the calamity facing us. It is a major problem: there exist only small strips of territory free of pollution and contamination, while over immense areas the environmental situation is catastrophic or close to it. Such areas, for example, include the area along the Dnieper, the Donbass, and the Zaporozhye area.... Thousands of industrial facilities are polluting the environment. Just enterprises posing a chemical hazard exceed 1,200. It is difficult to breathe polluted air. It is dangerous to utilize polluted water. What is the result of this? In recent years there has been a 25 percent increase in malignant tumors, a 47 percent increase in cases of bronchial asthma, and a 36 percent increase in endocrine disorders. I would say that the environmental situation has reached a powderkeg state.

[Hruzyn] Agriculture is also "doing its part" to make the environmental situation more critical.

[Masyk] It certainly is. The fact is that from the standpoint of ecology and the environment agriculture is developing according to the ominous residual principle. Consequently there is an imbalance of organic and mineral fertilizers. Add to that an overall elementary ignorance and incompetence in the transportation, storage, and utilization of fertilizers. Mineral fertilizers, and sometimes toxic agricultural chemicals as well, are stored right out in the open. Rains erode these piles down, and the runoff makes its way into streams and ponds. The Desna until fairly recently was a river which attracted tens of thousands of recreation-seekers from all over. Today its water is more heavily chemically polluted than the Dnieper. The same comment applies to the Dniester. Not only are polluting chemical plants situated along the upper reaches of this river. Agriculture contributes equally-harmful polluting runoff.

In view of the things we have been discussing, I am very encouraged by the USSR Supreme Soviet enactment entitled "Urgent Measures to Improve This Country's Environmental Health." I believe that the government is finally getting serious about this.

[Hruzyn] The enactment you mentioned states that there is a need to introduce universal ecological and environmental education. How do you visualize such education?

[Masyk] We are presently extremely illiterate ecologically. I am talking not only about the rank-and-file worker or kolkhoz farmer but also about managers and officials at all levels. We must resolutely correct this situation and without delay.

But just what do they mean by universal ecological and environmental education? Just your standard course of study? We have had them up to here. In my opinion such education should begin in kindergarten and continue through secondary school, college, etc. Friedrich Engels once said that one should not rejoice at a victory over nature, that nature will get even. It seems to me that bitter experience has taught us this lesson well.

A program of universal ecological and environmental education should be prepared and carried out on a national scale.

We are proceeding with such a program in this republic. It is no simple matter, however. Just consider the following: in Belorussia there are several governmental entities addressing problems pertaining to the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster: departments under the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, and Gosplan. In Kiev these matters are presently being handled by the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, as well as the commission secretary. All others, so to speak, are operating on the basis of volunteer effort and enthusiasm. It is true that an agreement was recently reached whereby we also shall have a special department.

[Hruzyn] Thank you, Kostyantyn Ivanovych, for this frank and candid conversation.

[Masyk] But you did not ask one question which I was expecting. May I state it myself? What is being done to make things easier for people residing in the Chernobyl disaster zone?

Here is a document, the result of efforts on the part of many republic organizations and local soviet agencies, comprising more than 400 pages. It is titled "Comprehensive Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station Disaster Recovery Program for the 13th Five-Year Plan and the Period up to the Year 2000."

It is a pity that I cannot enumerate all the items contained in the program. I shall therefore discuss only a few points which in my opinion are the most important. I have already stated that people will be resettled from villages where radiation contamination is high. More favorable living conditions are being created for those remaining in the zone. Some people fail to understand the need for this: why, they ask, should improvements be made, such as laying gas lines and building new social and services facilities? Everybody should be resettled and their problems addressed at their resettlement location. But here is a frightening, almost incredible fact for you to consider: 1,048 persons, including about 15 children, are presently residing behind the barbed wire, that is, in the 30-kilometer zone. And no force on earth can get them to move: "We were born here. This is our land, and we shall continue living here...." We are not abandoning them to their fate. We are providing them with contamination-free foodstuffs, and we are helping them however we can. And many people would dearly like to return to their home area!

In the villages which are scheduled for resettlement there are also many individuals who refuse to move. What will be done with them? The laws of compassion compel us to address their needs. Therefore we are building and providing facilities....

Everything we are doing and planning is dictated by practical need. It is particularly important to improve the system of material and financial assistance to persons

residing in radiation-contaminated areas. While formerly only employed persons were given additional payments to purchase contamination-free foodstuffs brought in from elsewhere, in connection with restricting the consumption of locally-produced food, now everybody is given this subsidy.

Thus a social injustice is being removed, which was penalizing veterans of labor—primarily pensioners.

One-time payments for newborn babies are being increased. Children are being provided free, nutritious meals at preschool establishments and schools.

Pregnant women are given three months pregnancy leave. Mothers are given paid leave until their child reaches the age of three years. Men are entitled to retire on pension at the age of 55, and women at the age of 50. Everybody is given preferential rights in obtaining medicines. A new regulation is being adopted for the first time: ministries, agencies, and trade unions are assigning over 5 percent of all sanatorium and rest house travel packages for the health needs of people in the above-discussed zone, and particularly mothers and children.

According to our calculations, a total of 11 billion rubles will be needed in order fully to implement all planned measures (including payment of benefits) during the coming decade. Proposals submitted by the republic on behalf of the national government are being examined at all-union ministries and agencies. We are hoping they understand the importance of the issues we have raised.

There is also cause for concern, however. The republic requested an allocation of 386 million rubles for 1990, for carrying out a number of Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station disaster recovery measures. Gosplan (in the person of Gosplan First Deputy Chairman Durasov) decided to allocate only 30 million rubles. This is not anywhere near enough.

We shall therefore not accept the situation as is but shall continue endeavoring to obtain adequate funding.

In conclusion, if the readers of *SILSKI VISTI* have any questions pertaining to the problems which I have touched upon in this interview, please pass their letters on to me. I as well as administrators and specialist personnel from the appropriate services will reply to such letters.

Ukraine Liquidates 4th Main Administration, Redistributes Facilities

90US0438 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
19 Dec 89 p 3

[Article from the information sector of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers: "The 4th Administration Was Liquidated"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers decided to liquidate the 4th Main Administration under the republic's Ministry of Health.

This decision was adopted in accordance with the recommendation by the Commission on Privileges of the USSR Council of Ministers, which not long ago had examined the state of medical services in the country. Commission members advocated the need to retain at this stage the presently existing territorial and departmental nature of the public health system. Following such an approach, the commission recommended that the 4th Main Administration under the USSR [sic] Ministry of Health be liquidated, which has now been done in the appropriate republic subdivision.

At the same time, the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers approved the decision to transfer the complex of the Chernomorskiy Sanatorium under construction in the city of Yalta to the republic's Ministry of Health for the establishment of a scientific treatment and rehabilitation center for children with bronchopulmonary diseases, primarily for those who live in regions with an increased radiation background. This institution located next to the widely known Nikitskiy Botanical Garden will have its own beach with all the proper amenities, a cinema hall, and a restaurant. Up to 200 children simultaneously will be able to get treatment at it.

This is already the ninth facility recently transferred from the system of the 4th Main Administration for the needs of health improvement, treatment, and rehabilitation of children, disabled persons, war and labor veterans, and internationalist soldiers. In particular, the premises of two former polyclinics on Pushkinskaya and Tarasovskaya streets, the central pharmacy, and a clinical laboratory were transferred to the Health Administration of the city of Kiev. A city polyclinic, an exercise therapy dispensary, and other general health institutions used by the people of Kiev have now been established at their base. The transfer of these facilities to the city together with the recent commissioning of a diagnostic center fitted with the latest equipment, where there are capabilities for an early detection of the most complicated diseases, have contributed to the strengthening of the potential of medical institutions in the capital of the Ukraine.

In September of this year in accordance with the decision of the republic's government a new polyclinic on Polina Osipenko Street, which has a therapeutic swimming pool and an exercise therapy hall, was placed under the authority of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health. The Republic Regional Center for Mother-and-Child Health Protection with a polyclinic and a day hospital is being organized at its base. Along with the people of Kiev mothers and children from Kiev, Zhitomir, and Chernigov oblasts, primarily from the settlements that have suffered as a result of the Chernobyl AES accident, will be serviced here.

Furthermore, to improve the health of children from regions subjected to radioactive contamination, in accordance with the same government decision the Smena Sanatorium in Yevpatoriya was subordinated to the indicated ministry. About 2,000 children can annually

muster their strength here. The children's Pobeda Sanatorium was transferred to the Kiev City Executive Committee. It is now being reconstructed. A new sleeping block with a treatment and nutrition unit is being built.

One of the best sanatoriums of the 4th Main Administration—Lesnaya Polyana—in a picturesque locality of the Pushcha-Voditsa settlement near Kiev was transferred for the organization of a republic hospital for internationalist soldiers.

Most of the indicated general health and health improving institutions were transferred with the retention of the staff operating at the time of transfer and with allocations and medical equipment.

A governmental commission was established for the solution of problems connected with the liquidation of the 4th Main Administration.

Latvian Academician's Report on AIDS

90US0500 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
11 Jan 90 p 4

[Interview with A. Blyuger, academician of the Latvian Academy of Sciences, scientific director of the Republic Center for Birth Control and Aids, by LATINFORM correspondent E. Genkin: "AIDS: Averting Catastrophe"]

[Text] The problem of AIDS is making itself known with ever increasing acuity. How great is the threat in terms of numbers of victims of this "plague of the 20th century"? What do we need to do to avert this catastrophe? These and other questions are answered here by A. Blyuger, academician of the Latvian Academy of Sciences and scientific director of the Republic Center for Birth Control and AIDS.

Anatoliy Fedorovich, recently V. Pokrovskiy, president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, published a rather unpleasant fact: it turns out that AIDS may be caused not only by a virus but also by radiation, certain medications, and poisons. It turns out that one's chances of avoiding this terrible disease are sharply curtailed.

[Correspondent] We are learning about more and more factors that can damage a person's immune system. However, the diseases they cause differ significantly from AIDS, which is an infection caused by a new virus and only after exposure to AIDS and which always leads to death. Today the different ways the immune system can be damaged are diagnosed with a high level of precision. So that the concept of the immune-deficiency virus as the chief cause threatening the extinction of man remains in force. True, recently a ray of hope has appeared. Why has there been no successful vaccine—with which all other infectious diseases have been beaten back—against AIDS? The problem is that in the course of the disease the immune-deficiency virus in each person is constantly changing the structure of its membrane's protein, and traditional methods of vaccination

cannot cope with this. If we learn to affect them, then the AIDS trigger will be within our grasp. It is in this direction, albeit still on monkeys, that American scholars have had encouraging results.

[Correspondent] Various horrifying figures have been cited with respect to the spread of AIDS. According to the prognosis of the World Health Organization, in the next decade there will be 15 million virus carriers on the planet. In the USSR this misfortune will befall 1-1.5 million people. Nevertheless, in our society as a whole, equanimity is the rule, even if an alarm is raised from time to time. Isn't this connected with the people's distrust of published figures?

[Blyuger] I would add that for our republic the prognosis for the next decade is not comforting either: 15,000 virus carriers, 300,000-400,000 sick. I would put the emphasis not on a distrust of figures but on the inertia of our society. The saying "If it doesn't thunder the peasant doesn't cross himself" refers nowadays to something much more real. Confirmation of this is the year's time since the tragedy in Armenia. Seismologists have spoken often of the possibility of an earthquake there. But only when the tragedy occurred did questions arise about serious defects in construction and the need to create special rescue services. We cannot—it would be simply criminal—apply the principle of residual health care planning to the fight against AIDS. In the United States, for example, the volume of state allocations alone to programs in this area amount to \$1.6 billion per year; in the USSR the figure is 10 million rubles. Yes, today America does have about 100,000 ill, but we are almost at the very same threshold. A positive example recently came from Estonia, which located hard currency to organize the production of disposable syringes, not only to satisfy the needs of that republic but will also to aid its neighbors. We in Latvia receive 5 million syringes a year, whereas the demand for them is at least 25 million.

[Correspondent] Doesn't it seem to you that the low effectiveness of hygiene education on AIDS issues is largely determined by the fact that it does not take into account the different social, age, and national groups of the population?

[Blyuger] Certainly, a twenty-year-old man and a pensioner have to be reached differently. That is one aspect of the matter that we are now ignoring. As in the past, however, the main complication is the great disparity between our knowledge of AIDS and people's actual behavior. Specialists believe that it is difficult to exercise a regulating influence on a sphere with biological and genetic roots like the sexual sphere, with which the principal means of spreading AIDS is connected. Drawing on the bitter experience of our brief history with AIDS, we advise maintaining one sexual partner only. A good number of young people, naturally, will not take that path. There is still a solution, though—the use of condoms in all casual liaisons. Unfortunately, the demand for these—amounting in our republic to 10 million a year—is being met by less than 50 per cent. The

third way to regulate sexual behavior is to avoid perverted sexual liaisons, especially homosexual ones. After all, the AIDS carrier has the virus in his semen, and it is easily transferred as a result of the sexual act directly into the blood. That is why the first victims have been homosexuals. In the West, where sexual permissiveness has been replaced by a sexual winter as a result of the onslaught of AIDS, the principles cited above for sexual behavior have acquired the name "safe AIDS."

[Correspondent] Equanimity is often the rule among medical people, too. Proof of this is the infection of dozens of children in Elista and Volgograd. An ominous joke is even going around: "AIDS warns that the Health Ministry can be dangerous to you. So it's not surprising that V. Pokrovsky is insisting that the law "On prophylactic measures against AIDS" worked out in the commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet cover criminal responsibility for medical personnel for infection due to negligence and carelessness. Do you agree with that kind of approach?

[Blyuger] There is no question of the necessity for articles of that kind in this law. After all, the immune-deficiency virus, unlike the hepatitis B virus, for example, which is also transmitted mostly by sexual means, is being wiped out easily and reliably as a result of simple boiling. We must apply the severest response to negligence. We cannot allow a pregnant woman and her future child to become victims of AIDS from blood sampling for analysis. We must examine the question of the responsibility of medical workers for refusal to render medical assistance due to the danger of infection. Such apprehensions are testimony to the absence of elementary information about the disease's epidemiology: we know that AIDS is not transmitted in normal contact with patients. A negative attitude toward these unlucky people sentenced to death is the crudest kind of discrimination. Many of them, unable to withstand this, try to commit suicide.

[Correspondent] Wherein lie the basic problems and tasks of the Republic Center for Birth Control and AIDS?

[Blyuger] Our center, formed under the auspices of the Republic Infectious Disease Hospital, is still very young. But thanks to the help of our sponsors—the agricultural research firm Pardaugav and the commercial agricultural firm Karat—we have already printed massive print runs in Latvian and Russian of our brochure, "AIDS: Averting Catastrophe," which contains 25 candid answers to the most alarming questions. We hope to enjoy the good offices of the press, the monthly publications, say, in periodic reporting of figures on the AIDS situation in the world, the country, and the republic. We are planning to open the republic's second office (the first operates under the Stradyn Hospital) for anonymous AIDS research. The next important direction for our work is monitoring all services, starting with hairdressers and cosmetologists and ending with stomatological institutions and the blood service. A special 30-bed

unit has been organized in the center for the research and treatment of virus carriers. We are also conducting a complex research program which, in part, includes the study of immunity and of the functions of the liver in AIDS sufferers and virus carriers and especially the treatment of AIDS in its conjunction with hepatitis B.

Specialists Examine Demographic Issues

90UN0826A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 90
Second Edition p 3

[Roundtable discussion prepared for publication by S. Oganyan and V. Shirokov: "The Person and the People"]

[Text] An active demographic policy makes the person with his urgent concerns and needs the focal point of our socioeconomic plans... How are we to manage the processes of population development in a socialist society during the period of perestroika? How are the structure and qualitative characteristics of the populace to be improved? Which social policy measures are necessary in order to reduce the death rate and incidence of disease, increase the birth rate and the life expectancy of people, increase labor participation, improve the position of women, young people, and elderly members of our society, reinforce the family and the health of the entire populace? How precise are our demographic research projects and projections? Do we take into account ethnic aspects in the course of carrying out an effective demographic policy?

In search of answers to these questions, the editorial office has approached prominent scientists—demographers, economists, sociologists, people's deputies. The readers whose letters we are now publishing have also become participants in this meeting.

The following have responded to the invitation of PRAVDA: Professor D. Valenty, doctor of economic sciences and head of the Moscow State University Center for the Study of Population Problems; Professor A. Kvasha, doctor of economic sciences; A. Ryabkov, director of the Central Scientific and Research Laboratory of Labor Resources of the RSFSR Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems]; V. Perevedentsev, candidate of economic sciences and senior research associate of the Institute of International Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Yu. Kuplyauskene, chairman of the "Family" Subcommittee of the Committee for the Affairs of Women, Protection of the Family, Motherhood, and Childhood of the USSR Supreme Soviet; A. Vishnevskiy, doctor of economic sciences and chief of the Demography Department of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of Population of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR Goskomtrud.

[Correspondent] What are the goals of the active demographic policy which we are so persistently proclaiming currently?

[Valentey] Let me begin by taking the liberty to doubt whether such a unified goal is at all possible for our vast country. At a recent academic council on "The Issues of Demography and Labor Resources," the number of peoples and ethnic groups in the union was variously put at 150 to 400. All peoples have their own ethnic peculiarities, traditions, cultural heritage, and way of life. Therefore, all of the above should be taken into account in studying and steering demographic processes. Each region should be distinguished by its own system of goals in the course of implementing an active demographic policy.

It would be proper to ask me: So, it turns out that you do not have a demographic policy goal that would apply to the entire country? We have such a goal. This is the development of the populace and improvement of its qualitative characteristics. Currently, the strength of a society is not in the number of inhabitants but exactly in the qualitative parameters of the populace—how educated it is, to what degree the economically active population has mastered modern equipment and technology, and, finally, how cultured it is. However, I would suggest not to look at all the elements of quality from a European viewpoint because this notion has a different meaning in many republics of Transcaucasia and Central Asia. One more common goal is health, health, and, once again, health by which we mean "a condition of complete physical, spiritual, and social well-being," as the statute of the World Health Organization puts it. I am not even talking about elementary things: In our society, every family has a complete moral, as well as constitutional, right to a dwelling...

"Our waiting list for the allocation of housing in the settlement of Kamennyy, Volnyanskiy Rayon, Zaporozhye Oblast, exceeds 100 people. The list may be getting longer, but nobody is about to build residential homes. To be sure, in 1988 they started building a 40-apartment house, they dug a foundation pit, and...that was it.

"The people here live in very poor conditions: in wet basements, in condemned homes, in dormitories (one room 11 square meters large for a family of four).

"Please help us make our leaders face our needs."
O. Lebed, G. Andros, and others.

[Kvasha] An active modern demographic policy calls for in-depth approaches, a precise statistical base for each region. At times, we thoughtlessly operate in terms of the data "for the country as a whole." This is no better than the infamous "hazel-hen" sausage which was made from one-half of a horse and one-half of a hen. A demographic policy has to proceed from a real situation in order to be effective. We should have a clear idea of what we want and what is going to happen to our population in the short and long term.

For example, what is the general trend in the movement of population currently? A perceptible new drop in the birth rate is emerging, especially in Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia where families tend to deliberately reduce

the number of children. Incidentally, in Central Asia, where for now a deliberately large number of children is preferred, the birth rate will also decline after the year 2000. This is already happening in the cities. This process has already begun in the villages.

[Kuplyauskene] According to the data which our committee has, the demographic situation in the country is alarming. In Moscow, for example, a catastrophe is about to happen: There are many more families with one child than there are families with two children. There will be trouble unless serious measures are taken which would reflect an absolutely new, active demographic policy. In the process, this policy should be implemented at both the all-union and regional levels taking into account the traditions and cultural standard of the peoples.

[Perevedentsev] The reproduction of population is perceptibly narrowed in the six republics where almost four-fifths of the entire population of the country live—in Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and the Baltic republics. This means that the number of children born is insufficient to replace the generation of their parents. Currently, we should have at least 250 to 260 births per every 100 families for the simple reproduction of the populace, that is, the numerical equality of the generations of parents and children. However, in the largest cities, one-half of the women would like to restrict themselves to one child, and the other half to two. Just a few percent would like to have three or more children. For now, the rural areas where the birth rate is approximately 40 percent higher than in the cities help us out. However, the share of rural inhabitants in the population is declining rapidly.

Our country has entered yet another period of a rapid decline in the number of births. In 1988, approximately 220,000 fewer children were born than in 1987. According to projections, last year resulted in an even greater decline. If the birth rate remains at the current level a demographic trough similar to that in the sixties is in store for us with all the unfavorable consequences which this entails: disproportions in the marital "market," fluctuations in the number of labor resources, and so on.

"My mother has given birth to 14 children, and has brought up 10. We do not have any conditions for normal life. My parents are simple people. My father is a driver and my mother is a worker. We live in a three-room house. Prices in the market are high. Buying five to six kg of meat claims almost the entire salary of my mother. Finding breeches for children, socks, and shoes is difficult... We buy things from speculators.

"I am 18 years old, and I sleep in the same room with my 15-year-old brother. It is plain shameful to write about it. Guests seldom come to our house. I am fed up with such a life."

P. Shikmagomedova, City of Derbent,
imeni Karl Marx State Farm

[Vishnevskiy] Certain processes which shape the demographic situation give rise to concern. The death rate is the first such process. Currently, it is no secret (but it was for many years) that the death rate in our country is excessively high by the standards of the late 20th century, and the average life expectancy is lower than in any developed country. Infant mortality continues to be extremely high.

Migrations of the population are a most powerful influence on the demographic situation. In recent years, certain "sore spots" of interregional exchanges are increasingly making their presence known. Currently, special attention is focused on the Baltic area where the ethnic composition of the populace has changed profoundly due to the continuous influx of people from other republics. As a result, a demographic problem there has become a political one.

[Correspondent] Indeed. We have happened to encounter this not only in the Baltic area. In Transcaucasia, this problem has come to the fore in a particularly sharp and abrupt manner.

[A. Vishnevskiy] Indeed, the aggravation of interethnic relations has recently become a quite substantial factor in interregional migrations. I am referring to the mass resettlement of Armenians, Azeris, Meskhetian Turks. Not one multiethnic region is safe from such flare-ups. In all of these cases, migrations were associated with tragic, bloody events which once again reminds us that ignoring sociodemographic problems over a long period of time brings about sharp and hard-to-settle political conflicts.

[Correspondent] However, people leaving rural areas, perhaps, still make up the main stream of migrants.

[Vishnevskiy] Without a doubt, the movement of population from the rural areas to the cities is a significant factor which has not been ultimately studied yet. Until the mid-seventies, this migration accounted for more than one-half of the entire increment of the urban population; currently, it is slightly higher than one-third. This period of mass resettlement from the rural to the urban areas is already behind us in most regions of the European part of the country, Siberia, and the Far East. At the same time, this process is still in store for Central Asia. Urbanization is a legitimate process; nobody can bypass it. We should give some thought right now to the consequences of this process and the possibility of managing it.

[Correspondent] Is it worthwhile to recall that the "disproportion" between the urban and rural population continues to increase in the developed countries? However, this does not bring about social discomfort, but rather the exact opposite. Perhaps, the point is not to hamper these natural processes but rather to make them our ally and try to manage them. In this matter, the family should play a decisive role... Perhaps, we should consider a family law which, in the opinion of M. Abukin from Chuvashia, will ensure a real meaning for the

existence of a person because, as he says, a man without a family is a fiction, a source of many troubles and woes...

[Kuplyauskene] I agree. In this reference, we need to discuss what kind of family the state needs—a family with many children which (under the current conditions it cannot be otherwise) "replenishes" the ranks of those violating the law, or one with a "medium number of children" in which there are three to four children for whom the parents and the society are able to provide regular upbringing and education? At issue here is the quality of a family.

How do we interpret the task of our subcommittee "Family?" I believe that the emphasis needs to be shifted: It is not the number of children in the family that is important but who they are. Currently, several creative groups are working on the issue of the family in various scientific establishments. They are independent of each other. We hope that the competitive programs which they will develop will provide the foundation for a businesslike discussion in the committee and subsequently at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet with a view to working out and planning a nationwide family policy. We intend to invite groups of independent experts who will be able to evaluate impartially the concepts submitted to us.

"My husband and I have five children. Mass transit for us is free. School meals also come free. Besides, the school provides a grant for purchasing uniforms. Once a year, we receive 20 rubles [R] per child. The enterprise where my husband works allotted R100 per every school student for 1 September.

"We are now expecting a resolution on the payment of R35 per every child monthly. This would be great! We feel the changes, and it is a pleasure to live!"

N. Malysheva, City of Tallinn

[Kuplyauskene] This is our point of departure: We want to bring up a healthy, educated, well-bred, active member of our society. The state itself should primarily be interested in this endeavor: After all, families provide labor and intellectual resources to this very state. The point is to have a serious partnership which, unfortunately, we have not seen happening thus far. Currently, a family which provides labor and intellectual resources for the state receives peanuts for this. However, it is well known that in order to secure profits meaningful amounts of capital need to be invested in the business without trying to get away with petty sops. This may only bring about bitterness.

[Vishnevskiy] As I see it, a substantial qualification is in order here. Family planning means planning a family by the parents themselves but by no means the interference in family affairs by state organs or, say, medical establishments. Every woman, every married couple should have an opportunity to freely decide how many children to bring into the world and when to do it. However, we are actually far from this freedom. We have been talking

about the problem of abortions till we are blue in the face, but no progress has been made. Even in the number of reported abortions per 1,000 women we are ahead of many countries by dozens of times. According to calculations by specialists, the needs of the population for contraceptives are met merely 10 to 30 percent. However, there are other factors which restrict the freedom of choice of the parents. They may be associated with the pressure of public opinion, with the dependent situation of the woman and just plain ignorance, the lack of information on opportunities for such a choice and the ways to make it for men and women.

[Kvasha] The issue of family planning is much more complicated than it appears to be. In this matter, directives and forcible actions will not be useful. We should carefully study the course of processes, be aware of their dynamics and forecasts, and regulate them with extreme caution. For example, a demographic policy with regard to the family should embrace the problems of divorce, take into account ethnic and national peculiarities and behavior stereotypes.

[Correspondent] Apparently, in our conversation we cannot avoid the issue of the ambiguous situation in which our women have found themselves as a result of the vulgarized interpretation of emancipation...

[Valentey] This is a separate issue. After all, it is paradoxical that the emancipation of women in our society resulted in...double employment: They are responsible for both work and child care. All of this influences the quality of the upbringing of children. Our day-care centers are no help in this matter because, as someone aptly observed, in our country they have become "warehouses for the temporary storage of children." It looks like the employment of women in our country is the highest in the world. Meanwhile, it is exactly in the family that the foundation of personality development is laid. Objectively, scientific-technical progress calls for the skills of workers, quality—their standard of upbringing, education, professional training, health, and culture—rather than quantity of the workers. These traits can only be imparted by a woman, the keeper of the hearth and the teacher. For our part, we have overburdened the women so that they don't even have a chance to breathe. We have forgotten what Likurg said in his time: "The power of the people is in the blossoming body of a woman!"

"Galya and I were married in 1979, and thus our wanderings began. Since then, we have moved 11 times in search of housing! Housing Stock Maintenance Administration No 18 of the City of Chelyabinsk finally gave us a one-room apartment when I agreed to work there as a plumber and my wife as a yard keeper. There was not enough money—I made R100, and she even less. I had to go to a plant where I now work as a molder in the steel foundry shop.

"I cannot bear to look at my wife when it snows (we await snow with horror) and Galya shovels it all day long. She

does not go to sleep but 'turns off' after putting her hands under the pillow so that they would not hurt. My Galya is being wasted with every passing day right before my eyes, though she is still young. We will be free only in 10 years—this is the time you have to serve in order to gain your freedom and deserve this miserable apartment. If only they would knock the time down...

"A little bit about my wife. She is 30 years old, a CPSU member since 1979. She has now been elected the chairperson of the labor collective at work. She bore me two daughters. Dilya is nine, and she is a 'meritorious worker' in her school, and Gulya, our dear, is six years old..."
Sh. Beshtimirov.

[Valentey] Bitter as this admission is, the slogan "Everything for the Benefit of Man" still remains merely a lofty phrase. We can endow it with real content only if we make the individual, serving his requirements and needs, the centerpiece of our socioeconomic and demographic policy.

[Correspondent] What do you propose? Is the science of demography capable of coming up with answers to the questions of the day?

[Valentey] I believe that the time has long come to switch from words to deeds. As they say, the situation prompts it. We need target-oriented comprehensive programs for the development of population in the territories. The fact that in some republics they undertook to compile such programs without studying properly the state of affairs in their regions causes alarm and concern. Once again, they want to solve a most serious problem in a cavalier manner—without a detailed, careful study of the demographic situation, scientific review, and in-depth preliminary research work.

[Perevedentsev] I believe that to this day we do not have a demographic policy which is clear-cut to any degree. The goals of such a policy have not been set forth in any instructive document. As far as the strategic goal of the policy is concerned, it should be without a doubt the preservation of at least simple reproduction of the populace. That is, we need to prevent a transition to narrowed reproduction where it is still expanded, and restore simple reproduction where it has become narrowed. Alleviating the new demographic trough which has begun should be the main tactical goal now that an opportunity to prevent it has been wasted.

Only a young family may ensure demographic well-being. Women under 30 currently account for three-quarters of all births. However, the young families are one of the most discriminated-against segments of the populace. They have the lowest per capita incomes and the worst housing conditions.

Among newlyweds, those who have grown up in single-parent families, as a rule, without fathers, account for a large share. The financial status of single mothers is usually low. On top of this, there are orphans, children of the handicapped and alcoholics... There is nobody who

could help them. I believe it would be proper to introduce repayable state grants to the young families. These loans may be tied to the demographic behavior of the spouses: As more children are born, the state writes off some of the debt.

"Once again these familiar words: 'To ensure a separate apartment for every family by the year 2000.' One thing they somehow forgot to mention somewhere: How are the young families to get by? Why doesn't anyone care about us? Perhaps, we should wait for yet another perestroika to begin? I have been married for three years, I have a daughter and a husband whom I love. He works at a plant of the All-Union Production Association Kaustik as a welder and takes home R180 because they do not pay more. We are registered as living each with our own parents, and they do not register us as living together with either side. What are we to do?"

"They would not put us on a waiting list for apartments, nor would they put us up in a dormitory. Wherever we go they refuse to help us. It costs a lot to rent an apartment [privately]. What are we to do, rob someone? My husband wanted to take out a loan, but his is a poor plant, and there is no money. When they get the money they will tell us: Too late, you are no longer a young family. So we live as the saying goes: 'We spend the night where we may and eat what we may.'"

Irina Krivorot, 21, City of Volgograd.

[Ryabkov] In the sphere of demography, our basic science has accumulated a good number of studies. We, the representatives of applied sciences, should use them skillfully. Indeed, we cannot approach the preparation of target-oriented programs for population development in the territories haphazardly. For example, when we prepared the first such program for Kalinin Oblast several hundred people took part in developing it.

This is the first experience but we intend to build on it by analyzing all demographic factors. Currently, we are preparing a Russian scientific-practical conference in order to develop together a concept of the RSFSR demographic policy. We have to hurry. After all, the number of rural residents is declining in 20 oblasts of Russia. This is a sign of the impending national disaster which we must avert.

It is necessary to elevate the demographic service in our country to a respectable level in order to know everything about the people, their requirements and needs. Unfortunately, there is an acute shortage of the cadres of skilled demographers. [Valentey] The USSR Goskomtrud has introduced the position of "economist-demographer" within its organization. Economist-demographers are very much needed not only in the Goskomtrud organizations of the union republics but also in a majority of our ministries and departments because drafting and fulfilling the plans of economic and social development is inconceivable without taking into account the demographic factor in the socioeconomic development of territories and regions, as well as of

industries. Economist-demographers are trained at the Moscow State University. However, for now this is a drop in the "bucket" of the need for demographic cadres.

Commentary by the Department of Social Policy

Let us not try to sum up this conversation. The topic of an active demographic policy merits a continuation because this policy affects virtually all of us. The scope of demographic problems of the Soviet society is so extensive and multifaceted that it merits a profound, versatile, and systemic study, especially currently, at a historically crucial moment.

April 1985 has brought to life the restructuring of our relations, of the economic system of life, and made the individual and his well-being the focal point of political and social attention. However, the individual is inexhaustible as an object of studies; this is why cognition of the regularities of his development is only possible through the joint efforts of many social and natural sciences. Demographers and economists, geographers and historians, ethnographers and lawyers, biologists and mathematicians should take part in developing the target-oriented programs of population...

The demographic policy will only be efficient when the approach to its implementation is made comprehensive, beginning with all-union legislative initiatives and through the development of efficient regional programs. The foresight of basic research, the specific, vigorous actions of "applied" institutes, the will of politicians, economic managers, and mass organizations—all of this will be required in its concentrated form in order to increase the well-being of the Soviet population to a new level, reinforce its physical and moral health, preserve our genetic stock, and improve the conditions of life considerably.

Indeed, our life has been difficult so far. The letters from our readers the excerpts from which we quote here testify to this. Many social problems have become more acute which has directly affected the demographic situation. Perhaps, we do not have to quote here a list of these shortcomings and shortages because we see them and hear about them every day. How is this lag to be overcome? We think that a substantive step has been taken by our parliamentarians to whom credit should definitely be given for the draft laws on the retirement benefits for citizens in the USSR and on leaves. Resolutions on additional measures for stabilizing the consumer market and reinforcing state price controls, and on urgent measures for improving the ecological situation carry a weighty social message...

To be sure, this is only a first approximation of the package of the measures necessary for an active social and demographic policy. Nonetheless, the beginning is hopeful. However, along with discussing the fundamental draft laws, we must also proceed in the direction of a more active demographic practice. Examples of practical solutions are already available; regional programs for the development of population have been

elaborated for Kirov, Kalinin, and Ulyanovsk Oblasts and the Nenets Autonomous Okrug. Thirty more such programs are being developed which will ultimately bring about the creation of a demographic draft for the entire Russian Federation. Such work is getting under way in other republics of the Soviet Union as well. This, however, is just the beginning, and it is necessary to step up our joint efforts aimed at improving the life of the people, of every person in our country in every way possible if this is to have a good continuation.

Georgian Population Statistics, Migration Trends

Population Figures Compared

90UN0915A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
24 Jan 90 p 1

[Report by GRUZINFORM: "Republic Population Statistics"; comments by Taymur Ratiani, chairman of the Georgian SSR State Committee for Statistics]

[Text] As is well-known, preliminary results of the 1989 all-union census were published last April.

Territory	Total Population	Men	Women	1989 Total to 1979 Total (Percent)
Georgia				
Total	5,443,359	2,581,411	2,861,948	108.5
Cities	3,035,748	1,420,499	1,615,249	116.7
Countryside	2,407,611	1,160,912	1,246,699	99.7
Tbilisi	1,263,368	580,340	683,028	118.2
Abkhazskaya ASSR				
Total	535,634	253,914	281,720	106.0
Cities	256,282	118,961	137,321	107.5
Countryside	279,352	134,953	144,399	104.7
Adzharskaya ASSR				
Total	392,707	188,269	204,438	110.9
Cities	181,768	85,045	96,723	113.5
Countryside	210,939	103,224	107,715	108.7
Yugo-Osetinskaya AO				
Total	99,102	47,746	51,356	101.8
Cities	50,268	23,808	26,460	122.1
Countryside	48,834	23,938	24,896	86.9

In the future, jointly with the republic State Committee for Statistics, we will report on various aspects of the 1989 population census.

Now we offer our readers the final, updated data from the census in our republic and its autonomous entities prepared by the Georgian SSR State Committee for Statistics.

The newspaper asked Taymur Ratiani, chairman of the Georgian SSR State Committee for Statistics, to comment on these figures.

"As you can see, according to the results of the census, the population of Georgia rose to 5.443 million, or 8.5 percent compared to 1979. Is it a lot? Let us just say that as far as population increase is concerned, Central Asian republics and Azerbaijan were far ahead of Georgia, whereas Moldavia, Armenia and Lithuania surpassed us very little. Tajikistan and Uzbekistan saw greatest increases, of 34 percent and 29 percent, respectively. The Ukraine had the lowest rise, 4 percent; Latvia had 6 percent, Belorussia 7 percent, etc. The share of urban population in the republic rose to 55.8 percent from 51.9 percent in 1979 and 22.3 percent in 1926. The republic has 2.862 million women, or 52.6 percent, and 2.581 men. It is noteworthy that for the past 50 years the number of women has been consistently greater than that of men.

Since the previous census, the Georgian population rose 10.3 percent and amounted to 3.787 million, while in the country overall the total number of Georgians is 3.981 million. The increase was 11.5 percent.

In the past decade, the number of Georgians rose by 354,000; they make up 70.1 percent of total population of the republic.

Migration Issue Examined

90UN0915B Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
25 Jan 90 p 3

[Article by Avtandil Sulaberidze, director of the Economics Institute department of population economics and demographics: "Migration, Its Causes and Consequences: Opinion of a Specialist"]

[Text] The issue of demographic policy in the republic and its stability concerns not only scholars but everyone in Georgia. To learn more about these processes, a study has been conducted in Tetrtskaroyksiy Rayon, allowing researchers to identify some general trends in migration.

Representatives of the Georgian SSR State Committee for Labor, the Georgian SSR State Committee for Statistics and the Georgian Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics participated in the study. The newspaper asked Avtandil Sulaberidze, director of the Economics Institute department of population economics and demographics, to say a few words about the results of that study and factors influencing demographic trends.

First, let me cite some figures. In the 1970s and 1980s, intensive migration from the Tetrtskaroytskiy Rayon left 30 Georgian villages empty and chased many Armenians, Russians, Greeks and members of other nationalities from their homes. In the 1980-89 period, the population of the rayon stabilized, and now has reached 36,500 resident, or 1,300 more than in 1979. But this is deceptive. Had there been no net emigration, rayon population would have grown by nearly 3,000.

The existing demographic situation reflects not so much reproductive patterns of certain population groups as various migration processes which in turn are determined by a whole range of social factors. Lack of sufficient attention on the part of party and soviet entities to the needs of the population, especially young people, and the low level of development of social infrastructure on the countryside have led to migration of the reproductive-age population to Tbilisi, Rustavi and Krasnodar and Stavropol krays. I want to stress that in this situation **special attention must be paid to young people, as well as to families with many children.** Currently, the rayon has 95 large families, but measures by soviet entities to provide land, housing and deficit goods to those families are highly inadequate. The rayon has hundreds of young families, more than half of whom live with parents and are in need of land on a credit basis to build their own homes.

The existing gender imbalance in the rayon also has a negative impact on demographic stability. Women comprise 53.8 percent of the population, which causes men to migrate actively.

All this is reflected in the age profile of the population. Residents 60 years of age and older make up 16.8 percent of the population, which exceeds accepted international standards of aging. Meanwhile, the category of 14 years and older is declining. Based on analytical data, the share of aged residents is expected to rise considerably, leading to a dramatic decline in the rate of natural population increase by the year 2000.

The birth rate has stabilized in the Tetrtskaroytskiy Rayon in recent years. This happened both due to the increase in the share of people of reproductive age and reproductive patterns of rayon residents belonging to nationalities other than Georgian, especially Azerbaijanis and Greeks.

It is noteworthy that the mortality rate has declined in the rayon, including child mortality, but due to the high proportion of the aged in the population it may rise again by the year 2000, especially if no decisive measures to

reduce migration processes and to radically improve medical care are implemented. The shortage of hospital beds on a per capita basis is felt acutely (the figure is half the average for the republic as a whole), and the material and technical base of medical clinics falls short of modern standards. In many villages, nursing stations are located in private apartments or similar adapted premises and are poorly stocked. Medical services are understaffed and the professional level of doctors and junior medical personnel does not meet requirements.

The material and technical base of public education and preschool facilities is strengthening slowly. In the 1984-89 period, 7 new schools were planned, but only 2 built. Only one preschool facility was built, even though 79 percent of schools and preschool facilities are housed in adapted or dilapidated buildings. There is a tremendous shortage of school cafeterias and lunch rooms; moreover, they are poorly supplied with milk, milk products, fruit and vegetables.

The level of economic development has a decisive impact on migration trends in Tetrtskaroytskiy Rayon, for it influences employment levels. Agriculture and processing industries have been plagued by major problems in recent years. Productivity in the socialized cattle industry has grown slowly and production of grain, grapes, eggs and wool has declined.

Very radical steps are needed to speed up the completion of structures under construction, since they would improve considerably the social and consumer situation and halt migration processes. This is especially true since the industrial sector in the rayon is poorly developed, with only 5.8 percent of population holding jobs there, which indicates a very low level of urbanization.

Low economic potential in the rayon negatively impacts the level of employment and the use of labor resources. The analysis of the labor force in 1988 showed that on average only 53 percent of residents were employed. Even though new forms of economic activity, such as leasing and team, family and individual contracts, have become widespread in the rayon, their potential is not fully tapped. Intensification in some agricultural industries in the Tetrtskaroytskiy Rayon will free a share of labor resources in agriculture, and the need to take urgent measures to create additional jobs is already apparent. Low productivity, especially in light and local industries, the use of seasonal workers at many enterprises, reliance on unskilled workers and a number of other factors create economic difficulties, lead to high rates of turnover at enterprises and encourage migration.

Taking all these factors into account, one can forecast that the problem of employment in the rayon will not be pressing or painful.

The large number of commuters moving within the rayon is noteworthy.

Every day, 1,482 village residents come to work to Tetrtskaro, while 113 workers commute from the rayon center

to the countryside. This is a sign that the housing and other social and economic problems have not been solved.

Currently, some 198 families in the rayon center, or 1,000 residents, need better housing, but in the past 30 years the local soviet has built just two apartment buildings, with 40 and 54 apartments, respectively. The leadership of the rayon does not provide sufficient encouragement to private builders and housing cooperatives in Tetritskaro and in the town of Manglisi. Yet, this path could result in seven apartment buildings being built, containing 60 apartments each, which would provide apartments for all families.

The level of consumer services in the rayon is low. An overwhelming majority of enterprises are run by small artisans and labor conditions are extremely poor, which greatly reduces the quality of work and service. The technical level of those consumer service enterprises is low and most equipment is morally and physically overworked. The situation could be improved if industrial enterprises and sovkhozes got involved in repairing and rebuilding the consumer service sector, but the local soviet ispolkom has failed to tap this resource. Based on all this, one can understand why the level of consumer services is so low.

Retail services in the rayon also fall short of modern standards. The rate of increase in store turnover is half of what is called for by the plan, and the rayon consumer union has failed to reach planned targets in the production of bread and candy; the cooperative movement did not develop properly, even though it could help reduce emigration.

The salient fact is that party and soviet leaders and consumer unions are primarily concerned with stocking the shops in the rayon center and pay less attention to whether or not country stores have basic commodities.

In the town of Samgereti, some 17 items from the list of 40 staple food and manufactured goods were absent from the store and the store itself looked unimpressive and was wanting capital repairs. The material base of most retail trade outlets is similar; moreover, most of them lack heat in winter months. The system is not using economic accountability, with the exception of two family-run stores. The rayon consumer union does not pay enough attention to providing paid services to consumers; no such services have been introduced in retail trade or in public catering.

The problem of improving transportation services and roads in the rayon is an acute one. It is especially pressing due to the large number of people commuting both within and outside the rayon. Much work is being done today in Tetritskaroyskiy Rayon to repair highways, but continued lack of access roads to 20 of rayon villages reduces the effectiveness of this program. Some villages lack transportation, and buses often fail to serve certain routes and fall behind schedule.

I want to stress that despite the above-mentioned problems, certain improvements have been made in Tetritskaroyskiy Rayon in the past two years, but in this article we deliberately focus on unsolved issues, since they encourage migration processes, while countermeasures have not been effective and have failed to turn the situation around.

One newspaper article can not describe all aspects of the migration process in the rayon or to give proper attention to the area of culture, for instance. But two examples will suffice to show its level. Residents of some villages see no movies for months on end, and even television fails to rectify the problem.

Broadcasts by Georgian television either are not received in the rayon or reception is very poor. Meanwhile, Armenian television broadcasts can be seen perfectly.

It should also be mentioned that services in the rayon do not procure reliable statistical data which would help assess objectively the demographic situation there. Most village soviets do not even bother to fill out requisite statistical forms. Consequently, migration data in our analysis differ greatly from official sources. This is the result of the lack of defined migration policy and poor efforts by relevant bodies to carry it out. Special blame belongs to internal affairs entities which violate the law when they issue residency permits to citizens and fail to bolster the passport system.

Due to the need to stabilize the demographic situation not only in the Tetritskaroyskiy rayon but in the republic in general, one important conclusion must be drawn. Plans of socio-economic development of different rayons in Georgia must be very closely aligned with the demographic situation there, and concrete measures to develop and implement migration policy must be carried out.

Readers Suggest Further Pension Law Changes

90US0411A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 3, 20-26 Jan 90 p 3

[Readers' letters discussing pension law changes]

[Text] Strange Logic

So finally the long-awaited draft of the Pension Law has appeared, whose authors, as always, have taken care of themselves. A good law, there is no denying it, but it is good only for the pensioners of the 1990's, for whom a pension of 350 rubles is envisaged. As far as the basic mass of veterans now living is concerned, for the majority of them increments of 5-20 rubles to their miserable pensions as a sop are envisaged.

They have offended the people who realized the five-year plan, defended the Fatherland against fascism, forged the Victory in the rear, and restored the economy that was destroyed by the war. In essence they remained in

the new Law without anything. The legislators know that these people will not strike, like the miners, and will not make their way into the squares with placards and the slogan: We want social justice still during our lifetime. Our generation was not accustomed to such demonstrations. The regimes taught us to be silent and to endure. In the draft Law discrimination with respect to the present pensioners was permitted. According to Article 65 of the Law, the time of the pensioner's work, after he was given a pension, is not taken into account in its conversion. Why? It is incomprehensible!

And another thing. The draft does not take into account the proportionality of the wages of the 1960's and 1970's with the wages of the 1990's, from which the pensions previously were and will be calculated. For example, a person in the 1960's received 140 rubles in wages, from which the pension was calculated, while in the 1990's another for the same work will receive twice as much—about 280 rubles. In the conversion, the first will receive 7 rubles in increments to the previously calculated pension of 70 rubles, for the second a pension of 154 rubles will be calculated. For equal work an unequal pension. Where is the logic, the common sense here?

V. Shulyak, Kalinin Oblast

Do Not Depersonalize Pension Increments

Today this question has already gone from the sphere of the punctilious, not under discussion, for this reason, pardon me, if I with all the directness of a former soldier express my opinion about the publication of "We Are All Soldiers" in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 47.

In refusing the 50-percent increment to his pension, T. Matveyev cites the fact, they say, that he is ashamed before his fellow-villagers, since all fought equally in the war, and today there is no sense in dividing the soldiers into categories.

I do not know where the author of the letter fought, but the opinion which he expresses seems blasphemous to me.

No one has the right to depersonalize the heroic deed, the personal bravery of the soldier. And the increment to the pension envisaged by Article 96 of the new Pension Law is not only deserved, but also a justified acknowledgment in the highest degree of the high moral qualities of the soldier of the Great Patriotic [War].

A. Ivanov, Kurgan

Lines from Letters

The principle of the calculation of the pension can remain the same as the draft proposes. But the pension should be limited not by a firm sum, but by a percentage relationship to the average wage for the country for persons of hired labor and an annual correction to the wage and price level that has taken shape.

B. Sokolov, Moscow

I am surprised by the position of our leading organs, who do not understand or pretend that the restrictions in the payments to working pensioners strike not at the pocket of the pensioner, but the state, which is deprived of the services of the workers with great life experience.

V. Alekseyenko, Irkutsk

The employees of our collective are not in agreement with one of the points of the draft, where it is stated that pay for combining jobs will not be taken into account in the calculations of pensions.

The specific character of our institution is the following: For years there has been a shortage of physicians and nurses in pediatric wards and in some departments of the polyclinical service.

The administration, at times by persuasion, more frequently by pressure on the consciousness, forces the servicing of these sectors of work. For years and decades, people have invested their strength and health for the good of the common cause. And as a result, the pension scale is equal for all.

Collective of the 4th Polyclinic for Children, Kharkov

In my view, there should be an addition to Article 96: "For persons who took part in battles to defend the Fatherland or who fulfilled international duties, there should be an automatic pension increase of 10 percent, and for the wounded and shell-shocked—a 20-percent increase.

Yu. Chernek, Chapchagay, Kazakh SSR

Previously an increment for uninterrupted length of service was envisaged. Now a person, who has worked at one enterprise for 30 and more years, does not have any advantages over "drifters."

If increments for uninterrupted length of service of many years' standing will be established by enterprises, this will put people in an unequal position: Not every enterprise is sufficiently strong financially.

N. Zhilenko, Ufa

Toilers? No, Loafers!

At the session during the presentation of the Pension Law it was stated that it will help to eradicate laziness. Then it turns out in our country that the laziest in the USSR are midwives, lady teachers, and nurses in kindergartens, all those who are doomed to receive the minimum wage. And we have millions of those, and these are basically women. And after this we still believe that there is no discrimination against women in our country!

I propose to calculate the pension depending on the length of labor service and, of course, qualifications, in order to avoid wage-levelling. And the calculation of the length of labor service should also be conducted in a differentiated manner. Let us say, count every year of a miner's work for 3 years, according to the first list—for 2, according to the second list—for 1.5. To add 2-3 years for women who have brought children to the age of 18,

regardless of whether or not she took off to care for a child. But this money should be paid by the republic, depending on the demographic situation and the financial possibilities. Other benefits for various strata of society can also be agreed on.

The law can become universal. It can be applied for all citizens of the country—including for servicemen, counting a year of their service for 2 years' length of service (and in some cases, like Afghanistan, for 3). The pension problem is being solved for those who were subjected to repression under Stalin, but survived and were rehabilitated. For front-line soldiers and war invalids to count a year of being at the front as 3 years' length of service.

My proposal is to force the valuation of work, to have less free time, and to work more.

N. Yavorskiy, Kharkov

Value Courage

In the press it is reported from time to time how a young lad or girl, at the risk of their own life, save a child. Not infrequent are cases where a young man defends a girl who has fallen into the hands of hooligans, and as a result receives a severe injury and loses his ability to work. One can cite quite a few other examples of heroism, but this is not the point. The main thing is something else: How the state treats those who became disabled during the performance of their civic duty. Article 28 of the draft Law "On the Pension Security of USSR Citizens", depending on the group of disability, establishes a pension allowance ranging from 30 to 55 percent of the wage, or from 50 to 100 percent of the minimum wage. What, in such a case, can a 20-year old young man and student, employee or worker with a scanty length of labor service and wage of not more than 140-160 rubles count on? If, while fulfilling his civic duty, he becomes an invalid of Group I-II, his pension will not exceed the minimum level, i. e., 70 rubles. To find work with disability of Group I or Group II is extremely problematical, what is more the health will not make it possible to work at full strength. Taking as the point of departure what has been set forth above, I propose to formulate Article 31 of the Law in the following manner: "Citizens (not indicated in part one and points "a" and "b" of part two of Article 3 of the present Law), who have become invalids in connection with the performance of state or public duties or in connection with the fulfillment of the duty of a citizen of the USSR in saving human life, in the protection of socialist property and law and order, are given pensions in the following dimensions:

- Invalids of Groups I and II—75 percent of wages, but not less than the threefold size of the minimum wage;
- Invalids of Group III—25 percent of wages, but not less than one and a half times the size of minimum wage;"

Such a wording of the article puts, first of all, the indicated category of invalids in equal conditions with

citizens who have gone on pension for reasons of age with a minimum wage of 70 rubles. Secondly, people who have courageously fulfilled their civic duty will be convinced that the state values them and rewards them appropriately.

V. Kpysh, docent, Ryazan

Koran to be Published in Journal PAMIR

90US0411B Moscow SOYUZ in Russian No 2,
08-14 Jan 90 p 18

[Interview with M. Mulludzhzanov, writer, editor-in-chief of the journal PAMIR, by Aleksandr Karpov, IZVESTIYA correspondent in Dushanbe: "SOYUZ Interview: The Koran Is Being Printed in PAMIR"; date not specified; first paragraph is SOYUZ introduction]

[Text] The literary and art monthly PAMIR—the organ of the Union of Writers of Tajikistan—is beginning to publish the Koran—the sacred book of the Muslims. The IZVESTIYA correspondent talks with the editor-in-chief of the journal, the writer M. Mullodzhzanov.

[Correspondent] Masud Saidovich, if I am not mistaken, in periodicals the Muslim Holy Scripture will appear for the first time in our country....

[Mullodzhzanov] In our country, the Koran has in general been published infrequently and has practically been unavailable to the general reader. I know only one translation into Russian that was completed during the Soviet period. It was earmarked for a narrow circle of specialists and philosophers, atheists, and historians. Accordingly, the edition was scanty. Moreover, few could obtain this book, which was available only in large libraries. Still quite recently, the official attitude to religion was uniformly negative, as to a harmful, even hostile ideology. Other times have come, and we, finally, have recognized that religion is a phenomenon of culture, that the centuries-long history of mankind developed within the framework of various religious faiths, whose ideas penetrated the morals, national traditions, and art.

Yes, our journal, as the first in the country, will undertake the publication of the sacred book of the Muslims. But in and of itself, the idea to acquaint the general reader with the fundamental religious outlooks is not new. Yulian Semenov, in "Detektiv i politika" [The Detective Story and Politics] published "Ecclesiastes". The journal LITERATURNAYA UCHEBA gave its pages to the Gospel. . . .

[Correspondent] PAMIR appears in Tajikistan in the Russian language. What, in your view, is the circle of readers, who will be interested in the Koran?

[Mullodzhzanov] Of course, above all, the readers of our republic will receive the possibility of getting acquainted with it. Unfortunately, it has turned out that today many Tajiks do not know their native language. The number of people who are able to read Arabic, generally speaking, is

extremely small. And this is still another obstacle which prevents access to this outstanding monument of culture. We are thus filling a gap. A significant part of the edition is being sold outside the boundaries of our republic. The neighboring regions of Central Asia, Azerbaijan, the Northern Caucasus, the Muslim Volga Region, and the Urals—there, too, civilization developed under the sign of the Crescent. In the years of restructuring, when the people are learning not simply to be friends, but also to live, understanding the problems of each other and helping to solve them, the knowledge of their spiritual sources, I think, is necessary.

As far as the Russian translation is concerned, it needs to be emphasized: A deep interest in the Muslim Holy Book has always been characteristic of Russian literature. Let us remember Pushkin's famous "Imitation of the Koran" (I swear by odd and even. . . .), and also the work of Chernyshevsky on the translation of this piece of oratory.

The whole work was completed by N. Osmanov, doctor of philology, professor, and specialist of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The volume of the manuscript is large. From issue to issue, PAMIR will be printing it for approximately 2 years.

Scholars Urge More Extensive Study of Islam in Soviet Society

*90US0522A Tashkent KOMSOMOLETS
UZBEKISTANA in Russian 17 Jan 90 p 2*

[Interview with Stanislav Mikhaylovich Prozorov, head scientific associate of the Leningrad branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Eastern Studies and director of its Islamic studies group by KOMSOMOLETS UZBEKISTANA journalist A. Arkatovskiy: "Islam: An Objective Approach is Indispensable"; introductory remarks by Abdudzhabar Abduvakhitov, academic secretary of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Eastern Studies]

[Text] The Fourth coordination meeting of Soviet Islamists in Leningrad [discussed] "Islam: Traditions and Innovations." The common thread of the entire conference was a rejection of a Europe-centered approach to the understanding and interpretation of Islam and, particularly, of the processes that are taking place in the Islamic world, a rejection of attempts to fit all this into a European framework. Continuous dialogues with moslem scholars, with theologians, were recognized as being indispensable so as, on the basis of common human values and the broader laws of human development, in a comparison of European and Moslem civilizations, to evaluate particular phenomena and events scientifically.

The opinion of the many leading eastern scholars speaking at the conference was united on the question of confirming the priority of Uzbekistan in Islamic studies within the USSR. All conditions are present for the development of an Islamic scientific direction within our

republic, in particular in Tashkent, including the personnel potential of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Eastern Studies and of a number of other scientific and educational institutions in Uzbekistan. It is specifically in Tashkent that the Central Asian Moslem Spiritual Directorate (SADUM) is located, where theologians well known not only here in our country but throughout the entire Moslem world are doing creative work.

And, finally, we have something to study: The manuscript collection of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Eastern Studies, along with a multitude of books from the middle ages on medicine, mathematics, astronomy, and history, also contains the writings of a large number of religious sources and works on the history of religion in the East. Objective study of these sources is shedding light on many questions of the development of the peoples of the East both of the middle ages and of today. In particular, study of Islamic social and political movements and organizations in the middle ages would greatly contribute to an understanding of the complicated processes that are connected with the contemporary social and political movements of the Moslem world.

At the present time there are already plans to bring together the republic's Islamic scholars for this type of research, scientific ties with SADUM are being organized within the department of Islamic studies at the Institute of Eastern Studies, and the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences has started work on translation of the Koran, with scientific comment, into the Uzbek language, in which both translators from SADUM and lead scientific associates from a number of academic institutes are taking part.—Abdudzhabar Abduvakhitov, academic secretary of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Eastern Studies

With these reflections, we present an interview, reprinted with minor abridgment, from the Leningrad youth newspaper SMENA under the title: "The Koran, a Book of Love or Hate?". The conversation partner of our correspondent, D. Arkatovskiy, is head scientific associate of the Leningrad branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Eastern Studies and director of its Islamic studies group, Stanislav Mikhaylovich Prozorov.

[Arkatovskiy] Stanislav Mikhaylovich, according to various calculations, the number of Moslems in the USSR ranges from 10 to 100 million persons. For a start, how many followers of Islam are there in our country, anyway?

[Prozorov] Such statistics have never been kept in the Soviet Union and therefore I cannot give you precise figures. All the more so, because arguments are still going on between scholars regarding who should be considered true Moslems: the person who was born and grew up in a region where there is a strong Moslem influence—i.e. the Moslem based on self-confession, or only the person who strictly follows the religious precepts of Islam, who

prays to Mohammed five times a day, goes to a mosque, etc. Not only do we do not know the most general information about the Moslems, but in general all information concerning the history, traditions, and culture of Islam has for decades been distorted by our ideological dogma.

[Arkatovskiy] I also have not evaded distorted information about Islam. And therefore, having been brought up on the phrase, "Islam is the religion of fanatics," I am rather frightened. It seems that this is the proverbial critical mass, ready to explode at any moment...

[Prozorov] Of course, a certain danger does exist, but I would not start blaming the Moslem for this. Indeed, what great follies been committed in connection with the Moslems! Budenniy's march into Central Asia, Stalinist repressions against the Moslems, destruction of mosques, destruction of manuscripts. If all this had not happened, our mutual relationships with the Moslem world could have been built on a different foundation and negative attitudes would not have developed toward our policies, toward everything Christian. But there is the only path to overcome hatred—honest information. Moreover, from both sides...

And it is not extremist attitudes, after all, which define the moslem world. Extremists exist everywhere; this is not a specific characteristic of Islam. To imagine that Islam is being preached by a group of cutthroats is very harmful. As an Islamist and as a citizen, I see my task to be to ensure that a socially normal climate exists in my home, in my society. And for this, I repeat, it is necessary to misinform one another less.

[Arkatovskiy] And, nevertheless, the events in Iran do not convince me of the peace-loving character of Islam...

[Prozorov] It is possible to speak to the same degree about the militant tendencies of Christianity. Recall the inquisition, the persecution of the schismatics... We are not talking about recognizing or not recognizing Islam as a peace-loving religion. It is simply necessary to understand that for an enormous part of the population there exist their own traditions and values. Disregarding this fact leads to an exacerbation of interethnic relationships.

Well, and the situation in Iran... Remember, this is their situation. Perhaps, for us, it is not a normal one—but, for the Iranians, it is in the order of things. Before his demise, Khomeini wrote to Gorbachev. And in his communication, the leader of Shiite Islam, which for 14 centuries has preached the indivisibility of religion and politics, wrote that our perestroika will be able to achieve success only when it officially recognizes religion as a state institution. Does this seem absurd to you? And they do not think otherwise about themselves. This is why it is important that our politicians listen to our Islamist scholars. I am sure that the solution with regard to Afghanistan would have been different if we had a

good knowledge of the Islamic situation in that country... Incidentally, western specialists already many years ago predicted to their governments those events that are now occurring in Iran.

[Arkatovskiy] Stanislav Mikhaylovich, there are about 800 million Moslems in the world. This means that this is the second largest religion in the world in terms of numbers. How does Islam attract so many believers?

[Prozorov] I think, with its simplicity. Islam has never known the hierarchy which exists, for example, in Christianity. In Islam, a person relates directly with God, manifests his own selfness [samost]... In our times, while, in our attempt to create a "new Soviet man," a levelling of social and moral values has taken place, Islam provides an opportunity to preserve one's own internal inviolability. And not to consider this circumstance, it is a dangerous delusion to continue to teach the wretched theory that Islam is dead. Those who are more deeply familiar with its history know that Islam is capable of self-development. The potentials of Islam are far from exhausted. For example, this religion is not canonized. It is very mobile and quickly adapts to the new. It is absolutely necessary that we take the vitality of Islam into account...

It was born as a religion at a stormy crossroads of international life, where, before this, people had their own traditions, their own views of the world order, and cultures. It is not at all surprising that Islam incorporated within itself some elements of the environment in which it arose. Therefore, we can find in the Koran parallels with the Bible as well. But this is not simply a retelling, a restating of the "book of books." This is a newly constructed edifice that has its own design, its own architect. When the Koran appeared, it reflected a different level of religious consciousness and corresponded to different social conditions. Besides this, Islam views the Koran as a holy writing which was given for the purpose of elucidating the law of God. It is precisely in this same rank that the Moslems place both Judaism and Christianity. It is here that, as it were, that God's law has developed over time. And so, the deity has sent to earth a new prophet—Mohammed.

Up until now in the Soviet Union there has been an unstated prohibition against reading and publishing the Koran. And, I think, the fear is that people, having read the principle book of Mohammedism, will suddenly become believers. Simply, the less a person knows, the easier it is to govern him. A monopoly on thought—this also is what predetermines the official attitude toward the Koran. But, indeed, this is a great monument of literature, history, culture, and philosophy.

[Arkatovskiy] I agree with you. In order to overcome the anti-Islam phobia that is very widespread not only in our own country but throughout the entire world, it is necessary to know the psychology of the person who

holds the Moslem faith, is values, his views, and potentials... And in connection with this, a question: Where and how is Islam being studied today in the USSR?

[Prozorov] There is not a single educational institution in our country where Islamists could be trained. There exist, of course, eastern studies faculties, among them also at Leningrad University, but they do not even give a introductory course in Islamic studies there, there are no lectures on the history, on the philosophy of Islam! Therefore, the very first task of scholars is the training of personnel, the creation of study materials, of reading books for students studying the world of Islam. Another direction is the preparation for publication of popular science literature on Islam. And if earlier there was a flood of anti-religious, anti-Islam "pulp literature," which, incidentally, was used very successfully by our ideological opponents in the West to show the inhumanity of socialism, then now we have put out a whole series of books on the history, culture and politics of Islam which are accessible in terms of their content... I want to specify right off that I am not talking an idealization of

Islam; what we are talking about is the dissemination of scientifically-based information about Islam.

[Arkatovskiy] Judging by everything, your group was very late in the forming...

[Prozorov] Yes, although even in olden times there were good Islamic studies traditions in Petersburg—at their source stood such great scholars as V.B. Bartold, I.Yu. Krachkovskiy, and later—P.A. Gryaznevich and A.B. Khalidov. And in 1980, as a result of an outside push—the events in Afghanistan and Iran—the Leningrad Islamic studies group was ordered established. During the past nine years we have trained several dozen professional Islamists.

For a long time now, scholars in the Soviet Union have understood the importance of studying the processes that are occurring in modern Islam. Now it is up to the politicians...

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